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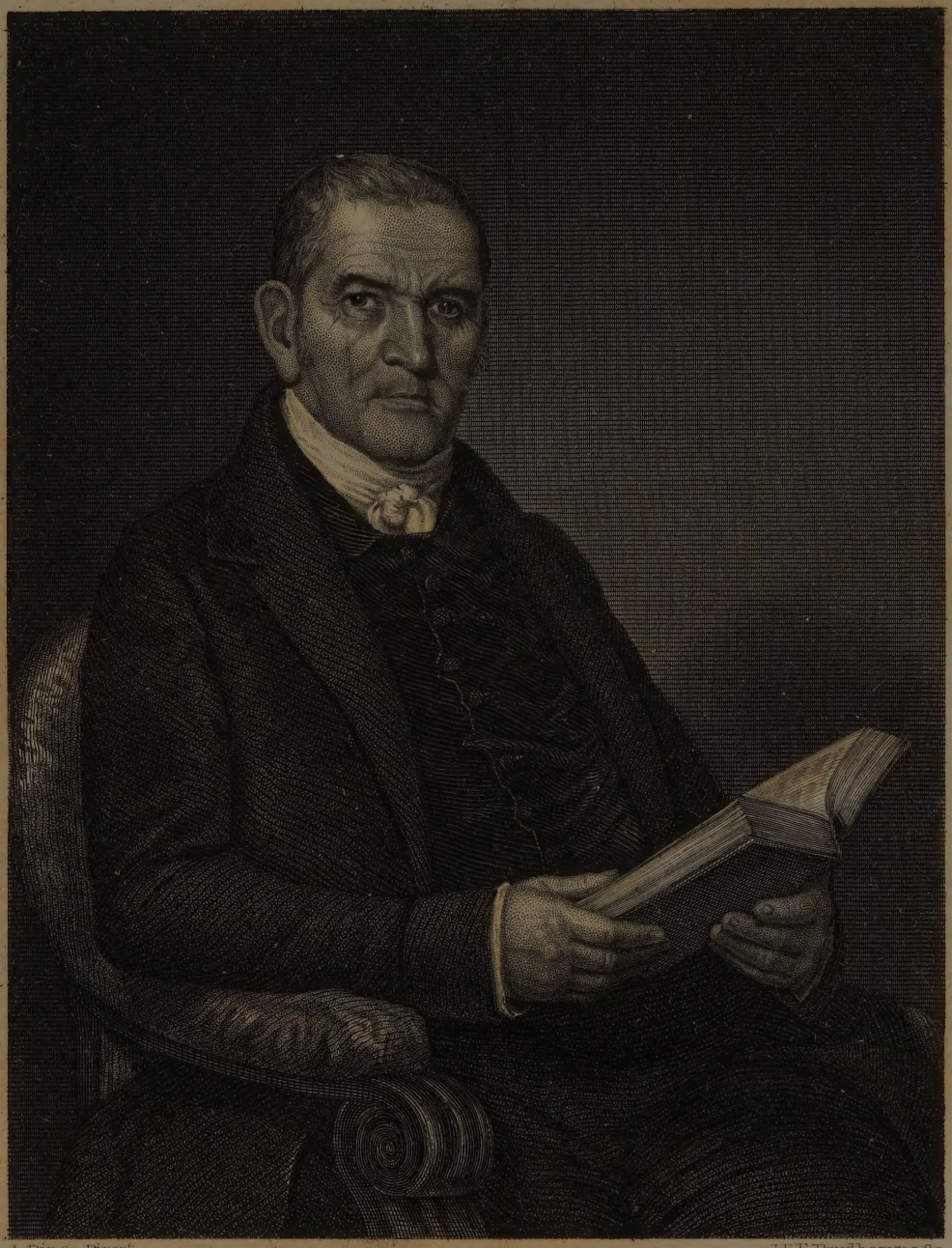

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THE

METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1847.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

VOLUME XXIX.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME VII.

New-York:
PUBLISHED BY LANE & TIPPETT,
FOR THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 200 MULBERRY-STREET.
JOSEPH LONGKING, PRINTER.
1847.

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THE

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JANUARY, 1847.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D.D.

ART. I.—*A Commentary on the Apocalypse.* By MOSES STUART, Prof. of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass. 2 vols. 8vo. Andover: Allen, Morrell & Wardwell. New-York: M. H. Newman. 1845.

WE at length have a Commentary by an American scholar and divine on the Revelation of St. John; and a work of which we may be proud: a work which, while it does not despise the labors and opinions of its predecessors, is eminently original and sound. Moses Stuart, the author, has long since come to be considered a Coryphæus among Biblical scholars and interpreters, both in this country and in Europe. His commentaries on some of the most difficult portions of the Scriptures, as the Epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Hebrews, have won for him an elevated rank as a commentator, on both sides of the Atlantic. The immense learning, fervent piety, and clear, sound sense of the author, peculiarly qualify him for the work of interpretation. The occasion and manner in which the work was composed are thus stated in the Preface:—

"When I began my official duties in my present station, I had no other knowledge of the book, than what the reading of Bishop Newton on the Prophecies, and of others who were of the like cast, had imparted to me. The classes of pupils under my instruction soon began to importune me to give them some information respecting the Apocalypse. I commenced the study of it with a design to comply with their request. I soon found myself, however, in pursuing the way of regular interpretation, as applied to other books of Scripture, completely hedged in; and I felt, at the same time, that to pursue my former method of interpreting the book, would cast me inevitably upon the boundless ocean of mere *conjectural* exposition. I frankly told my pupils, therefore, that I knew nothing respecting the book which could profit them,

and that I could not attempt to lecture upon it. After still further examination, I came to a resolution not to attempt the exegesis of the Apocalypse until a period of ten years had elapsed, which should be devoted, so far as my other duties would permit, to the study of the Hebrew prophets. I kept my resolution. After this period had passed, I began, with much caution, to say a few things in the lecture-room respecting the book in question. Every three years, these lectures, such as they were, I repeated, with some additions and alterations. In process of time I began to go through the whole book. This I have done several times; and the present work is the result of these often-repeated and long-continued labors."—P. 5.

Prof. Stuart sets out with the proposition that this book has one great object in view,—and that is to declare the final victory of the church over all her foes, the triumph of Christ, and the glorious establishment of his kingdom here in the earth. It is maintained that this is discernible by even common and ordinary readers, and still further, that we cannot suppose the revelator wrote a series of unintelligible symbols, but that the book really was *intelligible* to all well-informed readers of the seven churches of Asia, to whom it was immediately addressed. That the book is substantially the same in form and manner with other prophecies, as those of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah. The import of their prophecies was understood by the well-informed Hebrew converts scattered through the churches of Asia Minor, and that these could have explained it to others. The Paradise Lost of Milton is intelligible and read with interest by common readers, but there are some things, as its frequent classical allusions, which only well-informed readers would comprehend. So with the Revelation; by the common spiritual Christian it may be read with interest and profit, though the prophetic images and symbols, and striking orientalisms, may be understood only by the reader well-instructed in the Old Testament Scriptures. In illustration and confirmation of this position, follows an elaborate section on the similarity of the Apocalypse with other Scriptural prophecies. There is only a general, not a minute, resemblance as to *form* and *method* between the Apocalypse and the Old Testament prophecies. The same general theme is observable, viz.: "The final and universal triumph of truth and holiness over error and sin." In many a passage of the Old Testament and of the New, we find the *kernel* or *nucleus* of the Revelation. The chief difference is, that the Revelation is more extended and diffuse in its descriptions of the great struggle between the powers of sin and holiness. The Old Testament descriptions are rather simple statements of the great result—the glorious triumph of the gospel; while the Apocalypse gives us

the several stages of the triumph, the successive steps of victory. The revelator himself lived in the midst of the contest, "and powerful representation and vivid feeling might have been expected of him in circumstances like these."

Not only in the Scriptures, but also in heathen writers, do we find evident traces of this Scripture doctrine of the final reign of peace and happiness on earth. Who can read the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, and not be struck with the similarity of some of its sentiments to the Christian doctrine of the Messiah and his reign? Especially to the passage which begins thus:—

> "Ultima Cumaei venit tam carminis aetas;
> Magnus ab integro Saeclorum nascitur ordo."

Lactantius* and Constantine† the Great, together with some moderns, as Chandler, Whiston, Cudworth, and Lowth, have looked upon it as a genuine *Messianic* prediction. But we may go still further back than Virgil and the classics to find this idea of a general ἀποκατάστασις or restoration. We find it unequivocally in the Zend Avesta of Zoroaster, who flourished about the time of Darius Hystaspes, about the middle of the sixth century before Christ. In the theory‡ of Zoroaster sometimes good prevails and sometimes evil prevails during the four ages of the world, until finally the earth is to be burned up and purified, a new heaven and a new earth are to come forth from the conflagration of the old—the wicked will be punished in a dreadful manner, and the triumph of good will be complete. The similarity of this to some points of the Scripture doctrine will be readily observed by almost every reader.

The Bible presents us every variety of style, as might be expected from a book which deals in so great a variety of subjects. It is a book of history, a book of law, a book *of poetry*. It is didactic and prophetic, and reveals the secrets of the spiritual world. It is, therefore, in its style necessarily figurative and symbolical; for things spiritual can only be explained by things natural. The style of the later prophets, as Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah, is more strikingly symbolical than Jeremiah and Isaiah. The Hebrew, like other languages, presents differences during the different ages in which it flourished. Many new words and some new grammatical forms were introduced, especially after the captivity. A great change was introduced, as Prof. Stuart ably argues, in regard to the prophetic style from and after the date of the Jewish

* Inst., vii, 24. † Orat. ad Sanct. in Euseb. Vita Constant., c. xix.

‡ For a more particular description of the theory, see the work of Prof. Stuart.

captivity. The latter prophets are especially symbolical, while the earlier, as Isaiah and Jeremiah, are more simple and direct. "Ezekiel from beginning to end is almost an unbroken series of symbolical representation." The Book of Daniel is, if we except a little of it which is occupied with historic narrative, *nothing but symbol* from beginning to end. The same is substantially true of Zechariah. From these facts we are disposed to accord with the professor, that there was a great change in and after the captivity in the prophetic style, induced, probably, by a change in the tastes and habits of their readers, who had imbibed, by their eastern sojourn in Babylonia, Persia, and Media, a love for the peculiar imagery and symbolic style of those countries.

The conclusion is finally arrived at, that *the taste and manner of the Apocalypse are the taste and manner of the Hebrew prophets, and of the age in which John himself lived.*

If it be objected, that the Saviour himself and the apostle Paul did not employ the symbolic method in their predictions, the author answers, "That the *prophetic* declarations of both are exceedingly brief, rarely comprising more than a few sentences, and in declarations of such a character there is not room for composition of such a nature as John exhibits." Besides, it may be said the *parables* and *similitudes* of our Saviour, together with the description of his coming to punish the Jews, in Matt. xxiv, is a very similar mode of writing to the *symbol* of the Apocalypse.

But now arises a question of much interest:—Are there other writings contemporaneous with the Apocalypse, which show a like taste and mode of composition? We answer, There are many writings of this character belonging to the first century, both of heathen, Jewish, and Christian origin, which are now extant, and many others which, during the long night of ignorance in the dark ages, have probably perished irrecoverably; and their titles are only known to us from the works of ancient writers, whose productions have been more fortunate in being preserved till the present day. A catalogue is given, together with what is known of them severally, by our author. For the information of our readers, who may not have the work, we subjoin the titles in a note below.*

* The following is a list of the apocryphal Apocalypses which are not known to be now extant. (1) The Apocalypse of Elijah. (2) The Apocalypse of Zephaniah. (3) The Apocalypse of Zechariah. (4) The Apocalypse of Adam. (5) The Apocalypse of Abraham. (6) The Apocalypse of Moses. (7) The Prophecies of Hystaspes. (8) The Apocalypse of Peter. (9) The Apocalypse of Paul. (10) Revelations of Cerinthus. (11) The Apocalypse of St. Thomas. (12) The Apocalypse of Stephen the Martyr.

The apocryphal revelations still extant are as follows. 1. The Ascension of Isaiah the prophet. 2. The Book of Enoch. 3. The Fourth Book of Ezra. 4. The Sybilline Oracles. 5. The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. 6. The Shepherd of Hermas. 7. The Apocryphal Apocalypse of John. A long and elaborate synopsis, in all comprising near one hundred pages, is given of each of these works; and many passages are quoted of much interest and instruction, as to the peculiarly symbolical style which prevails in these writings, often, it must be acknowledged, very similar to that of the Apocalypse of John. In this synopsis Prof. Stuart has rendered a most acceptable service to the theological public. Of these works, some of which have never been translated into our language, and none of which we believe have been published in this country, very little has been known among us. And though the discussion of them seems to occupy a very large space in the Introduction to the Commentary, yet we feel very grateful to the professor for so large an amount of information concerning these rare productions. Many new and striking illustrations are brought forward of many passages in the Revelation, and the same oriental and highly figurative and symbolical style abounds in these works, which clearly sustains the position that *the taste and manner of the Apocalypse are the taste and manner of the age in which John lived.* With these remarks we must leave the subject of these apocryphal writings, and consider some things in the form and arrangement of the Apocalypse.

The first peculiarity in the form and arrangement of the Apocalypse is what Prof. Stuart calls its *numerosity;* that is, "the Apocalypse throughout, with scarcely any exception, is so arranged, that either the number 3, or else 7, 4, 10, and 12, control its modes of development, that is, the arrangement of its parts, greater and smaller,—the grouping of its objects, the assignment of attributes to them, the epexegetical clauses, and the order of action, main and subordinate. Above all the number THREE stands conspicuous in the whole plan, in all its parts, considerable or minute. Next to this stands the so-called sacred number *seven*, then *four*, then *twelve*, and lastly *ten*."

As a specimen of the trichotomy, or tripartite divisions and groups in the Apocalypse, we will quote the first leading divisions of this nature as presented by Prof. Stuart. The book is thus divided:—

"(1.) (*a*) The prologue, chap. i–iii. (*b*) The visions, or main body of the work, iv–xxii, 5. (*c*) The epilogue, xxii, 6–21. Each of these divisions exhibits trichotomy, moreover, in all its gradations throughout its appropriate subdivisions.

"(2.) The Prologue.—After the title of the book, (which is joined with a brief historical reference to its author, and a commendation to the notice and study of the reader,) follows, (*a*) The dedication of the work to the seven churches of Asia, i, 4–8. (*b*) The christophany, or manifestation of Jesus to John, i, 9–20. (*c*) The Epistles to the Seven Churches.

"The portions *a* and *b* are too short and too terse with descriptive matter to permit of subdivision; but not so with the epistles. Each of the latter is divided into three parts: (*a*) A description of him who addresses the churches, by the mention of some of his attributes, ii, 1; ii, 8; ii, 12; ii, 18; iii, 1; iii, 7; iii, 14. (*b*) Disclosure of the characteristics of each church, with appropriate admonition or reproof; (in the sequel to each of the preceding texts quoted.) (*c*) Each epistle closes with excitement to obedience, rendered more urgent and efficacious by promises of reward, or by threatenings. In these respects there is an entire uniformity through the whole of the epistles.

"(3.) The Visions.—On these (iv–xxii, 5) there are three great *catastrophes*, to which all else has reference and is adjusted. (*a*) That of Sodom *spiritually* so called, that is, 'the place where our Lord was crucified,' or Jerusalem, (xi, 8,) comprising chap. iv–xi. (*b*) That of mystic Babylon (Rome,) chap. xii–xx, 3. (*c*) That of Gog and Magog, chap. xx, 4–10. Each of these catastrophes has a prologue or proem: (*a*) chap. iv, v; (*b*) chap. xii; (*c*) chap. xx, 4–7. Where the thousand years and the end of them stand as introductory to the loosing of Satan."—Vol. i, p. 131 et seq.

This subject has been almost entirely overlooked by writers on the Apocalypse, except Ewald and Züllig. These writers, however, have done but little on the subject; and Prof. Stuart claims that his developments and conclusions are altogether his own, discovered by a long-continued and oft-repeated study of the book. To one whose attention has not been drawn to this subject, there will be much in this that is new and surprising. The trichotomies seem to reign everywhere, in almost every chapter and section. So far is this numerosity carried, that it verges almost to the cabbalism of the Jewish rabbies; and one feels, in the developments of this matter by Prof. Stuart, that there was really some foundation for their numbering propensity. Prof. Stuart himself has felt this, and forthwith defends the Apocalypse from any fancies of this kind.

But is there anything like this in any other part of the Scriptures? Prof. Stuart contends that there is; and that the Book of Job especially exhibits many of these trichotomies. And this, indeed, would be natural, for as Job is the epic of the Old Testament, and the only one, so is the Apocalypse the epic, and the only one, of the New. A part of the first paragraph, in which the proof of this is exhibited, we deem of sufficient importance to quote.

"The first grand division of it is into (*a*) Prologue. (*b*) The poem proper. (*c*) Epilogue. Then (*i*) The prologue is subdivided into accounts, (*a*) Of Job's prosperity. (*b*) Of his losses. (*c*) Of his sickness and trials. Then (*ii*) the poem proper is divided into three leading parts: (*a*) The dispute of Job with his friends. (*b*) The address of Elihu, who proffers himself as umpire. (*c*) The closing address of Jehovah. Next as to subordinate *triplicities*, we are presented with three friends who come to console Job, &c. * * * The epilogue closes the piece, which consists (*a*) Of Job's justification. (*b*) Of his reconciliation with his friends. (*c*) Of his final prosperity."—Vol. i, p. 140.

So, also, there are many instances in the New Testament of triplicity; but for the examples we must refer the reader to the work itself. We might find fault with some of the *triplicities* quoted by Prof. Stuart, but the great mass of them must be admitted. They are so on the surface of the composition, and appear evident to the most casual reader. For the examination of the heptades and groups of four and twelve, we must refer the reader to the work itself.

Nor is this numerosity a mere matter of style, especially the trichotomy part of it. Important results depend upon it in the criticism and elucidation of the book. It settles the question in Prof. Stuart's mind, whether there is more than one catastrophe in the book.

He thus presents it:—

"This is a great question. It decides, moreover, in regard to subordinate parts of the book which are of the like tenor, how far they extend, and in many cases whether they sustain a near relation to each other. It extends itself to the interpunction of many passages, deciding how the writer grouped them in his own mind, and how we also should group them, and consequently how we should distribute the interpunction; e. g. in xii, 18, the usual printing is thus: *δοῦναι μισθὸν τοῖς δουλοις σου, τοῖς προφήταις καὶ τοῖς ἁγιοις καὶ τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου, τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις.* This is plainly wrong. There are two groups of three each; the first is the generic *τοῖς δούλοις σου*, with the epexegetical or specific *προφήταις* and *ἁγίοις*; the second is the generic *τοῖς φοβουμένοις*, (corresponding plainly to *τοῖς δουλοις σου*,) followed by the specific *μικροῖς* and *μεγάλοις*. And so of not a few other places in the book. In fact, the hasty reader, and even any one who does not enter minutely upon the examination of the book, can scarcely conjecture how much the smaller points of interpretation, as well as not a few of the larger, are affected by the *numerosity* of the book."—Vol. i, p. 149.

Thus far we have gone along with Prof. Stuart without finding any serious occasion for differing from him. But we find some views advanced in the tenth section, which we do not feel at liberty to pass over without strong animadversion. He has advanced,

though, it must be confessed, in a very cautious manner, some views on the subject of the *inspiration* of the sacred writers, which we believe are far from being true and Scriptural. We are compelled to believe that this venerable teacher in Israel has advocated loose views on this all-important subject, and we feel compelled to withstand him, notwithstanding the great respect we have for his powers and attainments.

The doctrine of a verbal inspiration of the sacred writings we had supposed was the doctrine of all orthodox divines, and the doctrine which has been generally received in the evangelical churches, and that not the thoughts only were inspired, but the *writing;* that the sacred writers were not merely in an inspired *state,* but were *moved* and *excited* to *action* in writing by the Holy Ghost. 2 Peter i, 21. But such does not seem to be the view of Prof. Stuart. He asserts that inspiration is a *state* and not an *act.* And that the reader may see we do not join on a false issue with the professor, we will quote his own statements.

"The result of all my researches into the nature of inspiration is a full belief that its influence is rather to be considered as resulting in a *state* than in an *act.* What I mean, is, that by inspiration the state or condition of him who is the subject of it is affected; his mind is enlightened respecting things proper to be said, of which he was before totally or partially ignorant; his views and affections are elevated; his powers of mind are in a degree quickened and heightened; things sensual, and deluding, and degrading, recede, and for the time being cease to annoy him; and his judgment, as to what he is to communicate, becomes not only more discerning, but more sound and safe. The *inspired* John, for example, is the same individual as the *uninspired* John, and retains all the innocent peculiarities of his character and habitudes; but the inspired John is elevated, enlightened, quickened, keen of discernment, even to such a degree that future things can be seen from his elevated condition; and he is so guided by all the combinations of influence upon him, that he will communicate nothing but truth. Were I to choose a simile for illustration, I should say that the inspired man ascends an intellectual and moral eminence, so high that his prospect widens almost without bounds, and what is altogether hidden from ordinary men is more or less distinctly within his view."—Vol. i, p. 107.

Here we have the views of this venerable teacher and expounder of God's word in respect to the theopneusty, or divine inspiration, of the Holy Scriptures. We read the extract above, together with several pages which follow, with mingled feelings of surprise and regret. The paragraphs on this subject are written with much caution, and we feared, on the first reading, that our impressions of his doctrine might be erroneous. But on carefully re-reading

what he has written on this subject, our impressions became still stronger that Prof. Stuart gives up the doctrine of *a verbal inspiration;* and even scarcely admits that which is technically called the *inspiration* of *illumination.* The professor says, "the inspired man ascends an intellectual and moral (?) eminence;" not that he is taught by the Spirit of God, but he is elevated in respect to his understanding, and improved in respect to his moral powers. Inspiration is a "*state*" of the sacred writer's soul, and not the "*act*" of the Holy Spirit. The "inspired writer is not the mere *passive* instrument of the Spirit of God," so as to write "what is dictated to him *verbatim et literatim.*" The office of the Spirit of God is not so much to teach man what to write, as to elevate his soul, so as to prepare him to write the truth.

With Prof. Stuart *truth* seems to be that which is inspired, and not the *words* and *costume* of the sacred writers. For an illustration of his views he refers to the eighteenth Psalm for an example. He remarks:—

"If we peruse attentively the eighteenth Psalm, we shall soon see that the picture there given of the descent of the divine Majesty, of his bowing the heavens, shaking the earth, riding upon a cherub, surrounding himself with dark clouds, and lightning, and thunder, scattering the enemies of David by hailstones and coals of fire, laying bare the deepest abysses of the sea, and drawing the chosen king out of many waters—that all this is plainly *costume.* The simple truth that lies under all these symbols, is, that God appeared for David, that is, manifested his favor toward him, oftentimes and in an extraordinary manner, and delivered him from enemies and persecutors. No one who well understands the nature of poetry and the use of symbols will object to this view; and surely no one can regard all this as in any measure derogatory to the dignity and truthfulness of the sacred writings."—Vol. i, p. 170.

He proceeds now to apply these views to the Apocalypse, and asks the following questions, which, it is evident in the professor's mind, should be answered in the affirmative:—

"Is the Apocalypse now only a more protracted series of symbols, which are of the like nature? Are the visions themselves and all the objects of them merely the drapery thrown around the body of truth that lies within? Do all these things depend merely on the judgment and imagination of the writer, as to the manner in which he should develop the views which he entertained?"—Vol. i, p. 170

"All these things," that is, the symbols and the visions, and of course the language in which they are conveyed,—"*all* these things depend *merely* on the *judgment* and *imagination* of the writer." Let it be remarked, he says they depend *merely* on the *judgment* and *imagination* of the writer. This we conceive to be next door

to a total denial of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures,—or of the inspiration of them in a proper sense. "It is enough," says the professor, "that he (the sacred writer) is guarded from error, and that truths beyond his natural powers are impressed upon his mind." And even then, when the sacred writer would reveal "truths beyond his natural powers," he only "ascends an intellectual and moral eminence." By what means this is done we are not distinctly informed.

To say the least of these views of inspiration by Prof. Stuart, they are exceedingly loose, and in our opinion decidedly dangerous. This is not the time for us who love and reverence the Bible as the word of God, to give an uncertain sound on this subject.

There is a numerous class of persons who are mostly made up of German theologians, (we might better say, perhaps, German *Neologians*,) such as Schleiermacher, Dewette, and many others, both of Germany and of this country, who reject all miraculous inspiration, and attribute to the sacred writers what Cicero attributes to the poets; *afflatum spiritus divini*, "a divine action of nature, an interior power like the other vital forces of nature." Prof. Stuart does not belong to this class, but seems to approach nearer to those who hold to the inspiration of *superintendence* and *elevation*, where the thoughts of the writers are preserved from error, while their language is altogether human.

It is to this latter view that we must earnestly object. In regard to the other view referred to above, though we consider it altogether erroneous, we do not consider it important at present to travel out of our way to refute it. We have to do especially at present with the author of the Commentary on the Apocalypse. That his views are wrong on this subject we as fully believe as we believe those of Dewette and Schleiermacher are wrong; and wrong at this point, that he does not admit a full, a plenary inspiration of the very words and imagery, as well as the thoughts, of the sacred writers.

In confirmation of this doctrine of inspiration we need only refer to a few plain passages of the Scriptures themselves. In 2 Peter i, 21, it is said, *The prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* By "prophecy in old time," is meant the Old Testament Scriptures. These (οὐ ποτε) *never* came by the will of man,—man's will had nothing to do in originating them; neither were they written by man's will, but holy men of God *spake* as they were *moved* by the Holy Ghost. That is, holy men even uttered the words of their prophecy as they *were moved* (φερομενοι, being borne

along, as a vessel is moved or borne on the waters by the wind) by the Holy Ghost. Here is involved not only verbal inspiration, but also *passivity* in him who is inspired; both of which ideas Prof. Stuart does not seem to admit.

Again, in the Second Epistle to Timothy iii, 16, the apostle Paul declares that "all Scripture," Πᾶσαγραφὴ, all the sacred writing is, θεοπνευστος, by divine inspiration. But how can the *writing* be said to be by divine inspiration, if the words are not inspired as well as the thoughts? It is for this reason that the sacred writings are called *αἱ γραφαι, the Scriptures*, by way of eminence, because the very *writing* is given of God. But if this passage be not thought perfectly conclusive, we would adduce the declaration of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, ii, 13: "*Which things also we speak, not in the* WORDS *which man's wisdom teacheth; but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.*" Thus we find, remarks Mr. Watson, that the claim which the sacred writers make on this subject is, that they were in truth what they have been aptly called, "the penmen of the Holy Ghost;" and that the words, in which they clothed "the wisdom given unto them," were "words taught" by the Holy Spirit.

Prof. Stuart also objects to *passivity* in the inspired writer. It is not necessary to suppose that the sacred writers were always, or even generally, passive in their prophetic communications; but as a fact, it appears to have been the case sometimes. Job tells us "*he uttered what he understood not.*" Job xlii, 3. Daniel also tells us, that when he wrote his last pages he did not himself know what the Spirit had caused him to write. Dan. xii, 8, 9. When Caiaphas uttered his prophecy, it is said, "*He spake not of himself,*" that is, he was a passive instrument in the hand of God, having neither the knowledge nor understanding of what God made him speak. John xi, 51. When Balaam went three times to the summit of the rock to curse Israel; and three times words of blessing proceeded from his lips in spite of himself, "*because the Most High had met him and put these words in his mouth.*" Num. xxiii, 16. The language of the prophets, "The hand of the Lord was strong upon me," Ezek. iii, 14; "I was carried out in the Spirit of the Lord," Ezek. xxxvii, 1; "and I was carried away in the Spirit," Rev. xvii, 3; are phrases which show the power of the Spirit, and the comparative weakness of the prophet in moments of inspiration. Mr. Watson judiciously remarks, that "the same *force* of inspiration, so to speak, was not probably exerted upon each of the sacred writers, or upon the same writer throughout his writings, whatever might be its subject. There is no necessity that

we should so state the case in order to maintain what is essential to our faith,—the plenary inspiration of each of the sacred writers. It is sufficient that every thought and every word be communicated under the influence and direction of the all-wise Spirit."

That this is, and ever has been, the doctrine of the orthodox body of the church in every age may be clearly proved. Our limits, however, will not permit us to enter upon this extensive field of investigation. We must content ourself to refer the reader to a late admirable work on the theopneusty of the Holy Scriptures, by S. R. L. Gaussen, professor of theology in Geneva, which was ably reviewed in a late number of this Quarterly, for full satisfaction on this interesting subject.*

If these views, expressed above, be correct, we must conclude that our learned and excellent author of the Commentary on the Apocalypse has wandered to some length from the true doctrine on the subject of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. In a late work on the Old Testament Canon, Professor Stuart has labored to show that some of the inspired books have been lost. His low views of inspiration may serve to account for so extraordinary an hypothesis. On some future occasion we intend, Providence permitting, to enter upon an examination of this last-named work. At present it would be drawing us too far from the original object of this paper.

The principles of interpretation, as laid down by Prof. Stuart as applicable to the Apocalypse, we believe, are the only true ones. He very ably shows the folly of those interpreters who would make the images and symbols of this book a mere syllabus of civil history. "John was no chronicler of *civil* events. He was no soothsayer like those of Delos and Delphos. Such things, and such only, as relate to the *spiritual* welfare and prosperity of the church are the objects of his prophetic vision." Some writers on the thirteenth chapter of the Apocalypse have seen in the first beast the city of Rome, the pope and his adherents; and in the second beast the Church of England!

"But a multitude of expositors are not content with finding even minute *ecclesiastical* matters in the Apocalypse. They must needs find profane as well as sacred history. The Goths, the Vandals, the Huns; petty kingdoms and states of remote ages; battles fought centuries after John was dead; local famine even, and pestilence, earthquakes,

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* Theopneusty, or, the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, by S. R. L. Gaussen, professor of theology in Geneva. Translated by E. N. Kirk. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co., 145 Nassau-street.

droughts, volcanoes, tornadoes, and other evils, at divers times and places, are all to be found in the pages of the Revelation."—Vol. i, p. 204.

We agree with Prof. Stuart that no man of sober discretion, who has ever studied Hebrew prophecy, can give ear to such interpretations as these. An expositor, for example, finds in Rev. vi the description of a certain war or pestilence. What now is his reason for making his specific application? Is it not because he finds certain things in the Apocalyptic picture which might tally well with the subsequent events in question? But the difficulty with this is, that it might tally equally as well with any other war, or any other pestilence, as with that to which he applies it. The truth is, the Apocalypse is designed simply to encourage the church by the prophetic assurance that Christ shall eventually reign over all his foes; and these pictures and symbols declare this in a *generic*, rather than in a *specific*, way. Besides, it is one continuous and connected composition; and to suppose that John, in his brief description of the church's victories, should turn aside to note minor incidents in civil or natural history, which are only very remotely or in no respect connected with the great subject in hand, is plainly inconsistent.

The more we have studied, the more we are disposed to accord with the views of Prof. Stuart, that there are three catastrophes in this book. The first is the downfall of the Jewish persecuting power; the second is the downfall of the Romish persecuting power; and third, the downfall of Gentileism—of Gog and Magog, and Satan and his hosts. All that exalts and opposes itself against Christ must at length be destroyed. Now if the pope and his adherents resemble the beast and the false prophet, and oppose themselves to Christ and his cause, they must be overthrown. Or if any other power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, oppose itself to the progress of Christ's kingdom, the Lamb in his wrath shall trample them down,—*he shall dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel.* It is not necessary to suppose that the writer of the Apocalypse had the Romish hierarchy, or the English hierarchy, or any other, definitely before his mind when he wrote. Nor is it necessary to suppose that John, when he wrote, had distinctly before him any future civil occurrences, as the irruptions of the Goths, Vandals, and Huns, or the destruction of the Mohammedan empire. It was sufficient for the then afflicted and distressed churches of Asia and Europe to know, bleeding under the cruel wounds of that heartless and abominable tyrant, Nero, that the end of their sufferings would come, and that Christ, their prince, should reign victorious over all his foes.

The able and earnest reasoning of Prof. Stuart in support of the above theory must commend itself to every candid mind; and we believe the time is not distant when an entire change will come in the views of Christian and theological writers in respect to the applications of the Apocalyptic prophecies.*

The question as to the time when the Apocalypse was written, is elaborated and discussed by Prof. Stuart with equal care and ability. Very much depends on the decision of this question. If it was written near the close of the apostle's life, after the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, which is the commonly received opinion, then Prof. Stuart's theory of the three catastrophes, viz., the downfall of the Jewish persecuting power, and of the Roman persecuting power, and of Gog and Magog, falls to the ground. If the work was written by the apostle after the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, then there could be no prophecy of that event; and the prophecies, from chap. vi to chap. xiii, cannot refer to that event. Prof. Stuart maintains that the Apocalypse was among the earliest of John's writings, and that it was composed before the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, as it appears to us on good and substantial grounds. The evidence for both of these opinions is ably and fairly presented, and the conclusion is finally made up with great power, that John wrote the Apocalypse in the time of Nero, about the year of our Lord 68.

The fourth argument of Prof. Stuart, that this book was written in the reign of Nero, is so conclusive that we cannot forbear quoting it in part:—

"Rev. xvii professedly undertakes to explain the symbols of the beast, introduced at the commencement of the second catastrophe in the Apocalypse, chap. xiii, 1, seq. The last verse of this chapter leaves no room for mistake as to the application of the symbol. The woman sitting upon the beast, means 'the great city which hath dominion over the kings of the earth.' When John wrote the Apocalypse, no city but Rome could be thought of as corresponding to this description. Besides, in ver. 9 the seven heads are said to symbolize 'the seven hills on which the woman sitteth;' that is, the seven hills on which Rome was built, the *septicollis Roma* of the Latin writers. There is no room for mistake here. And as little room, it seems to me, is there for mistake in another part of the same explanatory chapter, viz., ver. 10. Here it is said, that the seven heads of the beast also symbolize *seven kings*, viz., of Rome. The writer proceeds: 'Five are fallen; one is; the other has not yet come; but when he shall come he shall remain but

* We would especially commend to the reader's consideration the twelfth section on the hermeneutical principles applicable to the Apocalypse, wherein the above view is maintained.

for a short time.' That the Roman emperors were usually styled *βασιλεῖς* by the Greeks, needs no proof. That the line or succession of *emperors* is here meant, and not the primitive kings of Rome, is certain from the connection of the five with the one *who is*, and the one *who is to come*. We have only to reckon then the succession of emperors, and we must arrive with certainty at the reign under which the Apocalypse was written. If we begin with Julius Cæsar it stands thus: Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius; these make up the five who have *fallen*. Of course the Apocalypse was written during the reign of Nero, who was the sixth."

The above argument is clear and conclusive. There are others quite as clear and convincing as the one above, that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Nero, as the testimonies of Epiphanius and Andreas, and the inscription to the Syriac version. Did our limits permit, we should be glad to give at least an abstract of them.

If the evidence is so conclusive, the reader will be ready to inquire, how happens it that the opinion is so common, that the Apocalypse was written near the close of the first century, and near the apostle John's death? This opinion seems to rest almost altogether on the supposed testimony of Irenæus, in Hæres., v. 30, who lived at the close of the second century, and who is the first writer that we know of who has said anything expressly on the point before us. The testimony referred to is as follows: *ουδε γαρ προ πολλου χρονου εωραθη [ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις,] αλλα σχεδὸν επι τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, προς τω τελει της Δομετιάνου αρχῆς*; that is, "*the Apocalypse was seen not long ago, but almost in our generation, near the end of Domitian's reign.*" These words of Irenæus are cited verbatim by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, iii, 18, and v, 8, who flourished about one hundred years after Irenæus; and Jerome, who wrote about seventy years after Eusebius, has quoted his account, (in Catal. v,) and thus this supposed testimony, that John saw his vision in the reign of Domitian, has been handed down from writer to writer till Dr. Lardner, apparently without ever supposing that there might be any mistake in their understanding of Irenæus. But so it turns out;—or at least it is exceedingly probable, that the whole stream of Christian writers have misunderstood the testimony of Irenæus. It has been suggested recently by an acute German critic, Guerike, that when Irenæus says, "that when the Apocalypse was seen not long ago, but almost in our generation, *προς τῷ τελει της Δομετιανῦ αρχης*," that the adjective *Δομετιανῦ* (for *adjective* it may be, says Prof. S., and if so, it is one which is *generis communis*, and not the proper name of Domitian,) belongs in accordance with the Greek formations to the

name *Domitius*, and not to Domitian, which would make an adjective of the form Δομιτιανίκός. If it were a proper name, he says it should be written τῦν Δομετιανου. Now Nero's name was *Domitius* Nero, and not Domitianus, which is the name of the latter emperor. It follows, of course, that Irenæus himself has testified to the fact, that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Domitius Nero. Prof. Stuart adds :—

"If he is right in his criticism on the word Δομιτιανου, past opinions in respect to it present one of the most singular cases of long-continued and oft-repeated philological error which has ever come to my knowledge."

As to the time in which the Apocalypse was written, Mr. Benson says nothing; and Dr. Clarke, after quoting Dr. Lardner to some length, who advocates the common opinion, remarks :—"If the date could be settled, it would be of the utmost consequence to the right interpretation of the book; but amid so many conflicting opinions this is almost hopeless." But Prof. Stuart in our opinion has set this matter quite at rest. On such a subject it may be impossible to attain to absolute certainty as to the year; yet that it was antecedent to the destruction of the city of Jerusalem seems altogether clear from the internal evidence, as adduced by Prof. Stuart.

The great labor of Prof. Stuart, in composing his Introduction and Commentary, cannot be too highly praised. He seems to have waded through all the Greek, Latin, and German literature which relates to the Apocalypse. He has attentively considered every objection which could be, or has been, advanced against his views. He answers, with great pains-taking and care, more than sixty objections against the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse, culled out of various German writers. As a specimen of his labor in answering these objections, we would quote the twenty-ninth on page 385, vol. i. Ewald objects that the apostle John was not the author of the Apocalypse, because *composite* verbs are much more frequent in his Gospel than in the Apocalypse. Prof. Stuart answers :—"I have been through *the whole Greek Concordance* in order to see whether this is correct; and find it to be so far from being so, that even the contrary position, viz., the Apocalypse makes the more frequent use of them, is nearer the truth."

The twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sections of the Introduction have been to us the most interesting and instructive parts of it. In these sections are presented a short historical account of the estimation in which this book has been held in different ages of the

church; also an historical sketch of its interpretation. These sections are written in Prof. Stuart's most lucid and spirited style, and, from his long attention to the Apocalyptic literature, he has brought together a mass of information here, which entitles him to the hearty thanks of every student and investigator of this most interesting portion of God's Word. We would gladly, did our limits permit, give the reader a synopsis of this part of the work. But as it is, we must be content to refer him to the work itself.

To prevent the establishment of error, as well as to sustain and propagate truth, is the solemn duty of every Christian writer. And when error comes indorsed by such a man as Prof. Stuart, it is the more dangerous and needs a more vigorous and caustic remedy. There is one more topic brought to view in the Introduction to the Commentary which seems to call for animadversion. He says, "What *moral* and *spiritual* edification is derivable from such portions of Scripture?" e. g., as the architectural directions for building the tabernacle, the minute details of rites and forms under the Levitical priesthood, &c. What, thought we, as we read the paragraph from which the above is taken, has this learned professor forgotten what God says by the apostle Paul to Timothy, that *all Scripture is profitable for doctrine*, &c.? But we were in some degree relieved, though not altogether, by an explanation on a succeeding page, where he admits that even such Scripture is profitable for doctrine, &c., in an indirect way. Our impression is, that Prof. Stuart yields too much oftentimes in his writings to the heterodox, the skeptic, and the infidel. He oftentimes gives too much *place* to the devil. Holy Scripture is too sacred and too precious to be given up or abandoned in one jot or tittle.

But so signal are the attainments of Prof. Stuart as a commentator, so earnest, so candid, so learned, and withal, in general so judicious, that we have regretted to mark anything as spots on the work on the Apocalypse, lest we should unduly diminish respect for it with the readers of this Review. We intended to take up several passages in the Commentary, and present our views at length on several controverted passages. We do not agree with Prof. Stuart in all these, especially on Rev. xx, 6. But in his main principles, in his views as to the general object of the book, —*the coming and completion of the kingdom of God*, in his view of the catastrophes, we go with him heart and soul. His work is the most candid, most clear, most learned, and altogether the most satisfactory of any on the Apocalypse we have ever read. We hope and believe it will put an end to those profane uses made of this sacred book by intelligent Christian ministers and

writers, in making it a syllabus of civil history. We consider this the *chef d'ouvre* of Prof. Stuart, an honor to him; and that it will prove an honor and blessing to the church of God in this land and throughout the world. We would it might be in the hands of every intelligent layman, and of every minister—and especially of every *young* minister—in the land.

Pine Plains, N. Y., Oct. 10, 1846.

ART. II.—1. *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, and Lord High Chancelor of England.*

2. *Life of Sir Isaac Newton.* By Sir DAVID BREWSTER.

3. *Macauley's Miscellanies; Art. Lord Bacon.* [Edinburgh Review. 1837.]

THE name of Bacon marks an era of light in the history of science. He did not introduce, it is true, the great revolution which has taken place in the state of human knowledge; but he alone fully comprehended it. If he did not begin that revolution, he imparted the true aim and direction to its resistless energies. He, above all other men, felt its mighty impulse; and, by still mightier impulses of his own, he extended and deepened its influence. This impulse became, in his mind, something more than a dark feeling and sense of want; it became a rational and enduring conviction, giving rise to a hope too great and too firm to be shaken. He saw that the most magnificent anticipations of the human mind might be realized; nay, he comprehended and pointed out the precise method in which they would be realized. All the honors justly due to the immortal labors of his predecessors can, therefore, detract nothing from the glory of Bacon. Some of his predecessors are worthy of our veneration and gratitude; but yet he has been generally, and we believe very justly, regarded as the great restorer of true learning and science.

It is a great advantage of those who have made discoveries in the mathematics, or in the physical sciences, that the extent of their services can be accurately measured and universally appreciated; while the services of those who have labored to improve philosophy, which is the science of the sciences, are continually open to cavil and objection. Accordingly, the fashion has been set, of late, to depreciate the lofty pretensions of the Baconian philosophy; and it remains to be seen whether or not it will be extensively followed. We can no longer say with Dugald Stewart, that "the merits of

Bacon, as the father of experimental philosophy, are so universally acknowledged, it is superfluous to notice them." But, after all, though the remark of Aristotle, that philosophies seem destined to rise and set like the stars, may be true in general, we have no serious fear it will ever prove true in regard to the philosophy of Bacon. The unexpected opposition, however, which has been raised to this philosophy, proceeding, as it does, from authors of undoubted learning and ability, is worthy of a respectful consideration. This we shall accordingly bestow upon it, in the survey which we are about to take of the commentators and critics of the Baconian philosophy.

David Hume is the most distinguished of those philosophers who have exerted their ingenuity to lessen the splendor of Bacon's reputation. He has ventured to express the opinion, that, as a philosopher, Bacon was "inferior to his contemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler." It is not our intention at present to dwell upon the peculiarities of Bacon's genius, or endeavor to show wherein he greatly excelled all other men; for we are now concerned only with his commentators and critics. Hence we shall confine our vindication of his fame against the unfavorable judgments of his critics to an examination of the reasons on which those judgments are founded. We may very easily dispose of the reasons assigned by Mr. Hume. "The Englishman," says he, "was ignorant of geometry; the Florentine revived that science, and excelled in it." This is true; but geometry, however important as a branch of science, is only one element in the character of a philosopher. Tried by this test, both Galileo and Hume would have to give place to their inferiors in philosophy. Descartes was superior to the former as a geometer; and almost any geometer is superior to the latter. The position of philosophers cannot be determined by their attainments in the mathematics. Neither Plato nor Aristotle could extract the cube root of numbers, and yet they were greater philosophers than Mr. Pike.

It is also alledged, that Galileo not only pointed out the road to philosophy, but made, himself, considerable advances in it. But it should be remembered, that Galileo pointed out the road to philosophy only by a finger-board placed at the entrance upon it; whereas Bacon mapped out this road from beginning to end. And, besides, he indicated the many by-paths which had led all his predecessors astray, and the many pit-falls in which thousands had perished. He showed how the dangers of the road might be shunned, and its difficulties overcome; and, above all, he animated the world with hope, by revealing, in the clear sunlight of his own

prophetic genius, the inexhaustible treasures to which it would inevitably conduct the traveler. If Galileo made considerable discoveries in one branch of science, Bacon generalized the process by which he made them, before he knew what his great cotemporary had done, and showed how discoveries might be made in all sciences. The navigator who pursues the right course to discover, and actually discovers, a single island, deserves well of mankind. But still greater honor is due to the man who confidently points out the region in which vast continents may be found, and induces mankind to give credit to his apparently wild prediction, though they should not be really discovered until long after his death. Though Columbus had never touched upon the shores of America, yet the grand conception which always occupied his mind, and the almost supernatural confidence with which he never ceased to proclaim it, would have conferred a far greater benefit on mankind than was ever derived from any other navigator of the seas. Bacon was the Columbus of modern science; and his visions, as magnificent as those of his great prototype, and as confidently proclaimed to a narrow-minded and unbelieving world, have been as fully and as triumphantly realized.

We admit that Bacon rejected the Copernican system, and that Galileo was one of its most powerful advocates; but it is not true that he rejected it "with the most positive disdain." This coloring is given to the position of Bacon, we suppose, from Mr. Hume's passion for artistic effect; it certainly has no foundation in truth. The opinion of Copernicus, said Bacon, touching the rotation of the earth, "*is not repugnant* to any of the phenomena." The opposite system, said he, "*at present*, appears to us the truer *hypothesis*."* His rejection of the Copernican theory was not, as has been commonly supposed, founded on a vulgar prejudice; he withheld his assent, not because he was a narrow-minded "bigot of common sense," but because he believed there was not, at that time, sufficient evidence to establish a rational conviction. Though Galileo had for a long time rejected the Copernican system, to use his own words, "as a piece of solemn folly," yet he afterward atoned for this conduct by the activity with which he collected, and the sagacity with which he weighed, the evidence in its favor, after he had been persuaded, by a person whose name is unknown to philosophy, that it was a subject not altogether worthy of contempt.

As to the style of Galileo and Bacon, the only remaining point in which Mr. Hume has compared them, we think it hardly worthy

* Theory of the Firmament.

of being taken into consideration in estimating the intellectual character of two great philosophers. Galileo was undoubtedly a more "lively and agreeable writer" than Bacon. In this respect, they have both been excelled by Addison and Washington Irving. Mr. Hume has compared their style in no other particular; and in regard to this, we are very happy to agree with him. Indeed, through the whole of this famous parallel, Mr. Hume has studiously compared those things for which Galileo was the most distinguished with those in which Bacon was the most deficient. He has compared the brightness of the lesser light with the spots on the glory of the greater. We may truly say of this parallel, therefore, what Gibbon has so emphatically said of Mr. Hume's History of England, to wit: "It is specious, but superficial."

No one has gone further in denying the importance and the influence of Bacon's philosophy than Sir David Brewster. We have derived so much pleasure from his interesting Life of Newton, his excellent treatise on "Optics," and his fascinating work on "Natural Magic," that we are sorry to find ourselves opposed to him on the subject of Bacon's claims to the gratitude of mankind. His position on this important subject is certainly a most anomalous one for a cultivator of the physical sciences; but we are at no loss to account for it; he has himself fully revealed the secret. That profound thinker and beautiful writer, Dr. John Playfair, had spoken of Bacon "as a man who has had no rival in the times which are past, and as likely to have none in those which are to come." This was more than the biographer of Newton was disposed to bear. Hence he exclaims, "In a eulogy so overstrained as this, we feel that the language of panegyric has passed into that of idolatry; and we are desirous of weighing the force of arguments which tend to depose Newton from the high priesthood of nature, and to unsettle the proud destinies of Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler." Sir David, in an eloquent passage at the opening of his Life of Newton, has placed him "at the head of those great men who have been the ornaments of their species;" and he has used language in regard to him fully as strong as that which Playfair has applied to Bacon. He even thinks there is no "extravagance" in the encomium which Halley pronounced on Newton,—

> "Nec fas est proprius mortali attingere Divos."
>
> "So near the gods—man cannot nearer go."

It is to be suspected, then, that it is not so much the sin of idolatry which has given the offense, as the circumstance that it was not

committed in the worship of the right object. But we have not the least idea that either party has committed any such sin. And as to the controversy between them, we are decidedly of the opinion that both are in the right. Bacon is without a rival, and so is Newton. Bacon was the first teacher of the human race who effectually taught the sublime art of creating sciences; and no other philosopher can ever achieve anew the glory of having taught it, until the name and memory of Bacon shall be forgotten. In like manner, Newton was the first philosopher who solved the stupendous problem of the world; and the glory of every subsequent solution must be merged and lost in the recollection of the first. Lagrange solved this problem; and yet he sighed that Newton had solved it before him. The language which Dr. Playfair has so well applied to Bacon may, therefore, be applied to Newton with equal propriety; for "if a second [Newton] is ever to arise, he must be ignorant of the first."

The discrepancy between Sir David Brewster and Mr. Macauley is very remarkable. The latter does not consider Bacon's analysis of the inductive method "a very useful performance;" because "it is an analysis of that which we are doing from morning to night, and which we continue to do even in our dreams;" because it "has been practiced ever since the beginning of the world by every human being." On the other hand, Sir David is of the opinion that it was "never tried by any philosopher but Bacon himself."* And the example he has given us of its application, he continues, "will remain to future ages as a memorable instance of the absurdity of attempting to fetter discovery by any *artificial* rules." "It is an elaborate and correct analysis," says the one, of a process so perfectly natural, that all men practice it; and "it is not likely to be better performed merely because men know how they perform it."† It is so unnatural and artificial, says the other, that no philosopher ever tried it but the author himself, and he only to make a blunder, for the warning and instruction of future ages. It is of no value, says the one, because it is natural; it is of no value, says the other, because it is artificial. No man ever made a discovery in any other way, objects the one; no man ever made a discovery in this way, objects the other. If we may believe the one, the plain man, who seeks the cause which has put his stomach out of order, "proceeds in the strictest conformity with the rules laid down in the second book of the Novum Organum," no less than the philosopher who explores the profound mysteries of nature. If we may believe the other, "the impatience

* Life of Newton, p. 297. † Macauley's Mis., vol. ii, p. 474.

of genius spurns the restraints of mechanical rules, and never will submit to the plodding drudgery of inductive discipline."* Both, certainly, cannot be in the right; and, if we are not mistaken, it may be shown that both are very clearly in the wrong.

But before we proceed to do this, we must notice a still more remarkable discrepancy between Sir David Brewster and—himself. He contends that the successors of Bacon did not derive "the slightest advantage from his precepts."† And yet he confidently affirms that "the necessity of experimental research, and of advancing gradually from the study of facts to the determination of their cause, *through the ground-work of Bacon's method*, is a doctrine which was not only inculcated, but successfully followed, by preceding philosophers. In a letter from Tycho Brahe to Kepler, this industrious astronomer urges his pupil 'to lay a solid foundation for his views by actual observation, and then, by ascending from these, strive to reach the causes of things;' and *it was no doubt under the influence of this advice that Kepler submitted his wildest fancies to the test of observation, and was conducted to his most splendid discoveries.*"‡ Now herein is a very wonderful thing. It is not that the author has contradicted himself in affirming, in one place, that no philosopher ever tried this method but Bacon himself; and, in another, that it was successfully followed by preceding philosophers. It is this:—Sir David says, "that Bacon was a man of powerful genius, and endowed with varied and profound talent—the most skillful logician—the most nervous and eloquent writer of the age he adorned, are points which have been established by universal suffrage." This great man exerted his matchless powers, during a long life, in order to bring his system to perfection; he recommended every part of it by an eloquence which has never been surpassed. His successors derived not "the slightest advantage from his precepts;" and yet a hint respecting the very same method which he recommended, contained in a single sentence from Tycho Brahe, conducted Kepler "to his most splendid discoveries." Such are the inconsistencies into which the best writers are inevitably betrayed whenever they have any other object in view but truth. She is a jealous mistress, and will divide her honors neither with a Newton nor a Bacon.

Sir David Brewster strenuously maintains the position that Newton would have pursued the right method, and "enriched science with the same splendid discoveries, if the name of Bacon had never been heard of." We do not wish to deprive Newton of

* Life of Newton, p. 299. † Ibid., p. 296. ‡ Ibid., p. 295.

his honors in order to deck the brow of Bacon. The glory of Bacon needs no borrowed effulgence. But we think the statements of Sir David are quite too broad and unguarded. He even declares, that "nearly two hundred years have gone by, teeming with the richest fruits of human genius, *and no grateful disciple has appeared to vindicate the rights of the alledged legislator of science.* Even Newton, who was born and educated after the publication of the Novum Organum, never mentions the name of Bacon or his system; and the amiable and indefatigable Boyle treated him with the same disrespectful silence."—P. 297.

The silence of Newton proves nothing. First, because his philosophical writings are so exceedingly brief and condensed in their form, that they did not admit of general speculations about philosophy and philosophers. And, secondly, Newton was a member and president of the Royal Society, which was instituted for the express purpose of trying "the new experimental philosophy;" and which, from the time of its foundation, resounded with the praises of Bacon.

There is testimony on this subject, however, quite as strong as could be desired. Dr. Henry Pemberton, in the introduction to his "View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy," has given an elaborate analysis of the Baconian method; and he concludes by saying, "This is that method of induction whereon all philosophy is founded." He ascribes the splendid discoveries of Newton to the circumstance that he adopted and pursued the method pointed out and recommended by Bacon. This is the most unexceptionable testimony, because Dr. Pemberton was a great admirer of Newton, as well as of Bacon; and, besides, the former had so high an opinion of his learning and ability, that, after the death of Cotes, he employed him to edit the third edition of the Principia. This is not all; *for the work of Dr. Pemberton was read by Newton himself, and received his approbation.*

"An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries" has likewise been given by Maclaurin—a man universally admired for the greatness of his genius. He was one of Newton's most ardent admirers. In this production, we are informed that Newton "used to call his philosophy the *experimental philosophy*, intimating, by the name, the essential difference there is between it and those systems that are the product of genius and invention only." —P. 25. We are not to conclude from such language, however, that either Newton or his disciple intended to deprive Bacon of the glory of having founded the experimental philosophy. The meaning is, that this was Newton's philosophy *by adoption*; for

Maclaurin does not hesitate to say, in the same volume, that "Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord *Verulam*, who was contemporary with *Galileo* and *Kepler*, is justly held among the restorers of true learning, but more especially as the founder of the *experimental philosophy*. . . . He saw there was a necessity for a thorough reformation in the way of treating natural knowledge, and that all theory was to be laid aside that was not founded on experiment. He proposed his plan in his *Instauratio Magna*, with so much strength of argument, and so just a zeal, *as renders that admirable work the delight of all who have a taste for solid learning*."—P. 59. Neither Pemberton nor Maclaurin, then, deemed it any detraction from the glory of Newton to ascribe to Bacon the honor of having founded the philosophy under whose guidance he was conducted to his sublime discoveries.

We have still more conclusive testimony, however, to show that when Newton called the experimental philosophy his philosophy, he merely meant it was his by adoption. In the preface to the second edition of the Principia, Cotes has said, that there are three classes of philosophers; and after disposing of two, he adds,—"There is left the third class, *which profess experimental philosophy*." Having alluded to the method of this philosophy, he says,—"This is that *incomparably best way which our renowned author most justly embraced before the rest, and thought alone worthy to be cultivated and adorned by his excellent labors*." It is well worthy of remark, that this edition of the Principia by Cotes was prepared under the eye of Sir Isaac Newton himself, and received his entire approbation. Indeed, the preface itself was written by Cotes at the special request of Newton. Now, if Bacon was not the father of the experimental philosophy, which Newton embraced before the rest, and determined to cultivate, to whom shall we award so great an honor?

We do not say that Sir David Brewster is bound by these high and impartial authorities, two of which received the sanction of Newton himself; but it seems to us, that they should have precluded the assertion, that "nearly two hundred years have gone by, teeming with the richest fruits of genius, and *no grateful disciple has appeared to vindicate the rights of the alledged legislator of science*." Where, then, is Pemberton, and Maclaurin, and Playfair, and Herschel, and Stewart, and Leibnitz, not to mention a hundred other names, who have contributed to swell the full chorus of Bacon's universal praise? We may truly affirm, that no "legislator of science," whether ancient or modern, whether real or pretended, has ever received more generous applause than has

Bacon from a host of illustrious disciples. His reputation has been absolutely overwhelming. If his rights have not been heretofore vindicated, it is because they have not been assailed.

If Boyle had never read the works of Bacon, nor derived any advantage from them directly, this would not prove that he had not been greatly benefited by them. It is well known that he was a great admirer and student of Gassendi, who, in his turn, was an ardent admirer and devoted disciple of Bacon. We have no doubt that the greater part of Bacon's influence has been exerted in acting upon those who have acted upon the world. But it is not true that Sir Robert Boyle has derived no advantage directly from Bacon's works, or that he has passed over his name in silence. No person familiar with the writings of Bacon can read those of Boyle without perceiving that he is greatly indebted to "the master of wisdom." The pages of his admirable treatise on the "Usefulness of an Experimental Philosophy of Nature" are, in particular, not unfrequently enriched with wisdom, and even adorned with imagery, which must have been suggested to his mind by the writings of Bacon. And in this very treatise he has quoted Bacon as an authority, and called him "that great and solid philosopher."

It is remarkable that, in his attempts to preserve "the proud destiny of Copernicus," Sir David Brewster has objected to the philosophy of Bacon, that it was known before his time. Now this objection, if it has any weight in it, would entirely undermine all the glory of Copernicus. In the preface to Sir Isaac Newton's profound work on "The System of the World," (a work which we have no doubt Sir David has repeatedly read,) the author has mentioned several ancient philosophers by whom the Copernican theory was maintained. It is well known that Copernicus was not the first who conceived the system which goes by his name. He revived that system; he saw its evidences more clearly, and he grasped its commanding positions more firmly than the rest of mankind; and he caused the world to awake to its importance. Such, precisely, is the nature of the services which Bacon rendered to experimental philosophy. It is no derogation from the glory of either, that the truth for which they contended had been advocated, with unequal ability, by preceding philosophers. They have both founded philosophies, which other men had labored in vain to establish.

"It has been attempted by some," says Sir John Herschel, in his most delightful and instructive "Preliminary Discourse to the Study of Natural Philosophy," "to lessen the merit of this great achievement *by showing that the inductive method had been prac-*

ticed in many instances, both ancient and modern, by the mere instinct of mankind; but it is not the introduction of inductive reasoning, as a new and untried process, which characterizes the Baconian philosophy, but his keen perception, and his broad and spirit-stirring, almost enthusiastic, announcement of its paramount importance, as the alpha and omega of science, as the grand and only chain for the linking together of physical truths, and the eventual key to every discovery and every application. Those who would deny him his just glory on such grounds, would refuse to Jenner or to Howard their civic crowns, because a few farmers in a remote province had, time out of mind, been acquainted with vaccination, or philanthropists, in all ages, had occasionally visited the prisoner in his dungeon."—P. 114. Such was the manner in which Sir John Herschel replied to the objection in question, before it was reproduced by either Sir David Brewster or Mr. Macauley. Those who object to Bacon's services on such grounds should certainly not do so in order to uphold the fame of Copernicus, whose system was maintained long before his time. If they would be consistent, they should even withhold the honor which is due to Columbus, because he received hints from preceding navigators, and deduced an argument from the flight of birds.

Sir David Brewster has admitted, it is true, that the greatness of Bacon's genius is established by universal suffrage; but yet if his remarks are true, we should entertain a very mean opinion of Lord Bacon's ability. For he says, that although Tycho Brahe was "skillful in the observation of phenomena, his mind was but little suited to investigate their cause;" and yet he has, according to Sir David, compressed, by anticipation, "the whole Baconian philosophy into a single sentence." Lord Bacon devoted many years of meditation to his philosophy. The first book of the Novum Organum was written over twelve times with his own hand. It would require a greater than Tycho Brahe to compress the whole of it into a single sentence; or else Lord Bacon must have exerted his great powers to render it as thin and attenuated as possible. We shall now take leave of Sir David; and if we have been at all severe or harsh in our strictures on a particular portion of his excellent Life of Newton, it is not because we admire Brewster less, but Bacon more.

Everybody has read Macauley's splendid dissertation on the philosophy of Bacon, which first appeared in the Edinburgh Review, and afterward in his Miscellanies. It is impossible, however, that our admiration should be unqualified, when we perceive that

the brilliant effect of antithesis has been so often substituted for the sober light of truth. Whenever the writer seizes the truth, no one can present it to the mind of the reader with greater fullness or vividness of illustration; but it is seldom that he does seize the truth while treating of the philosophy of Bacon. The reader of this remarkable performance will find it as impossible to forget the bright things which the writer has said, as he will to learn from it the sober things which Bacon has taught. We can hardly resist the conviction, while perusing it, that the author has read the Novum Organum in order to write about it, and has not written about it because he had read it. His account of the philosophy it teaches is certainly the most brilliant, the most showy, and the most superficial thing he has ever written. It is a pity that so beautiful a production should not be true, we admit; and we should not attempt to dispel the fascination and the charm, if we did not agree with the author himself, that "an acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia."

Mr. Macauley has made himself merry with the inductive method, by presenting it in connection with trivial and insignificant instances. Thus, says he, "it is constantly practiced by the most ignorant clown, by the most thoughtless schoolboy, by the very child at the breast. That method leads the clown to expect that if he sows barley, he shall not reap wheat. By that method, the school-boy learns that a cloudy day is best for catching trout. The very infant, we imagine, is led by induction to expect milk from his mother or nurse, and none from his father. . . . A plain man finds his stomach out of order. He never heard Lord Bacon's name. But he proceeds in the strictest conformity with the rules laid down in the second book of the 'Novum Organum,' and satisfies himself that minced pies have done the mischief." Nay, it even seems that it is "induction which leads us to the conclusion that the presence of the sun is the cause of our having more light by day than by night." It is one thing, we have been accustomed to suppose, for a plain man to ascertain the cause which has put his stomach out of order, and quite another for a philosopher to discover the law which keeps the universe in order. It is one thing for an infant to ascertain that it has derived milk from its mother, and not from its father; and quite another for a learned commentator to determine what he has derived from Bacon, and not from himself. The plain truth is, Bacon's method was not designed to teach how infants know the mother's breast, or to teach men that the sun gives light by day. These are discoveries which both children and men make, because they cannot

help making them. These are depths into which all may safely venture, without needing any support from the arm of a Verulam. That he never designed to afford us aid in such cases, must be as plain to every diligent and impartial student of his works, as is the noon-day sun itself. Bacon freely admits, that many things may be easily discovered without the aid of his philosophy, "but," he adds, "before *we are allowed to enter the more remote and hidden parts of nature* it is necessary that a better and more perfect use and application of the human mind and understanding should be introduced."—*Preface to the Novum Organum.* Indeed, if after so many years of meditation, Bacon had merely analyzed the process by which such discoveries as those indicated by his reviewer are made; and then ushered his performance into the world with the magnificent boast, "I have now held up a light in the obscurity of philosophy, which will be seen long after I am dead," he would have deserved anything rather than our admiration.

The reason why Mr. Macauley sets so little value on the philosophy of Bacon, is, that he does not understand it. Take, for example, the following representation of the inductive method of Bacon. Says he,—"We have heard that an eminent judge of the last generation was in the habit of jocosely propounding, after dinner, a theory, that the cause of the prevalence of Jacobinism was the practice of bearing three names. He quoted, on the one side, Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, John Horne Tooke, John Philpot Curran, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Theobald Wolfe Tone. These were *instantia convenientes.* He then proceeded to cite instances *absentiæ in proxime,*—William Pitt, John Scott, William Wyndham, Samuel Horsley, Henry Dundas, Edmund Burke. He might have gone on to instances *secundum magis et minus,*" &c., &c. After selecting other kinds of instances, the writer concludes, "Here is an induction, corresponding with Bacon's analysis, and ending in a monstrous absurdity."

Now, with the learned judge, who "jocosely propounded" this induction, we have no quarrel; it might be well, however, if learned judges would be more careful in future how they joke after dinner, if their jokes are to be mistaken for sound philosophy. The above induction, so far from "corresponding with Bacon's analysis," is an open and flagrant violation of every principle of it.

To set out with a preconceived hypothesis of any kind, and then select such instances as will serve to establish it, overlooking the

rest, is the very course condemned by Bacon. He has repeatedly, and most eloquently, denounced this practice of rising from a few particulars to a general proposition, as "the source of all error." He exhorts us to lay aside every preconceived opinion, and come with clear, unbiased minds to study the works of God. This is the very first lesson to be learned in the school of Bacon. It is flagrantly violated in the induction produced by Mr. Macauley. The learned judge set out with a *preconceived absurdity;* he found in the kingdom of Great Britain six Jacobins with three names, and six anti-Jacobins with two! No very wonderful discovery this! The induction in this case did not lead to the "monstrous absurdity"—the absurdity led to the monstrous induction.

As the supposed induction of Mr. Macauley imbodies a popular error in regard to the analysis of Bacon, we shall proceed still further to expose its violations of that analysis. The above specimen of inductive reasoning is clearly and broadly distinguished from every other mode of induction, whether ancient or modern. The facts on which it is based would authorize a rational being to conclude, that there are some Jacobins with three names, and some anti-Jacobins with two. This is all he should conclude from his facts. Now, let us suppose that the learned judge had gone further, and, instead of six instances, he had found a thousand, in which Jacobins had three names, and as many in which their opponents possessed only two; nay, let us suppose that the same thing were true in relation to all the Jacobins and their opponents throughout the kingdom. He might then have concluded, as a matter of fact, that Jacobins have three names, and their opponents two; but this would not have been a Baconian induction. It fulfills the conditions laid down by Aristotle, who says, "Induction is an inference drawn from *all* the particulars which it comprehends;" but, as we shall see, it is far from meeting the requisitions of the Novum Organum. If we should examine a thousand roses, and, finding them all red, we should conclude that roses are red; this might be an Aristotlean induction, but not a Baconian. It would be an exceedingly frail structure; the very next rose we came across might be white. This method of framing inductions proceeds by the way of simple enumeration: it merely counts up or enumerates all the objects on which it is based, and, finding them to have a *common property*, it states this fact in a compendious form of expression. It simply affirms, that roses are red—that Jacobins have three names. This kind of induction is most emphatically condemned by Bacon. "In forming axioms," says he, "we must invent a different form of induction

from that hitherto in use; not only for the proof and discovery of principles, (as they are called,) but also of minor intermediate; and, in short, every kind of axioms. *The induction which proceeds by simple enumeration is puerile, leads to uncertain conclusions, and is exposed to danger from one contradictory instance.*" —*Nov. Organ.*, book i, aph. 105. To show how utterly puerile, in the estimation of a real Baconian, is the kind of induction furnished by Mr. Macauley, we shall quote from the same page on which it is recorded. "If the learned author of the theory about Jacobinism," says Mr. Macauley, "had enlarged either of his tables a little, his system would have been destroyed. The names of Tom Paine and William Wyndham Grenville would have been sufficient to do the work." Thus, the very induction which the writer says perfectly corresponds with the analysis of Bacon, he himself demolishes by the application of a test which he has unwittingly drawn from the Novum Organum.

This is not the only principle on which, as disciples of Bacon, we should condemn the induction of the learned judge. If we had observed that every known Jacobin had three names, this might enable us to say, that Jacobins, *so far as we had observed*, have three names. This would be a very wonderful coincidence, if it existed, but not a discovery in science. We could not conclude from such a coincidence, that "the practice of bearing three names *is the cause* of Jacobinism." The inductive method of Bacon presupposes that man is a rational animal; that given by Mr. Macauley presupposes him to be devoid of reason and common sense. It is what Bacon calls an empirical induction; and its deficiency is very clearly marked by him. "The empiric school," says he, "produces dogmas of a more deformed and monstrous nature than the sophistic or theoretic school; *not being founded in the light of common notions.*"—*Nov. Organ.*, book i, aph. 64. And again, —"We must not only search for, and procure a greater number of experiments, but also introduce a completely different method, order, and progress of continuing and promoting experience. For vague and *arbitrary experience* is (as we have observed) *mere groping in the dark*, and *rather astonishes than instructs.*"—*Nov. Organ.*, aph. 100. The process pursued by the learned judge, perfected and held up by Mr. Macauley as a true specimen of the Baconian method, could not have been more clearly described, or its puerility and folly more impressively pointed out by Lord Bacon, if it had been actually before him. We might point out other particulars if it were necessary, and our limits would permit, in which the example in question very widely departs from the

directions given by Lord Bacon; but surely these are sufficient.

The learned writer does not seem to have caught the most distant glimpse of the grand problem which Bacon proposed to himself, and which the Novum Organum is designed to solve. A knowledge of this problem will place the key to the Baconian method in our hands, and serve to correct many erroneous notions in regard to it. Let us, then, see what it is. Preceding philosophers, in the opinion of Bacon, had attempted to obtain a knowledge of nature in one of two ways. According to one method, they set out with certain abstract conceptions, or universal propositions, or ideas, from which they had attempted to deduce the nature and order of things in the external world. This is called by Bacon the sophistic or theoretic method. Those philosophers who have thus spun systems of the world out of their own brains, he compares to spiders that spin their web out of the substance of their own bowels. "The wit and mind of man," says he, "if it work upon matter, *which is the contemplation of the creatures of God*, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, *then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of the thread and work, but of no substance or profit.*"—*Advancement of Learning*, book i, pp. 170, 171.

The other, in the language of Bacon, is "the empiric method." This rejects "the light of common notions," which he elsewhere calls "reason." Hence it is "a mere groping in the dark." It feels its way instead of seeing it. It has no guiding principle—no polar star—no compass. It is confined to the dark shore; it dare not explore the great ocean of discovery. What it handles and feels, it knows; and beyond this it cannot pronounce. This method, says Bacon, "produces dogmas of a more deformed and monstrous nature than the sophistic or theoretic. . . . This kind of experience is nothing but a loose fagot, and mere groping in the dark, as men at night try all means of discovering the right road; while it would be better, and more prudent, either to wait for day, or procure a light, and then proceed."—*Nov. Organ.*, book i, aph. 82 Those who have pursued this method, he compares to ants, that are careful to deprive whatever they collect of the power to germinate, so that it is unfruitful and barren. The inductions, formed according to this method, are as blind and arbitrary as that of the learned judge who constructed the theory about Jacobinism.

Now, seeing that philosophers had, in all ages, followed the one

or the other of these partial and exclusive methods, to the infinite detriment of human knowledge, Lord Bacon undertook to establish a real and legitimate union between them. He did not wish to grope in the dark with the blind empiric, nor to soar in the blaze of grand abstractions with "the well-bred sophister." He wished to study nature, to contemplate the creatures of God, "in the true and genuine humiliation of the human soul," both in the light of reason and the light of experiment wisely combined. There never was a falser notion, though it is a common one, that there is an affinity between the Baconian philosophy and empiricism. The most eloquent passage which has ever been penned on such a subject, he concludes with the lofty declaration, that "we think we have established for ever the real and legitimate union of *the empiric and the rational faculties, whose sullen and inauspicious divorces and repudiations have disturbed everything in the great family of mankind.*"—*Preface to the Novum Organum.*

If Mr. Macauley's account of the Baconian philosophy be correct, it entirely rejects and repudiates the rational faculty. It pursues an absurdity with as much zeal as it does a rational conception. Bacon the father of the empiric school! Empirics are, and ever have been, too prone to call themselves Baconian philosophers; and it is to be regretted that the most brilliant and fascinating writer of the Edinburgh Review should have given his sanction to their absurd pretensions.

As Mr. Macauley, in his attempt to do the contrary, has so clearly shown what the inductive process recommended by Bacon *is not*, let us see what it really *is*. This may be best seen in a single case, which fulfills and illustrates the conditions prescribed by Bacon. Sir Isaac Newton, then, having examined twenty-two different substances, found that the forces with which they refracted light were very nearly proportioned to their densities. He observed a remarkable exception to this law in several substances; all of which were combustible. It occurred to him, that there might be, and probably was, some connection or bond of union between the high refractive power of these substances and their combustibility. Hence, he conjectured that the *diamond*, which likewise possessed a high refractive power, was an inflammable substance. This conjecture, it is well known, was afterward verified by experiment. The same law was also found, by Sir David Brewster, to obtain in relation to phosphorus; and it was still further extended, by M. M. Arego and Biot, to hydrogen. Thus, the induction is established, that substances possessing high re-

fractive powers, when compared with their densities, are inflammable.

Now let us mark the wide difference between this induction and that of the learned judge. The one seeks to establish a *preconceived absurdity;* the other, to verify a *rational* conception. The one proceeds not in "the light of a common notion;" the other proceeds under the guidance of a connection between things, *which is suggested by observation, and not contradicted by reason.* The true induction fairly appealed to experiment, in order to obtain a knowledge of things; the false, carefully selected its *instantiæ convenientes*, in order to support a wild and crazy phantom of the brain. The one supposes that man is possessed of a rational faculty, for which he has some use; the other supposes that he is a poor blind empiric, equally in love with monsters and fables as with the truth itself. In short, the one is a Baconian induction, and the other is a Macaulean.

The difference between the induction which led to the "monstrous absurdity" about Jacobinism, and one which leads to a discovery of truth, consists, says Mr. Macauley, "not in the kind of instances, but in the number of instances." And he asks, "What is slight evidence? What collection of facts is scanty? Will ten instances do, or fifty, or a hundred?" We answer, If he would convince us that "the practice of bearing three names is the cause of the prevalence of Jacobinism," neither ten, nor fifty, nor a hundred instances will do. If he would persuade us out of our reason, the collection of a thousand facts would be scanty. It is plain, that the difference between such an induction and one leading to truth, does *not* consist in the number of instances, but in the nature of the induction. No number of instances could ever convince us that the crowing of the cock is the cause of the sun's rising.

Since Mr. Macauley entertained so imperfect a notion of the method analyzed by Bacon, it is no wonder he should have believed that Bacon had been anticipated by Aristotle. This remark has been repeatedly made since the publication of the Analysis of Aristotle's works by Dr. Gillies; but it has been made by no one, we believe, who had formed correct views of the induction of Aristotle and that of Bacon. It is very remarkable that this objection, which has been anticipated and fully answered by Bacon himself, should be so often reproduced by authors who have taken no notice whatever of Bacon's reply to it. "Others may object," says he, "that we are only doing that which has already been done, and that the ancients followed the same course with our-

selves. . . . But to any one," he truly adds, "not entirely forgetful of our previous observations, it will be easy to answer this objection, or rather scruple."—*Nov. Organ.*, book i, aph. 125.

But it is objected, as we have seen, that the process analyzed and recommended by Bacon "has been practiced ever since the beginning of the world by every human being." Every human being has tried to practice some such process, we admit; but yet have even ingenious men very often mistaken a process like that of the learned judge for a true induction. But suppose the above assertion were perfectly true, to what does it amount? It is not pretended that all men have performed the inductive process equally well; and hence the necessity of giving direction and assistance to their efforts.

Every art has preceded its corresponding science. Men talked, and reasoned, and declaimed, before grammar, or logic, or rhetoric were reduced to principle. They fought battles before the science of war and fortification was heard of. They traded, and grew rich or became poor, before political economy was ever dreamed of as a science. Indeed, no art can be mentioned which was not practiced before its corresponding science had an existence. Nothing can be more futile, then, than to object to the usefulness of any science, that the art which it is designed to cultivate and perfect was practiced before the science was known. If this objection is good against one science, it is good against all; and all scientific learning must be swept away.

Locke spurns the logic of Aristotle, because he is quite sure that the Almighty did not merely make us two-legged creatures, and leave it to Aristotle to make us rational beings. But neither Aristotle nor Bacon imagined that they were going to make rational creatures of us. If these philosophers had undertaken to analyze and describe any process which is not natural to the mind, they would have conferred no benefit upon us. They would have laid down laws for the operation of the human mind, which nature itself would have rendered it impossible for us to pursue. The very circumstance, then, which should have formed the subject of their praise, has been made the ground of their censure. It was not their design to render man a rational being, but to reveal to him the processes of his own mind, in order that he might perform them with the greater certainty, and more uniform effect, as well as to point out his manifold dangers in order that he might escape them. Nature might have been left to herself if she had not been eternally drawn from her course by the operation of mighty causes, whose influence had not been suspected. They

wished to lay no artificial restraints upon nature, but to take off those restraints which had rendered her course so unequal, and her efforts so unavailing. This was the avowed design of Bacon. He condemns "the induction which the logicians speak of;" because "it is the duty of art to perfect and exalt nature;" and "he that shall attentively observe how the mind doth gather this excellent dew of knowledge," shall find "that the mind of herself by nature doth manage and act an induction much better than they describe it."—*Advancement of Learning.* And again, in relation to the Novum Organum, he says, "It is at least new, even in its very nature; *but copied from a very ancient pattern, no other than the world itself, and the nature of things, and of the mind.*"—*Letter to King James.* If any one would judge Bacon, let him not do so on principles which he has expressly repudiated. He has professed to copy from nature; and let not this be objected against him until it be shown to be a defect; until it be shown that he might have found a better model than the work of God.

Lord Bacon did not lay so great stress on the second book of the Novum Organum as we should be led to suppose from the writings of those who have endeavored to lessen his merits. Sir David Brewster and Mr. Macauley, in particular, have passed over the first book entirely, and directed their animadversions against the second. This is exceedingly unfair; especially as the first has always been regarded as by far the most valuable, and as it was so regarded by Bacon himself. It is in the following language (with which he concludes the first book of the Novum Organum) that he shows what estimate he placed on "the elaborate and correct analysis" of the second:—

"But it is time for us to lay down the art of interpreting nature; to which we attribute no absolute necessity (as if nothing could be done without it) nor perfection, although we think our precepts most useful and correct. For we are of opinion, that if men had at their command a proper history of nature and experience, and would apply themselves steadily to it, and could bind themselves to two things—1. To lay aside received opinions and notions; 2. To restrain themselves, till the proper season, from generalization, they might, by the proper and genuine exertion of their minds, fall into our way of interpretation without the aid of any art. For interpretation is the true and natural act of the mind, *when all obstacles are removed;* certainly, however, everything will be more ready and better fixed by our precepts."

Now, it was the object of the first book of the Novum Organum to bind the mind to these two things, and to remove all obstacles out of the way; and, hence, if any man will follow it, he will,

according to Bacon himself, stand in no need of the analysis contained in the second. Newton stood in no need of that analysis; he could proceed without it; but it does not follow from hence, that he derived no advantage from the philosophy of Bacon.

Having considered the objections of Mr. Macauley to the Baconian philosophy, we shall now proceed to notice what he has said in its praise. "The chief peculiarity of Bacon's philosophy," says he, "seems to us to have been this,—that he aimed at things altogether different from those which his predecessors had proposed to themselves. . . . The more carefully his works are examined, the more clearly, we think, it will appear that this is the real clew to his whole system; and that he used means different from those used by other philosophers, because he wished to arrive at an end altogether different from theirs. . . . What, then, was the end which Bacon proposed to himself? It was, to use his own emphatic expression, 'fruit.' It was the multiplying of human enjoyments and the mitigating of human sufferings. . . . Two words form the key of the Baconian philosophy—utility and progress. . . . We conceive that from this peculiarity all the other peculiarities of his system directly, and almost necessarily, sprang." We might quote various other passages in which the writer asserts that "the useful" is the grand object of pursuit which is proposed by the philosophy of Bacon; and that if other men had proposed the same end, they would have been led to adopt the same means; but we presume that the above extracts are amply sufficient to set his views, on this subject, in a clear and satisfactory light. Are those views correct? This is a deeply interesting question; for the end which a philosopher proposes to himself is all in all.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that Bacon supposed he would be misconceived, and that he would be unjustly reproached for having made "the useful" the chief end of his philosophy. He did not dream that this would ever be held up, not only as the grand peculiarity, but as the distinctive glory of his philosophy. Since he is so directly in conflict with Mr. Macauley respecting the chief end of his philosophy, we must give this striking passage in his own words. Says Bacon,—

"Another objection will, without doubt, be made, namely, that we have not ourselves established a correct, or the best goal or aim of the sciences, (the very defect we blame in others.) For, they will say, that the contemplation of truth is more dignified and exalted than any *utility or extent of effects:* but that our dwelling so long and anxiously on experience and matter, and the fluctuating state of particulars, fastens the mind to earth, or casts it down into an abyss of confusion and

disturbance, and separates and removes it from a much more divine state, the quiet and tranquillity of abstract wisdom."

Now, does not Bacon reject such reasoning with scorn? Does he pour the contempt upon it which his reviewer uniformly makes him pour upon all speculation that has no direct or immediate use in view? His reply, we are aware, will shock Mr. Macauley's sense of propriety; but the question is not what is proper, but what has Bacon taught. He instantly adds, "*We willingly assent to their reasoning*, AND ARE MOST ANXIOUS TO EFFECT THE VERY POINT THEY HINT AT AND REQUIRE." Yes, Bacon was most anxious, as his whole philosophy shows, to exalt the truth above utility or any extent of effects. We are most anxious to accomplish this very end, says he, in a noble strain of eloquence,—

"For we are founding a real model of the world in the understanding, such as it is found to be, not such as man's reason has distorted. Now, this cannot be done without dissecting and anatomizing the world most diligently; but we declare it necessary to destroy completely the vain, little, and, as it were, apish imitations of the world, which have been formed in various systems of philosophy by men's fancies. Let men learn (as we have said above) the difference that exists between the idols of the human mind and the ideas of the divine mind. The former are mere arbitrary abstractions; the latter, the true marks of the Creator on his creatures, as they are imprinted on, and defined in, matter, by true and exquisite touches. Truth, therefore, and utility are here perfectly identical, and THE EFFECTS ARE OF MORE VALUE AS PLEDGES OF TRUTH THAN FROM THE BENEFIT THEY CONFER ON MEN."

Bacon was not a utilitarian; he was a philosopher. Utility and progress are not the two words which form the key to his philosophy; they are—truth and utility.

Bacon has taken the utmost pains to guard against such a misconception of his philosophy. In the most elaborate attempt which he has ever made to state its end and aim, he bestows the most exalted praise upon all useful arts; but yet he is careful to add, that "the contemplation of things as they are, free from superstition or imposture, error or confusion, *is much more dignified in itself than all the advantage to be derived from discoveries*."—*Nov. Organ.*, book i, aph. 129.

We do not deny that the philosophy of Bacon is deeply imbued with the spirit of that *philanthropia*, which was so rooted and "fixed in his mind that it could not be removed." This, unquestionably, forms one of the grand and distinguishing features of his philosophy. His great soul, yearning over the sad condition of the human race, often seems to labor to give utterance to his in-

tense desire "to relieve man's estate." This spirit was imbibed neither from the school of Plato, nor of Aristotle; it was drunk in at the feet of an humble Nazarene. He delighted to repeat, that the great Physician of the soul did not disdain to be also the physician of the body: as his doctrine was delivered for the good of the one, said he, so his miracles were wrought for the benefit of the other. Hence, "the majestic humility," of which Mr. Macauley has so well spoken, "the persuasion that nothing can be too insignificant for the attention of the wisest, which is not too insignificant to give pleasure or pain to the meanest." This feeling of divine sympathy with mankind has inspired some of the finest bursts of eloquence to be found in Bacon's writings. He says,—

"It may be truly affirmed that there was never any philosophy, religion, or other discipline, which did so plainly and highly exalt the good which is communicative, and depress the good which is private and particular, as the holy faith; well declaring, that it was the same God that gave the Christian law to men, who gave those laws to inanimate creatures, that we spake of before; for we read that the elected saints of God have wished themselves anathematized and razed out of the book of life, in an ecstasy of charity and infinite feeling of communion."—*Advancement of Learning.*

But how desirous soever Bacon may have been to mitigate the sufferings, and to multiply the enjoyments, of the human race, we deny that he made the useful the great end of his philosophy. This is not its distinguishing peculiarity, "from which all its other peculiarities naturally flow." To exhibit his philosophy in this light, is to represent it, not "such as it is found to be, but such as it is distorted." If, in painting a portrait, all the features should be merged in the mouth, or compressed into the nose, however beautiful that particular feature might be in itself, it would be the picture of a monster rather than of a man. In like manner, to represent utility as the first and all-comprehending element of the Baconian philosophy, is violently to distort the admirable proportion and relation of its parts.

In truth, the Baconian philosophy is divided into two parts, namely, "Speculative Natural Philosophy" and "Operative Natural Philosophy." The object of the first is the discovery of truth; the object of the second, the application of truth to human uses. By the one, we make "inquisition of causes;" by the other, we secure "production of effects." By the one, we obtain a knowledge of the secrets and powers of nature; by the other, we bend down these great powers, and compel them to do the

work and drudgery of man. The one is the eye, and the other is the hand, of his philosophy. They are co-ordinate members thereof; and if either is subordinate, it is the operative branch; for, as we have seen, "the effects are of more value as pledges of truth than from the benefit they confer on men." Such may not be the philosophy of others; but such is the philosophy of Bacon.

As for truth, this is to be sought first, and for the intrinsic satisfaction and delight it affords the mind. Says Bacon,—

"The pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning far surpasseth all other in nature. . . . We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they are used, their verdure departeth; which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality: and, therefore, we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeareth *to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident.*"—*Advancement of Learning.*

So far from having represented "the useful" as the *alpha* and *omega* of philosophy, nobly has he rebuked those who have corrupted and retarded the progress of truth by their premature and extreme devotion to it. He says,—

"We must by no means omit observing that all the industry displayed in experiment has, from the very first, *caught with a too hasty and intemperate zeal at some determined effect;* has sought, (I say,) *productive* rather than *enlightening* experiments, and *has not imitated the divine method, which on the first day created light alone, and assigned it one whole day, producing no material works thereon, but* DESCENDING *to their creation on the following days.*"—*Pref. to Nov. Organ.*

And again, those noisy empirics, those little contracted utilitarians, who can neither perceive the intrinsic majesty and glory of truth itself, nor grasp the great idea of Bacon's philosophy, that "TRUTH IS NEVER BARREN," have been more finely reproved by the author of the Advancement of Learning than by any other philosopher. How is the sound of the "*cui bono*," which they are eternally ringing in the ears of the cultivator of "the speculative philosophy," drowned and lost in the following strain of masculine and dignified eloquence:—

"If men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do; nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: so

if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from them served and supplied. And *this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because the fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage.* For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not anything you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mold about the roots, that must work it."—*Advancement of Learning.*

When we pass from the pages of Lord Bacon, in which we find so much in praise of a simple inquiry after truth, to those of his distinguished reviewer, we cannot but feel that we have undergone a painful descent, and that we breathe a wholly different atmosphere. "If others had aimed at the same object with Bacon," says he, "we hold it to be certain that they would have employed the same method with Bacon. It would have been hard to convince Seneca that the inventing of a safety lamp was an employment worthy of a philosopher. It would have been hard to persuade Thomas Aquinas to descend from the making of syllogisms to the making of gunpowder. But Seneca would never have doubted for a moment that it was only by a series of experiments that a safety lamp could be invented. Thomas Aquinas would never have thought that his *barbara* and *baralipton* would enable him to ascertain the proportion which charcoal ought to bear to saltpetre in a pound of gunpowder. Neither common sense nor Aristotle would suffer him to fall into such an absurdity." Thus, it seems, that the learned reviewer of Bacon would, in theory at least, have philosophers to lay aside the framing of brilliant conceits, like those of Seneca, and abstruse speculations, like those of Thomas Aquinas, and betake themselves to the constructing of safety lamps, the making of gunpowder, and such like useful occupations. This may be very sound philosophy; we call it not in question now; but is it the Baconian philosophy? Does "the master of wisdom" teach us to abandon ourselves at once to "productive experiments," in order to find our way to "enlightening experiments?" Does he teach us to study the fundamental knowledges in passage? Does he teach us to bestow all our labor upon the boughs of the tree, and none upon the roots? Does he teach us to lop off and strike out the great central and digestive function of human knowledge, by which truth is first discovered and elaborated, in order to be afterward carried off and applied to use? We have already answered these questions out of Lord Bacon himself; and we shall only add the following from his tract in Praise of Knowledge:—"Shall we not as well discern

the riches of nature's warehouse as the benefit of her shop? Is truth ever barren?"

It is very plain, we think, that Mr. Macauley is greatly enamored of the operative branch of philosophy, and has but little affection for the speculative. The former alone is properly termed philosophy, the great end and aim of which is the discovery of truth; the latter should be called art, the great object of which is to produce the useful and the beautiful. If the speculative branch was unduly elevated by some of the ancients at the expense of the operative, the latter has been as extravagantly magnified by Mr. Macauley at the expense of the former. Indeed, his intense scorn of all speculation, which has not a direct palpable use in view, has given point and piquancy to some of the most brilliant antitheses of his production. The fine sayings which blaze on the pages of Seneca, especially, seem to have called down the severest strokes of his ridicule. "We shall next be told," exclaims Seneca, "that the first shoemaker was a philosopher." "For our own part," replies Macauley, "if we are forced to make our choice between the first shoemaker, and the author of the three books 'On Anger,' we pronounce for the shoemaker. It may be worse to be angry than to be wet. But shoes have kept thousands from being wet; and we doubt whether Seneca ever kept anybody from being angry." With all Mr. Macauley's "love of the vulgar useful," we doubt whether he ever made a pair of shoes. We are certain he has framed conceits as splendid as those of Seneca himself; and we doubt whether they are vastly more solid or useful.

We do not object to the useful. In its proper place, it cannot be too highly esteemed. But we do not wish it to intrude into our inquiries after the truth. We wish it to be an after-thought and an after-work. Let art appropriate every truth, if possible, in the whole range of science, and apply it to every use which can, in the least degree, tend to alleviate the suffering or promote the enjoyment of man. Herein is the sphere of the useful; and here let it reign supreme. But let it not be set up as the end of philosophy, as the goal at which we are to aim in our inquiries. The love of the useful is the good genius of the arts; it is the evil genius of science. It is the little, sneering demon, which has attended every great discovery. It mocked at the "*swing-swangs*" of Hooke; and yet the swing-swangs of Hooke led to an improvement in the clock, as well as other valuable inventions. It poured ridicule on Boyle's experiments on the elasticity of the air; and yet experiments on the elasticity of the air continued to be made

until they ended in the steam-engine. It looked down with a sovereign sneer on the grave philosopher, who, with sapient eye, curiously pried into the jerking of a frog's leg: but the philosopher went on with this prying, which seemed to be the most unpromising of all idle curiosity, until the truth which he discovered enabled him to construct the "Voltaic pile," that mighty instrument of modern times; by which the science of chystology has been created; the wonders of chemistry revealed; the *materia medica* enriched beyond all conception; in short, by which the world has been incalculably benefited. Appolonius was governed by the love of abstract truth alone, when he spent his days and nights in discussing the properties of the conic sections. He did not dream of the sublime uses to which, two thousand years afterward, his discoveries would be applied, in helping to unveil the mechanism of the heavens, and to display the inconceivable wonders of creative wisdom. And but for some superficial uses, which must have struck the minds of all, the German who industriously constructed his glasses, and put them together, in order to look through them at distant objects, would have met with the ridicule and scorn of the same little spirit of utilitarianism. But his labors led Galileo to construct the telescope, with which he pierced the depths of the universe, and beheld the glory of its "wilderness of suns."

In one word, the whole history of science shows the absurdity and folly of setting up the useful as the guiding principle of inquiry. In philosophy, the great question is, What is truth? The philosopher well knows, that apparently the most insignificant truth may be attended with important results, of which he can, at first, form no conception. It may lead to a hundred uses of which he does not dream; these uses may lead to the discovery of other truths; which, in their turn, may be followed by other uses; and so on in endless and wide-spreading progression. The man, then, who would fetter discovery, by our perceptions of the useful, is not the benefactor of his fellow-man. He would, indeed, extinguish the light of science, and cripple the energies of art. He would devote the one to blindness, and the other to barrenness.

Mr. Macauley has well said, that "the knowledge in which Bacon excelled all men, was a knowledge of the mutual relations of all departments of knowledge." He saw precisely the relation of the true and the useful. The first was the great end of his philosophy. The Novum Organum, or New Machine, as he has called it, was not a new machine for the making of shoes, or the constructing of steam-engines, but for "the building up of the sciences." It was an instrument designed to help the human mind

in "the interpretation of nature," the constructing of "axioms," the discovery of truth. This, we repeat, was the great leading object of his philosophy. It was not the pursuit of new continents, but the pursuit of new truth, which enabled him to bear up under all the difficulties that surrounded him. He says,—

"We, for our part at least, overcome by the eternal love of truth, have committed ourselves to uncertain, steep, and desert tracks, and, trusting and relying on divine assistance, have borne up our mind against the violence of opinions, drawn up, as it were, in battle array against our own internal doubts and scruples, against the mists and clouds of nature, and against fancies flitting on all sides around us; that we might at length collect some more trustworthy and certain indications for the living and posterity."

Yet the mistake of Mr. Macauley is not unnatural. It is very evident that "the vulgar useful" is the great end and aim of his philosophy; and, hence, in contemplating the philosophy of Bacon, he very naturally concluded that the little planet in which he himself dwells is the great centre of the system.

We have been greatly surprised to find Bacon placed at the head of the sensuous philosophy. We have before us an exceedingly valuable little "History of Philosophy," which forms a part of the Harpers' Family Library, and which contains the following passage:—"The principle laid down by Bacon, *that sensations are the sole matter of which the tissue of human knowledge is formed*, contained a whole psychology; but, before it could develop itself completely, this principle was applied to cosmology by Gassendi, to morals and politics by Hobbes. Then it produced its proper psychology in the works of Locke and Condillac."—Vol. ii, p. 31. This little work is, in general, very correct; but in this particular it is greatly at fault. No evidence is produced in support of the above assertion; and we can only say, at present, that although we have repeatedly read all the writings of Lord Bacon, we have never met with a single passage in which any such principle is laid down, or from which it can be fairly deduced. There is as great an affinity between Plato and Bacon as there is between Bacon and Hobbes. Indeed, Bacon represents the harmonious combination of the two opposite philosophies of which Plato and Hobbes are the principal types. Hobbes has merely appropriated the sensuous elements of Bacon's philosophy, and despised the other, for the same reason that the cock in the fable preferred the barleycorn to the gem. It has fared with Bacon not otherwise than it did with Aristotle; he has been often judged and condemned, as well as praised and admired, for the errors and follies of his pretended disciples.

The sharp and striking contrasts which Mr. Macauley has presented between Plato and Bacon, seem to us better calculated to produce an effect than to elucidate the truth. "To sum up the whole," says he, "we should say that the aim of the Platonic philosophy was to exalt man into a god. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to provide man with what he requires while he continues man. The aim of the Platonic philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to supply our vulgar wants. . . . Plato drew a good bow; but, like Acestes in Virgil, he aimed at the stars; and, therefore, though there was no want of strength or skill, the shot was thrown away. His arrow was indeed followed by a dazzling track of radiance, but it struck nothing. Bacon fixed his eye on a mark which was placed on the earth, and within bow-shot, and hit it in the white." It is true, that the philosophy of Bacon aims to supply our vulgar wants, and not to raise us above them; but it also has as high and lofty an aim as the philosophy of Plato, or any other philosophy. If it be praise to have one's highest aim "set on the earth," it is praise to which Bacon is not entitled. In imitating the spirit of Him who wrought miracles for the good of the body, he did not forget that "his doctrine was delivered for the benefit of the soul." "The main and primitive division of moral knowledge," saith he, "seemeth to be into the exemplar or platform of good, and the regiment or culture of the mind; the one describing the nature of good, the other prescribing rules how to subdue, apply, and accommodate the will of man thereunto." The exemplar of good which he proposes as our model is no less than the character of God himself. "Aspiring to be like unto God in power," he says, "the angels transgressed and fell; by aspiring to be like unto God in knowledge, man transgressed and fell; but by aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness or love, neither man nor angel ever transgressed, or shall transgress. *For unto that imitation we are called.*"—*Advancement of Learning.* It is not easy to conceive how a higher aim could possibly be proposed. It is set far above the earth. It looks infinitely higher than our vulgar wants.

It was not the fault of Plato's philosophy that it aimed at the stars; it was the fault of human nature that it did not reach so high an aim. There is an old adage, in relation to moral conduct, which says, "*Aim at the stars*, and your arrow will fly higher than if you take a meaner aim." It is not the business of the moral philosopher to recommend errors and imperfections to our imitation. Notwithstanding all the scorn and ridicule which have been

poured on the precepts of Seneca, we cannot doubt his wisdom in saying, that "it is the mark of a generous spirit to aim at what is lofty; to attempt what is arduous; and ever to keep in view what it is impossible for the most splendid talents to accomplish." An infinitely wiser than Seneca has said, "Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect."

Mr. Macauley admits that what Bacon has done for the inductive philosophy, has never been too highly estimated; but he places his sole and exclusive merit in this, that he set up the vulgar useful as the great end of philosophy. By this feature, his philosophy is distinguished from that of all his predecessors. What! was Bacon the first utilitarian? Did the nature of man undergo a great and radical transformation about his time? Does not Mr. Macauley himself tell us of the scorn with which Plato regarded "the vulgar crowd of geometricians," who "have practice always in view?"

It is well known that Socrates brought down philosophy from heaven to earth; because he deemed the study of moral and political science to be highly useful, and the study of natural philosophy to be vain and fruitless. It was under the guidance of the principle of utility that Socrates effected a great revolution in philosophy; and hence, this could not have been the distinguishing peculiarity of Bacon's labors, when he brought about a counter-revolution, and carried philosophy back from earth to heaven, or, rather, extended her dominion over both the heavens and the earth.

"True to this principle," says Mr. Macauley, "Bacon indulged in no rants about the fitness of things, the all sufficiency of virtue, and the dignity of human nature." As for the last, Bacon well knew that the dignity of human nature consisted in the hope set before it, and not in its possessions. Of the sufficiency of virtue he has said no less than this: "Certainly, it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth." We doubt if a loftier or more beautiful sentiment can be found in any writer of antiquity. It is true, Bacon says nothing about "the fitness of things;" he merely speaks of "the harmony of nature." Indeed, all the great philosophers of all ages have been deeply impressed with the idea, that the most perfect order and harmony prevail in the world; and this conviction is everywhere manifested in the writings of Bacon. There is this difference, however, between Plato and Bacon. Plato first drew his ideas of order and perfection from his own mind; and then expected to find this model realized in the uni-

verse of God. Bacon considered that this was an error, which sprung from a too great and "superstitious reverence of the human intellect;" and being fully persuaded, that the order and harmony which God had actually established was more wonderful than anything that had entered the imagination of man, he sought for the true model, not in "the little world within," but in "the great world without." In order to obtain a view of the divine harmony which pervades that, he wished to destroy all "the vain, little, and, as it were, apish imitations of the world, which had been formed in various systems of philosophy by men's fancies."

"Nature delights in harmony," he has repeatedly said, "and scarcely admits of anything isolated or solitary." He did not profess to have obtained a view of this harmony; but he longed to behold it. In his estimation, there is no pleasure on earth like that which the mind would derive from an ability to rise above the apparent darkness and perturbation of the world, and to behold the real order and harmony which God had established in the universe. If the sublime idea of Newton, that all things in heaven and earth are governed by the same law, was first suggested to his mind by the falling of an apple, it must have been because he had not read all the writings of Bacon. In his *De Augmentis* he says,—

"Whosoever shall reject the feigned divorces of the superlunary and of the sublunary bodies, and shall intentively observe the appetites of matter, and the most universal passions, (which, in either globe, are exceeding potent, and transorberate the universal nature of things,) *he shall receive clear information concerning celestial matters from the things seen here with us!* and contrawise from those motions which are practiced in heaven; he shall learn many observations which now are latent, touching the motions of bodies here below; not only so far as these inferior motions are moderated by the superior, *but in regard they have a mutual intercourse by passions common to both.*"

And again,—

"Our chiefest hope and dependence in the consideration of the celestial bodies, is, therefore, placed in physical reasons, though not such as are commonly so called; *but those laws, which no diversity of place or region can abolish, break through, disturb,* or *alter.*"

How widely does this last sentiment differ from the doctrine of Aristotle, which placed the superlunary and sublunary bodies under entirely different laws; and how high does it rise above the conceptions of Galileo on the same subject, as well as of every other philosopher who preceded Newton! No philosopher ever entertained a more profound conviction of the union and harmony of all nature than Bacon; and if he never spoke "of the fitness of

things," it was because the language was too small for the grandeur and magnificence of his conceptions.

We must now take a reluctant leave of Bacon and his critics. We might have noticed many other strictures which have been offered upon his philosophy; but we have wished to confine ourselves to those which present questions of the greatest interest and importance to our consideration. Having derived our knowledge of Bacon's philosophy from a careful study of his works, we have been greatly surprised at the gross caricatures and misrepresentations of it which are afloat in the world; and we have been desirous to correct them. If our imperfect endeavors in this way shall have the effect of inducing other persons to study for themselves those great and wonderful productions, from which we have derived so much instruction and delight, our object will be fully attained. The student of Bacon will often find himself transported with views of the grand and beautiful, but never lost or bewildered in the cloudy heights of the transcendental. He says,—

"We do not desire to assume or acquire any majestic state for these our discoveries, by the triumph of confutations, the citing of antiquity, the usurpation of authority, *or even the veil of obscurity*, which would easily suggest themselves to one endeavoring to throw light upon his own name, rather than the minds of others. . . . *We exhibit things plainly and openly*, SO THAT OUR ERRORS CAN BE NOTED AND SEPARATED BEFORE THEY CORRUPT ANY FURTHER THE MASS OF SCIENCES."

Nor, on the other hand, will he who carefully and candidly studies this great master ever find himself shut up in the narrow confines of a sensuous philosophy, which necessarily excludes the light of a spiritual world, and of all divine things. In one word, he will find that Lord Bacon is the master of no school or sect; but that he is as he has been well called, "the master of wisdom."

ART. III.—*On certain Prejudices existing in the Community against Labor, against educated and professional Men, and against Men of Wealth.*

THERE are often found in communities constituted like our own certain prevalent notions or prejudices, as they may be termed, which have their origin in the circumstances and modes of thinking that pertain to different classes and orders of society, and which, if cherished and suffered to gain strength and widely diffuse themselves, are attended with danger. At least they tend to hinder that mutual co-operation, that carrying forward together of the common work, which the prosperity of each individual, of each class, and of the whole, imperiously demands. They tend also to mar the happiness and disturb the quiet of the social state, creating jealousies and strifes, and arraying against each other those who should dwell together as brethren. And when, as it sometimes happens, these prejudices connect themselves with civil divisions, and serve as the foundations of political parties, they even threaten the ruin and overthrow of the state. Such was the Agrarian party in ancient Rome; and such were some of the factions which led to the overthrow of the French monarchy. It will readily occur, that the prejudices of which we speak are the results of limited views, of looking at subjects in wrong lights, and through an obscuring and distorting medium. Hence, all which seems required to set the mind free from these wrong biases and erroneous notions, is to get on to higher ground, to rise above obscuring mists and deceitful shadows, and, looking over a wider and more extended field of vision, to see better the bearings of things,—to discern not only how they may affect our own interests, but their bearings on the welfare of others, and on the public good.

Let us then consider some of the more obvious and widely diffused prejudices of the kind to which we have referred. Let us endeavor distinctly to learn what these erroneous impressions are, in what views they have their origin, and what can, and may, be done for their correction and removal.

And here we may incidentally remark, that there is especial need of this attempt in a free, representative government, such as we enjoy. Divisions and parties will indeed always be found in a republic; for those who have freedom of thought and speech on questions of national policy will not always think alike on such topics. But it is ever deemed important that the grounds of party divisions should have as little of permanency attached to them as possible.

And such in truth they most generally are;—mere foundations of sand heaped together by some strong conflict of elemental strife, to be scattered by the succeeding commotion. But let a party in the state be based on some principle permanent in its nature, and one which deeply interests the feelings and affects the prospects and standing of a large class in the community, and we are in the midst of danger. Little abiding evil is to be apprehended from the agitation of a presidential election, or from the allotments of the loaves and fishes of office to one individual or to his rival; but let there spring up in a self-governing community a rich men's party, or a working men's party, and other distinctions based on the permanent relations of the social state, and no assurance remains for security or peace.

Entering, then, upon our proposed subject with a sense of its importance as connected with the public good, we would first ask the attention of our readers to an impression which, to some extent, prevails at the present day, that the laboring classes of the community have interests differing in some degree from those of other classes; and that there is something less eligible—less to be desired in the condition of those thus occupied, than in that of others; in fact, *that there is something rather degrading in labor.* We do not affirm that this opinion is often or ever distinctly avowed and defended. Few, indeed, would venture to express an opinion disparaging those to whose exertions they are indebted for the supply of so large a proportion of their wants, and to whose hands, it may be, they look for the bestowment of the coveted honors and emoluments of office. Still, we may detect the existence of the opinion to which we have referred, in the fact, that many hesitate to do for themselves or their friends, before others, those offices which, able-bodied men and at leisure as they are, they might perform. They would be ashamed to be caught in the soiled dress of the working-man; and, if found with an ax or a spade in their hands, would be very ready to assure the passer-by that they were working for exercise. We may, also, detect the existence of this impression in the reluctance of so many of our young men to share their fathers' toil on the farm and in the workshop, preferring rather to crowd the ranks of professional life, or to press in throngs to our cities, urged on by the adventurous spirit of mercantile p rsuits.

That labor and laborers should be lightly esteemed in slaveholding communities might reasonably be expected. The association is an easy one which connects the employments of the slave with his degraded condition. In those countries, too, where the distinc-

tions of rank are strongly marked, where an hereditary nobility and the ceremonials of a court are found, there will be those who think it degrading for a man to be engaged in any useful employment. At least, they will esteem it disreputable to one of noble birth to be thus engaged, as if to belong to a class of society, the end of whose existence is to do nothing, were to be of a privileged order. But it should not be so in a community of freemen, of those of equal rights and privileges, and whose dependence on each other in the social state is close and mutual. The idea, that there is anything degrading in any honest employment, which ministers to the general good, and tends to the supply of the common wants, is opposed to the spirit of our free institutions. It is also at variance with the economical interests of the community. A large proportion of our national supplies is derived from national industry. Here also is the main source of that increase of national capital, which is the attendant and index of national prosperity. By the estimate of one of our political economists, at least three-fourths of the annual national income is drawn from the industry of the people. Another able statesman has asserted, that the value of the work done in the single state of Massachusetts is more than one hundred thousand dollars every day. What then must be the ruinous effect of an impression which leaves in listless idleness or unprofitable amusement a large class of the inhabitants of a land? Besides, who sees not, as is sufficiently obvious to all, that there is in reality no ground for a distinction of the nature we are considering, since the dependencies of life are mutual? Of what avail are the treasures of the affluent to their possessors, if they are not surrounded by those skillful and able to minister to their wants? Indeed, of the two, is not he far more independent, who can help himself to the supplies furnished at nature's feast, than he who receives these supplies through the medium of another?

Why, then, the inquiry returns upon us, if this mutual dependence exists, and no honest employment is to be disparaged in this land of freedom and equality, why do we find so prevalent the prejudice against labor, of which we have spoken? We can offer in reply no better explanation than to say, that it is to be traced to certain associations which, even here, are wont to connect themselves with the employment and condition of the laborer. To some of these associations we will now advert; at the same time endeavoring both to show that they rest upon no good foundation, and to offer some suggestions which may tend to their removal.

Labor, then, is looked upon as degrading, because there is, in

most cases, a necessity that it be performed. It is the condition on which those who labor obtain their daily bread, and this idea of dependence and compulsion is by no means a grateful thought. Indeed, a different condition, that of wealth, or at least of competency, is ever looked upon as desirable; it is the aim of most during a great portion of their lives. Perhaps, too, in this connection, the thoughts sometimes wander back to the sentence pronounced upon guilty Adam and his race,—"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground;" and they thus recur to the doom of man with any feelings rather than those of self-abasement and humility.

But here it may well be asked, Are these opinions as to the relative advantages of different conditions of life well founded? Is it certain, that he who feels no necessity for exertion resting upon him, is a happier man than his willing, plodding neighbor? Put this inquiry to the man of wealth, and he will acknowledge that his views on this subject differ much from those which he entertained in an earlier part of his course. He will have much to say of his cares and anxieties, his fears of losing, and his perplexities and vexations in the management of his multiplied concerns. Perhaps, if we could look into his heart, we should find him almost ready to envy him who is, as he once was, a poor man. At least, he will assure us that the satisfaction of acquiring far exceeds that of possessing.

And then again as to this necessity of labor, from which so many would be free, we have only to look at the human constitution, both mental and physical, to be persuaded that an exemption of this kind is by no means desirable. Man must have employment. He is made for daily toil. Deprive his mind or body of action, and they are at once shorn of their glory. The former sinks into idiocy or madness, the latter becomes enfeebled and diseased. The necessity, then, that men should labor, arises not from any condition in life. It is not imposed by man on his fellow-men. It is one which God imposes, and it must be obeyed. Even those who do not devote themselves to any useful toil, must, and do, seek employment. Hunting, fishing, riding, and even gambling and fighting, are only means, some of them objectionable enough, of obeying this fixed law of our natures.

A second unfavorable association, which in the minds of some is connected with labor, leads them to look upon the operations of industry as of a mechanical nature; or, we might rather say, to look upon the laborer himself as a machine,—perhaps a part of a machine. Hence they readily associate with labor, ignorance and

mere imbecility; and look upon a life spent in daily toil as an unthinking, degraded existence.

It is not to be denied, that the condition of the laboring population in some countries affords too much reason for this unfavorable impression. One may find in the crowded manufacturing population of Europe those thus degraded—those, whose lives from infancy to premature decrepitude are spent in ignorance and mindless toil; and of whom it may truly be said, that the whole history of their existence is comprised in a single line,—that they have been employed in making the eighteenth part of a pin. But thank Heaven such laborers are not found in this land. We have no human machinery here, and while our system of common schools, the rich legacy left us by our fathers, shall continue to be cherished and maintained, we never shall have. True, indeed, our laboring men cannot be men of learning, of literary and scientific attainments,

> "Knowledge to their eyes her ample page
> Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll."

Still, they may be, and they are, men of intelligence, of sound judgment and quick apprehension, well acquainted with whatever pertains to their own business in life, and conversant with the occurrences and agitated subjects of their day. Converse with them on questions of public policy, and they will soon show that they know their own rights and are not ignorant of what pertains to the public welfare. They will give good evidence, also, that on moral and religious subjects they are not without understanding—that they know how to read their Bibles, and to learn from this pure source what is duty and what is truth.

There is not, then, in New-England, at least, any necessary connection between a life of manual labor and ignorance, and there never need be this connection. Let the days of childhood and youth, the favorable season for mental improvement, be spent in the school-room, and in later periods of life let the fragments of time be gathered up and turned to good account; especially let the many opportunities for gaining useful information, presenting themselves in our villages and towns, be improved—the lyceum, the newspaper, and the scientific journal—and there need be no fear that there will not be knowledge enough diffused through our whole population, to be the stability of our times. And here let us add, that it is the duty of every one who knows the elevating influence of knowledge and the intimate connection between its general diffusion and the public welfare, to see to it, that his influence be felt in the cause of education and good learning.

But we will not consume more of the time and patience of our readers in thus defending labor from unjust and ill-founded associations. We would speak of it in another strain—we would claim for it respect. He, and he only, who spends his days in toil—in toil, either of the body or mind, fulfills the purposes of his being, and gives good proof of manhood. If man is to do nothing, why were his noble powers of mind bestowed upon him? Why was he made a thinking, contriving, reasoning being? For what purpose, too, is the cunning craft of the hand, the telescopic eye, the vocal chamber of the ear; why this complicated structure of joints and muscles, the very handy-work of God? Look also at man in his social relations, as a member of the community. How vast the amount to be provided for the supply of a nation's wants! How much work is to be done! And has he not a fair title to respect who ably and faithfully performs his share of this work? Where, too, shall we look for brighter examples of those virtues which truly ennoble our race, than are to be found in the laboring classes of society? A life of labor is a life spent in encountering difficulties and overcoming obstacles, in bringing to bear the energies of our nature for the accomplishment of important ends. And is there here no call for self-denial, for resolution, nothing allied to that nobleness of spirit which can boldly undertake great objects, and go forward unhesitatingly in their accomplishment? And here, too, we might speak of virtues of a different class, those homelier, lowlier virtues, which spring up and shed abroad their rich fragrance in the more humble walks of life. Beneath the rough exterior of the laboring man there throbs a heart alive to others' woes, and that toil-worn hand is ever ready to extend itself to succor and to aid. And what is it that sustains and animates the laborer in his daily toil? He is thinking of his home and of the loved ones there.

> "His wee bit ingle, blinkin bonnily,
> His clean hearth-stane, his thriftie wifie's smile,
> The lisping infant prattling on his knee,
> Does a' his weary carking care beguile,
> An' makes him quite forget his labor and his toil."

We have thus far spoken of what relates more particularly to those engaged in manual labor; but there is another class of laborers against whom an impression of evil tendency is abroad in our community, and one which requires to be corrected. We refer to a *prejudice against educated and professional men*, those whose employments are of a mental kind. Every one is aware that, to some extent, a feeling of this kind exists, especially among the

mass of the population who are occupied in manual labor. Not unfrequently, indeed, does it manifest itself either in the form of sarcasm and reproachful remark, or in feelings and acts of opposition to the interests of education; at least in the undervaluing of its importance, and this not merely where we should expect to find such feelings and thoughts, in scenes of both mental and moral degradation, but among those who have influence in society, and sometimes even in the halls of legislation. Hence, the unwillingness to afford needed aid and support to the institutions of learning, and the opinion maintained by many, that whatever is thus expended is lost to the community. Sometimes, also, attempts have been made to connect prejudices of this kind with our political agitations; and we have had in some portions of our country our working men's party, and some have even thought to exclude from the halls of national and state legislation an important class of professional men.

Fully to account for the rise of this prejudice, it might be necessary to look into the depths of the human heart and to bring out to public view some of the unlovely traits of character found there. But such exhibitions, it is well known, are by no means grateful, neither would this be the wisest way in which to attempt the removal of unfounded prejudice. We will direct our attention rather to the errors of the head than of the heart.

There are, then, two erroneous impressions pertaining to mental employments, on which, we are persuaded, the prejudice we are considering is mainly founded. One of these impressions is, that educated and professional men are not laboring men. They are not looked upon as belonging to the working part of the community. On the contrary, it is supposed, that they pass their time in indolence; or, at least, that when occupied, it is for their own amusement only that they employ themselves. But is this impression a correct one?

That there are educated men who are not working men, is not to be denied. Neither will it be denied, that there are uneducated men who are not working men. The truth is, there are found in every class of society those who are indolent, who dislike work, and who, so far as absolute necessity is not laid upon them, will not work. But does the concession here made authorize the conclusion, that educated men, as a class of the community, are not working men? What is work? Is it laboring with the hands, putting forth the powers of the body only? Man is made up of mind and body. He has intellectual as well as physical powers; and when these mental energies are called into full action, con-

stantly directed to the accomplishment of some object, and tasked to the utmost, is not he who is thus occupied a laborer? We may take as a standard of labor the effects produced on the human system—the exhausting of its powers, the impairing of its energies, and in this view we would ask, whether those employed in mental toils are not laboring men? Else, why are there found so many in this class of society with enfeebled, shattered constitutions? Why so many who sink into a premature grave?

The other impression, to which reference has been made, is, that educated men are, in a great measure, useless members of the community; at least, that they do little or nothing toward furnishing the supply of the common wants, and promoting the general welfare: in fact, they are rather looked upon as drones in the hive, who consume, indeed, their share of the sweets, but gather them not.

That intelligent men, those acquainted with the relations and dependencies of man in the social state, and with the connection between science and the arts, and who have liberal views as to human wants and employments, should maintain an opinion of this kind, can hardly be supposed. Still, it may be expedient to offer some statements which may show its incorrectness.

Let us look, then, first at professional labor; and look at it in its connection with the general prosperity, the economical interests of the community.

A lawyer investigates and establishes one's title to his farm. By papers drawn up according to legal forms and properly certified and recorded, the individual is enabled to hold possession of this farm for his own use and benefit, to the exclusion of all others. And now would he be ready to esteem the man an important help, who should aid him to place a fence around this farm, that his crops may be in safety against the inroads of brute force, and would he look upon *him* as effecting nothing for his advantage, through whose instrumentality he is made secure against intrusion and loss in other forms? A laborer is sick, and for successive days is unable to pursue his daily toil. Does *he* effect nothing toward the common good, who directs him to a remedy which restores an effective laborer to soundness and his accustomed health and strength? That men may dwell securely, and that the processes of industry may be successfully conducted, there must be good laws—laws which derive all their binding force from the power of public opinion. Does not he then promote the prosperity of a nation, who, by diffusing abroad a healthful moral and religious influence, makes secure these foundations of public justice, and gives

strength to the arm of public authority? But we have not time to dwell on these views, neither is it necessary. The truth is, professional men are working men, having the same interests, and carrying forward a part of the same great work in which other laboring men are engaged.

But it may here occur, that there are educated men who are not professional men; who are rarely or never seen abroad in the walks of life, but who pass their days in the retirement of their studies, conversant for the most part with books only, or occupied with the investigation and development of the laws of nature. And here, perhaps, those who entertain the prejudice we are examining, may think it difficult to show a connection between the labors of such and the interests of the community, or, at least, to point out their direct bearing on the general good.

But let us look for a moment at this point; and first, as to men of science. Every one must have noticed to what extent men in civilized life avail themselves of the assistance of nature, in carrying forward those processes by which the wants of the great national family are supplied; and this, not only where natural agency is directly employed, as in agricultural processes, but in other instances in which man avails himself of the properties of natural objects about him, and of the laws of nature, in furnishing himself with tools and machinery. But how are these properties and laws to be found out and turned to the best account? Evidently, these are no easy tasks. They require long-continued, patient investigation, oft-repeated and skillfully conducted experiments, and much thought; and unless there are those devoted to these pursuits, those who have time and ability to investigate, and experiment, and reason, none of these important results are to be looked for. Here, then, is labor, and appropriate labor for educated men; and labor most intimately connected with the public prosperity.

It might be interesting in this connection to refer our readers to the history of inventions, and thus to place before them the testimony of facts to the close connection between scientific labors and the arts of life. What aid has been given to the agriculturist in the investigations made by Sir Humphrey Davy and others, of the properties of different soils! How much has been effected by the same science within a few years for the improvement of the process of tanning hides! The same is also true of the art of dyeing cloth. How, without the aid of chemistry, would the products of the loom be tinged with hues, fixed and made permanent, and various as the fancies of the fair!

Every farmer knows that some soils are better adapted to the

raising of certain crops than others; but how to remedy these defects, what course of cultivation should be followed, and what applications should be made to different soils, that they may be rendered fertile, it is the office of the chemist to determine. But here it may occur to some, that many important inventions and discoveries are the result of accident, or have been made by practical men, who are directly employed in conducting processes of manual labor.

This is indeed sometimes, though not always, the case. Many important inventions have resulted from long-continued experiments alone; and most of the discoveries that have been made of those great laws and principles of the natural world which serve as the foundation of useful inventions, have been imparted to the world by scientific laborers.

It is also here to be noticed, that in those instances where accidental discoveries and inventions have been made, it is science which has perfected these inventions and tested their value, by referring them to the great principles of nature, and by applying them to the various purposes they may be made to subserve. We might here refer to that wonder of our age, the steam-engine. Any man sitting by his kitchen fire might be the discoverer of the expansive power of steam; but it is science which has investigated the laws by which this mighty agent is governed, and has subjected it to human control. And then, when the power is created and ready to do our bidding, what mechanical knowledge and skill are required in its various applications! Think, for a moment, of the different directions which are given to this power, and of the different offices it is made to perform. Now it reaches down to the depths beneath, and brings up to the regions of light the hidden treasures of the mine;—and now, burying itself in some subterranean cell, it sends up its Herculean arm and Briarean hands and fingers of iron to do its wonders of skill and of power in the workshop above. At one time it conceals itself beneath the deck of the vessel, and the huge mass, which lies "floating many a rood," becomes instinct with life and motion; like leviathan of old, "it maketh the sea to boil like a pot, and out of its nostrils goeth smoke and sparks of fire leap out." At another time, "swifter than a post," it speeds its way over hill and valley, hurrying onward, in its rocket-like course, its train of rattling cars. But it is not only in the perfecting of inventions, and in multiplying the useful application of discovered powers, that the aid of science is felt. We might speak of its importance as it teaches men the limits of discovery and invention, telling them not only what may be done, but what may

not be done. How much time and useless labor are thus saved! How many highly raised expectations are shown to be delusive! But we must not dwell longer on this topic, for we have to speak of another class, whose labors are of a mental kind. We refer to those whose employments are more strictly of a literary nature, the historian, the poet, the essayist; and it may be that in the minds of some the connection between the labors of such and the welfare of the community may not be obvious. But here let us ask ourselves, In what way is the general welfare to be promoted—what are the wants of a community? Is it simply that man may be sheltered from the storm, and have food and raiment convenient for him? Are there no other constituents of his happiness, nothing else for which he may reasonably toil and spend his strength? Has the intellectual part no wants to be supplied? Are there no gratifications to be ministered to the mind? But apart from these considerations, which, it may be seen, look rather to the individual than to the community, we may ask, does not literature tend directly and powerfully to the public welfare? Are not the benign influences she exerts intimately connected with a nation's prosperity and happiness? What made ancient Greece and Rome differ from other nations around them? Why had they more elevation of character, more kind feeling, more of mental enjoyment, and of the charities of life? Eloquently has one of our own orators answered these inquiries by telling us what Greece owes to her first-born of song. A nation was cast in the mold of one mighty mind, and the land of the Iliad became the region of taste, and the birthplace of the arts.

But we need not refer back to ancient nations in proof of the refining influences of literature. We speak of a people as civilized, and we think of a region around which civil government has placed its defenses, and where the arts of life are cultivated, and its decencies are regarded, a region over which knowledge and religion shed their combined radiance. But there is still another principle at work, of powerful and benign efficacy. It is that which makes itself seen in the order and beauty spread over the whole face of the country, which gives a grace and charm to the civilities of social intercourse, and which shows itself in the habitations, the furniture, the dress,—all that even the useful arts contribute for the accommodation of men. And this pervading principle is taste. Most obviously then, whatever tends to the cultivation of the taste is justly to be ranked among the most efficient causes in the great work of civilization. Such, in an eminent degree, is literature. If it were necessary to establish this position, we might here refer

you to England. She has been called the land of classical scholars; and, without doubt, the influence of her literature is widely felt in almost every class of her population. And who that wanders over her fields, and looks on her villages and towns, her cottages and her palaces, her scenes of moral elegance and civic splendor, sees not around him the fruits of a refined and cultivated taste? Who that enters her dwellings and marks the manners of her inhabitants, and the objects around them in their domestic retirements, will fail to discover even here the traces of a refined taste? At least we may ask, who that reads the sketches of these scenes and objects, as they are delineated by one who is the ornament of our own literature, will doubt, that the land of literature is the dwelling-place of taste? We may, then, claim for those who rank themselves as the followers of literature some title to the respect and gratitude of their country. Milton, and Shakspeare, and Addison, did not live in vain, and spend their strength for naught.

There remains one other impression injurious to the interests of the community, to which we would invite your attention. It is *a prejudice against men of wealth.* Many, indeed, there are around us on whom Heaven has bestowed Agur's desired blessing, giving them neither riches nor poverty; still, in this country, as in all other communities where the rights of property are respected, the distinction of rich and poor is known. Here, too, as in other lands, spring up some of those jealousies and heart-burnings which have their origin in these diversities of outward condition. But it is not to the repinings and murmurs of discontent that we would now advert: neither is it our present object to adduce considerations which may moderate the earnestness with which the riches of earth are sought. We would look rather at the bearings of the subject on the public safety and welfare, persuaded, as we are, that let the prejudice, to which we have referred, become deeply fixed and widely diffused, and there is just reason for apprehension of danger. Those who think themselves defrauded of their just share of the national wealth, and who are ready to think that a more just and equal distribution should be made, will not long hesitate to assert and maintain what they esteem their just rights. It will soon be found out that here is work for the reformers of our age. Such indications have already shown themselves among the signs of the times. And it is because attempts have been occasionally made in some parts of our country by political demagogues and ranting partisans, to call out these prejudices in aid of their selfish and dangerous purposes, that we deem it important to mention this topic in this connection.

And here the first thought that occurs to us is, that in every civilized community the distinction of rich and poor will be found. It grows out of the nature of man and the constitution of civil society. Wherever the rights of property are regarded and men are made secure in their possessions, some will acquire and accumulate more than others; and so long as men differ in their habits of industry and frugality, in enterprise, and skill, and good management, this must ever be the case.

And not only is this arrangement necessary, it is beneficial. Many are the processes of industry; and those, too, most intimately connected not only with the prosperity, but with the comfort and existence, of a large community, which could not be conducted without the accumulation of capital. Without capital where would be our internal improvements, our railroads and canals; where our commerce, and our manufacturing establishments, and the multiplied powers of machinery by which the powers and objects of nature around us are made to minister most essentially to the aid of man? On these inequalities of wealth are also based, in part, that division of labor without which the social system could hardly exist. There must then be accumulations of capital in every prosperous community. And we may add, that of all the members of a community, none are more interested in its possessing capital, than such as are most ready to join in the cry against those by whom it is possessed.

There is another general proposition which we offer. Every man of wealth, who, to use a common expression, has made his own fortune, in other words, who has by his own industry and use of the productive powers at his command, created the riches which he possesses, every such individual, while he has benefited himself, has at the same time conferred important benefits on the community in which he lives; and hence, instead of being regarded with prejudice, he should be looked upon as a public benefactor.

It can hardly be necessary to dwell for a moment on this proposition. Every one is fully aware, and readily acknowledges, that a man of wealth, who uses his property so as to give employment to those about him, is a benefactor to the town or village in which he is found. And if, too, as often happens, he places before others an example of industry and frugality, of good management and skillful conduct of his affairs, it is an example worthy of all praise and all imitation too.

But here, perhaps, it may occur to some that there are other ways in which men become possessed of wealth, and other ways, too, in which they employ it; and it may be thought that there will

be found in these other ways of obtaining and using wealth some ground for the prejudice we are considering. We will, then, briefly dwell on this view of the subject before us.

Men sometimes obtain wealth by extortion, by oppression and violence, by grinding the face of the poor, and by defrauding the weak and defenseless of their just dues. No one will complain, that a prejudice exists against those who thus become affluent. Let it not only exist, but let it be manifested, till the oppressed go free, till the strong arm of national justice place those who are thus injurious where they can injure and defraud no more.

Nearly allied to extortion and injustice is gambling, in all its forms, whether it be at the fashionable billiard or card table, at the lottery-office, or in those resorts of gamblers emphatically and appropriately called the "hells" of our cities. By such modes of acquiring wealth the community receives no benefit, and many are injured. Small, indeed, is the respect to which the rich gamester may consider himself entitled. Others there are who have acquired wealth by successful speculation. In one of those seasons "when madness rules the hour," they have engaged in some hazardous enterprise, and after venturing all, and having been tossed for awhile by the agitated waves of hope and fear, a fortunate current has brought them, as they think, to a safe and desirable harbor. Hardly knowing why it is, or should be so, they find themselves rich men.

Acquisitions of wealth thus made can hardly be looked upon as attended with any important benefits. Often, indeed, they prove injurious to the speculator himself; for sudden riches bring a snare, and further, as the sad lessons of experience have taught many in our community, to the speculator there often in the end cometh disappointment and perplexity. Evidently, the community is not benefited, because in such acquisitions of wealth there is no creation of value. They are mere transfers from one member of the community to another; and often from the more deserving to those less so. And this is not all the injury done to the public. The established course of things becomes unsettled, the business habits of the community are broken up, and our young men, no longer contented with slow and sure gains, desert the good old ways of their fathers. If to these many evils which attend speculation there is any counterbalancing advantage, it is this, that by these means a new impetus is given to the enterprise and energies of a people; but surely those who dwell in this land of enterprise and exertion need rather the check-rein than the spur.

But having thus adverted to these ways in which the oppressor, the gambler, and the speculator obtain wealth, and having granted

that such have no claim on the favorable regards of the community, let us add, that there is here found no ground for any prejudice which fixes itself on men of wealth as a class. All the concessions now made may be granted, and still we may claim respect for him, who, while he benefits himself, confers benefits on those around him.

And here, had we not already exhausted the patience of our readers, we might speak in the same light of the different ways of using wealth. On the one hand, he who hoards it might receive our pity and contempt; for he who lets his soul so grovel in the dust as to love money for its own sake, can hardly be regarded with other feelings than contempt for his sordid meanness. And surely he who denies himself a reasonable supply of his own wants, who, Tantalus-like, in the midst of flowing streams dies with thirst, is a just object of our pity. He, too, may well be pitied, who, having in his hands the power, knows not the luxury of doing good. On the other hand, we might dwell on the folly and the sin of the spendthrift,—of him who wastes in extravagance and hurtful dissipation a father's frugal earnings, thus becoming a moral pest to those among whom he dwells, and making his own destruction sure. For those who thus use their wealth, we ask not that they should be regarded with favor. Let the finger of public scorn be pointed at them till they learn to respect themselves, and to act more worthily of their obligations and responsibilities. But there are other ways in which wealth may be employed, connecting its possession with the improvement and happiness not only of a community, but of the world. And many there are in our own age and nation, who, by deeds of beneficence, not only show that they well know the true value, the right uses of wealth, but justly claim for themselves and for others of the same class in the community the respect and gratitude of those among whom they dwell.

We have thus adverted to some of the more common prejudices found in the different classes of our community, and have, at the same time, endeavored to effect something toward their removal. If we mistake not, the views presented on these topics well sustain the remark made at the commencement of our article, that what is needed to set the mind free from these prejudices, is to stand on higher ground and enlarge the field of vision. We need to look upon ourselves and others as members of the great national family, and to see in the labors of the individual that which, from the nature of the social relations, must benefit the whole community. We need also to see and to feel what the old trite couplet well expresses,

"Honor and shame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

and this is indeed the sum of the whole matter.

The course of remark that has been followed, must have suggested the intimate connection between an enlightened public opinion and the safety and welfare of our country. More especially is this the case in a self-governing community like our own. Let different individuals and different classes of society understand their relation to each other, and their own true interests in their connection with the general prosperity, and we trust there is virtue and patriotism enough in our country to secure the permanency of our institutions and social arrangements.

ART. IV.—*Evangelische Homiletik.* Von CHRISTIAN PALMER. Zweite verbess. aufl. (*Evangelical Homiletics.* By CHRISTIAN PALMER. Second edition.) Stuttgardt: J. F. Steinkopf. 1845.

(*Translated from the German of Hüffell, in the Theologische Studien und Kritiken, for October*, 1845. By Professors M'CLINTOCK and BLUMENTHAL.)

[WE know of no good treatise on the art of preaching in the English language. Dr. PORTER's "Lectures on Homiletics" stand, doubtless, at the head of our books on the subject; but that work falls far short of the scientific accuracy which so important a theme demands. The same may be said of GRESLEY's recent "Treatise on Preaching," which, although it contains much useful and instructive matter, is discursive and immethodical, as well as incomplete. STURTEVANT's "Preacher's Manual" has been of late republished in this country, much to our sorrow; for it would be hard to find a worse book in any department of scientific theology. A vast mass of materials is accumulated by this author, it is true, but he does not know how to use them; there are bricks and mortar enough, but no building.* A scientific treatment of homiletics in English is a thing yet to be accomplished.

In this field, as in most others, the Germans have outstripped us. The most learned and philosophical treatise which they have

* In this wholesale sentence of condemnation we do not agree with the excellent and learned "translators" of the following able article. We may yet have translated from the German a better work than *Sturtevant's*; and when it comes, we shall hail it as a prize—but if we may judge from the review of *Palmer's* work, which we here present to the reader, that will scarcely be the one.—EDIT.

yet produced is, "Die Theorie der Beredsamkeit," &c., (Theory of Eloquence, with special Reference to the Eloquence of the Pulpit,) by the late Professor Schott, of Jena. An abstract of its fundamental principles may be found in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," for February, 1845, which we heartily commend to the attention of our readers. The latest work on homiletics is that placed at the head of this article, the first edition of which appeared in 1842. Palmer's book has obtained a good reputation in Germany, and, indeed, deserves it. In depth and comprehensiveness of thought, as well as in vigor and freshness of expression, it presents a marked contrast to the dry and soulless compilations which English readers have to put up with. It will be seen, from the following article, that Palmer is the exponent of a reaction against rhetorical preaching, which has been going on for some time in Germany, and which has even advanced so far that many preachers eschew all order and form in their discourses. The writer (Huffell) is himself the author of a treatise on the "*Character and Calling of the Gospel Preacher*," (Wesen und Beruf des evangelisch-Christlichen Geistlichen,) which has passed through four editions. It will be seen that while he holds very just views in regard to the use of rhetoric in preaching, assigning to it its proper place as a means only, not as an end, he yet combats the views of the new school so far forth as they tend to encourage a loose and careless style of preaching, and urges the importance of the laws of thought and speech in the pulpit. As Palmer's book will probably be translated and published in this country, we have thought that a translation of this article might be acceptable to the readers of the Quarterly.—The Translators.]

It cannot be denied that nearly all that has been done in homiletics, at least until of late, has been the offspring of sheer empiricism. We have treatises upon sermon-making, with directions and propositions enough—all simply because *sermons are preached;* but rarely has the question been raised *why* we preach thus and not otherwise, or, indeed, why we preach at all. To be sure, in all these books we can recognize some dim outlines of a consciousness that preaching is a very necessary and important thing; but sadly discordant results have followed from all attempts to give shape and form to these unsubstantial shadows.

Neither can it be denied that the prevailing mode of preaching (we mean the *rhetorical* form) has had too wide a sway; a sway, however, to be easily accounted for. Eminent masters of rhetoric

led the way, and it was easy, especially for men who thought that the true *material* of preaching had been exhausted, to follow in their footsteps. The masters, it is true,—the REINHARDS and the THEREMINS,—held fast the Christian elements of the sermon amid all the graces of oratory in which they arrayed it; but their successors have not always imitated them thus far, and many of their sermons are nothing else than mere specimens of rhetorical art-work.

Of late a better spirit has arisen, and under its influence we have begun to see our old errors: in a word, a reaction, in many respects both necessary and just, is taking place in our midst. But we fear that this movement, like most reactions, is in danger of going too far, and of subsiding into a one-sided theory, just as bad as the old one. Formerly, the rhetorical form was *everything;* there is danger now that we shall end with making it *nothing*. How often, in the history of the race, has truth suffered by these sudden leaps of human thought from one extreme to the other! Too often the newest passes for the best.

We have had frequent occasion of late to lament the sad negligence, both in point of logic and language, which has characterized many printed sermons that have come under our eye; for, in spite of innovation, we still remain of our old opinion that neither sound logic nor true rhetoric is incompatible with evangelical preaching. But the first attempt at a scientific development of the new principles is, perhaps, to be found in the work before us, the "Evangelical Homiletics" of Christian Palmer, a work to which we give our attention the more readily, not only because it presents many clear and truthful views, but also because it attempts (though without a strictly scientific execution) to unite into one whole the straggling and scattered elements of the reaction to which we have referred. We do not intend fully to review Palmer's work, or even to give a complete exhibition of its contents, but principally to make use of it for the development and extension of our own views. And while we shall be compelled to assail some of his positions, we are sure that our excellent friend will only rejoice to find that his book is producing such stirring effects in us, and in others, through our means.

Our object in this article is to answer the questions, why preaching is kept up at all in the Christian church, and why the *form* of preaching is such as it is. But a few preliminary remarks must be offered before we enter upon the main topic of inquiry.

It is an error, we think, to ascribe the low estimate in which preaching, and indeed Christian worship generally, may be held at

any particular period, to faults either in the form of our preaching or the nature of our worship. The evil lies far deeper than this. It must be looked for in the decay of vital piety; men undervalue preaching, because they do not sympathize with its objects; men neglect worship, because they have no heart for it. Attempts may be made to remedy this state of things by greater attention to the external garb of the sermon and the worship, and we do not censure them; but yet, we repeat, that the real cause of this crushing evil is to be looked for elsewhere. Reinhard was a very refined and elegant preacher, it is true, but his audience was doubtless as much edified, so long as he set forth the gospel message—the one thing needful, with clearness and power, as the audience of any other preacher, even though his style were the very reverse of Reinhard's. We are thus compelled, in the very outset, to come into conflict with the views of Palmer, who is continually attacking Reinhard and his school on the ground of the rhetorical form of their sermons; although he finds himself constrained at last to admit the necessity of a *proper* attention to logic and rhetoric. More of this hereafter. It is more to our purpose just now to cast a glance at the notions of our author in regard to the true conception of the sermon, and consequently to the grounds of its preservation in Christian worship. "The idea of the sermon," says he, "presupposes that of a congregation and its worship. . . . The sermon of the missionary, and that of the preacher to a Christian congregation, differ entirely from each other, although the same gospel is to be preached in both." Our author says that the rationalists hold a different conception of preaching. We are no rationalists—though we think we could raise a strong *Christian* objection here—we let it pass, however, for the present, hoping by and by to convict our author of false conclusions from his own premises. He continues:—

"It is clear, then, if preaching is what we have represented it to be, that it cannot be placed at the mercy of the transient impulses of any and every member of the church. To form clear and vigorous conceptions of Christian truth, and to express such conceptions in appropriate language, requires high endowments of nature, and not less the culture of art (?) Hence the necessity of a special profession of theology, and of a special education thereto."—P. 9.

But on page 315 our author states that preaching is kept up in the Christian church simply because this special form of interpreting the word of God is sanctioned by *ecclesiastical usage*. Now, granting to the word "usage," in this connection, even the full benefit of the sense which Schleiermacher attaches to it when he

calls Christian "morals," Christian "usage;" we can yet make nothing more of it than "habit," "custom," "prescription." According to this notion, then, we preach, simply because there is a congregation before us, with certain "usages" to which it has been accustomed. Just as truly might we say that the mass is kept up in the Catholic Church only because it is the "usage" of that church to perform it. And, moreover, the idea of the congregation and of worship presupposes that of preaching, just as much as the idea of preaching presupposes that of the congregation and worship. Palmer himself seems to feel this when he speaks as follows of the interpretation of Scripture:—

"The original WORD, the revelation of God in Christ, is set forth, and its history is given, in the sacred writings. But the word of God is further, and continually, uttered by divinely inspired men—*that* word of God, whose beginning and pattern is the testimony of the apostles, especially as laid down in the epistles, and which, in Christian worship, is uttered in *preaching*, where it blends itself, in perpetual freshness, with human individuality. Now the relation between these two, namely, God's revelation and man's utterance thereof in preaching, gives us of itself the true notion of interpretation, which is identically the same in essence with preaching itself. Interpretation, then, in the Biblical sense, takes place whenever God, the invisible, manifests himself to men."—P. 62.

Now, after such a statement as this, can Palmer assert, without inconsistency, that "ecclesiastical usage" alone is the rule of preaching, even as to its outward form? But, says he,—

"The second point involved in the nature of preaching is 'ecclesiastical usage,' by which the individuality of the preacher (which forms the *punctum saliens* of the sermon) is limited, without being robbed of its liberty. Heretofore we have only spoken of interpretation in general terms, without reference to the particular form which evangelical preaching assumes in the work of interpreting. If we have spoken of themes, divisions, subdivisions, &c., it has only been because things must be separated in scientific discussion, which in the realities of life are not separated at all. The definite form which exposition has received from ecclesiastical usage is (like all usages) as much the work of intrinsic necessity as of chance. . . . The practical points involved in the matter group themselves as follows: (1.) Preaching connects itself with the order of Sundays, festivals, and occasional services, which are indispensably interwoven with the spiritual life of the congregation; and so we have an order of sermons not specially connected with any order of Scriptural exposition, but deriving their origin from ecclesiastical usage. (2.) As the whole word of God is the property of the congregation, and thus the proper object of exposition, there is no obvious necessity for culling select passages for *texts;* nevertheless, ecclesiastical usage enjoins upon the preacher the

use of a text as the foundation of his sermon, and even goes so far as to fix special texts for special occasions. (3.) Ecclesiastical usage demands a regular arrangement of the sermon; it demands a *theme*, which must be developed in the *subdivisions* of the discourse, and be rounded off by an *exordium* and *peroration*. But all this is owing, not to any necessity arising from the nature of exposition, but solely to ecclesiastical usage. (4.) Finally, the *delivery* of the sermon is not left to individual taste; e. g., whether the sermon shall be delivered with, or without a manuscript; for usage has settled it that the manuscript must not be taken into the pulpit."—P. 315.

Let us take up these four points in order. As to (1,) we are inclined to reverse our author's position, and—instead of saying that preaching connects itself with the order of Sundays, festivals, &c.—to assert that these latter have connected themselves with preaching. Where, without preaching, should we find, not to say the *order* of Sundays, festivals, &c., but even Sundays or festivals themselves? The pillar and ground of all these—nay, of the very life and being of the church itself—is *the preaching of Christ.* As to (2,) we must again reverse our author's position. There could be no *sermon* without the word of God for a foundation; for what else is preaching but the "testimony of God," (1 Cor. ii, 2,) and where can this find its ground except in the word of God? And in dividing the word of God into separate passages for exposition, we do not obey the demands simply of ecclesiastical usage, but of the necessity of the case. Could a man interpret the whole of God's word at once? Usage, even though it may be of as gray an antiquity as the times of Ezra, did not introduce the use of *texts;* for preaching could never have existed without the text, any more than without the word of God itself. Our author's point (3,) is, that "ecclesiastical usage demands a regular distribution of the sermon into theme, development," &c. Ecclesiastical usage demands no such thing; it is the inherent necessity of an address to a congregation that demands exordium, theme, and peroration. But we cannot here resist the inquiry, What has our author, who wishes to banish all rhetoric from preaching, to do with such demands as these? For what are arrangement, theme, and subdivision, but *rhetoric* and *logic?* We should like to see the preacher, who, without rhetoric and logic, or (since names are of no moment so long as we have the thing) without a definite arrangement and distribution of his subject, can preach an instructive and edifying sermon. Even our author himself calls the sermon a work of art in another place. Yet we agree with him in believing that the preacher must not mount the pulpit simply as an artist, must not make art the predominant feature of

his preaching, but must seek its chief excellence in the faithful exposition of his text. But of this more hereafter.

After these preliminary remarks, we now take up the question proposed in the outset, namely, *Why is preaching kept up in the Christian church?*

The answer is to be found in the express injunction of the founder of the church: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Matt. xxviii, 19, 20. We preach, then, because the gospel is to be taught to all men; because the Holy Ghost connects its energy with the word and with the sacrament; and, finally, because the congregation of believers cannot *stand* except upon the knowledge of the truth derived from the preaching of Christ. "Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and *wherein ye stand;* by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you." 1 Cor. xv, 1, 2. "So, then, faith comes by hearing, but hearing by the word of God."

Hence, then, the existence of preaching in the church is not due to ecclesiastical usage, but is a continuation (absolutely necessary) of the preaching of Christ and his apostles. And this view of its necessity assigns both its matter and its form.

Let us now look at the *matter* of the sermon a little more closely. It might be objected (in the spirit of a mode of preaching now obsolete) that "if the *matter* of preaching must remain in all time one and the same, as in its origin, then all edification must stand still, and we need speak no more of a progress and development of Christianity." To such an objection we should answer, that no other matter than that of which we have spoken (the preaching of Christ) has any *right* in the Christian church, nor indeed in theology either. As to the question whether rationalism, supernaturalism, or simple Biblical faith, be the most correct view of Christianity, there may be dispute; but there can be none as to the question which of these has *right* on its side; the Bible-trusting faith alone is sustained by church history. And preaching is so interwoven with the elements of Christian faith, that it must stand dumb without them. Occasional deviations in the church from Bible truth are not to be regarded in settling this question; they are, as deviations, violations of an acknowledged right. The development of Christianity is, indeed, hindered by our view of it, if by *development* is meant apostasy; but no hinderance is offered to the *progress* of Christianity by means of the growth of genuine

Christian piety. And for this progress how wide, how endless a field is offered! How long has our Christian knowledge moved only over the surface of the ocean of truth, and how slowly do its depths reveal themselves even to believers! Here, then, is the true matter of preaching; matter, ever old, yet ever new, adapted to all times and to all men; compassing, in its wide embrace, all that concerns the life of mortals, without the least change of its own immortal essence. We find around us, ever, sinners such as those to whom Christ offered repentance and forgiveness; and we ourselves stand ever in need of the same rest which he offered to the weary and heavy laden.

So much for the *matter* of preaching. As to its *form*, it may be supposed that, although we are commanded to teach, the manner of our teaching is fixed rather by usage than by any intrinsic necessity. The contrary, however, is the case. According to the express command of Christ, above cited, the congregation is to be instructed; and this must be done either by the catechism or the sermon. The instruction, commenced by the catechism, must be followed up by constant warning, encouragement, and reproof. With the older part of the congregation, catechetical instruction would be not only impracticable, but unsuitable. There remains only the method of free discourse; the essential elements of a free discourse (speech) must be found in the sermon, and thus its form is necessarily fixed. An intelligible speech must include unity of conception, (the *theme*,) a connection of thoughts, and arguments, (*arrangement*,) language adapted to the audience, (*style*;) and, finally, a corresponding delivery, (*elocution*.) Thus, then, these characteristics of a sermon are not burdens laid upon it either by rhetoric or by ecclesiastical usage, but spring from the very nature of the sermon itself, as an oral address to an audience; usage, indeed, plays quite a secondary part in the business.*

On the same ground, also, is the manifestation of genuine *eloquence* in preaching abundantly justified. When we address a congregation, we *discourse;* that is, we do not merely talk, in the language of common life, but we use a peculiar and definite form of language, which was extant among men before either church or church-usage existed; and which, with the other forms of language, poetry and prose, will remain long after church-usage shall have passed away. We use a form of language, which becomes

* Surely no one would think of asserting that the character of speeches in parliaments, public meetings, &c., is fixed by usage. They carry their necessity within themselves, and take only certain external features from usage.

an oration, not merely in virtue of its treating connectedly of a certain subject, but also because the speaker, feeling an intense interest in his subject, (an interest in this case given by the Holy Spirit,) seeks to awaken a correspondent feeling in the minds of his hearers. Is this objectionable? Bring your objection, then, against the will of the Creator, who saw fit to endow man with the faculty of speech, and with an interest in truth. Silence, then, the preaching of the word in the congregation, and adopt other means in its stead. Must we divest our preaching of eloquence, that is, in plain terms, of all interest either on the part of the speaker or his hearers, because, forsooth, it has come to be a cry that rhetoric must be banished from the pulpit? It is to this issue that our modern innovators are hurrying unawares. Without repeating what we have said before, we freely, and with deep conviction, admit that there are elements of oratory which cannot find place in the pulpit; that rhetoric, even in its best sense, must play only a subordinate part there; must be regarded as a means, not an end; and that the preacher, whose sole desire is to figure as an orator, is utterly unworthy of his office: but we can never grant that preaching can attain its full objects without any rhetoric whatever, or that the preacher who makes a just use of it, thereby ceases to be a minister of Christ. We allow that the school of Reinhard was too rhetorical. But Reinhard himself has told us, and all his printed sermons confirm the assertion, that in the subject matter of his preaching he adhered strictly to the Scriptures and the confession of faith.* Reinhard, then, was not led astray by his style; and the same may be said of many of his followers; if others have erred, their error must be charged upon their false theology and upon the spirit of the age. Reinhard's fault was that he considered theology more in its relation to the head than to the heart; in the pulpit he was rather a thinking dogmatist than a feeling interpreter of God's word; more a supernaturalist than a pietest, in the elevated sense of that word; more intent upon bringing out certain definite theological conceptions than upon stirring the affections of his hearers.

To return. We have, in another place,† given our opinion freely in regard to the abuse of rhetoric in the pulpit. But we have before remarked in this article that the guilt of the excessive influence of art in modern times lies not at the door of rhetoric, but is due to the want of *religion*. When Christianity found no place in the pulpit, rhetoric had to be all in all. When the preacher

* Reinhard's Geständnisse, (Confessions,) p. 90, seq.

† Character and Calling of the Gospel Preacher, vol. i, § 27.

had no *matter* for his sermon, he had, of necessity, to make use of *form* for a substitute: abandoned by the Holy Ghost, he took refuge in the arms of art. But, on the other hand, now that Christianity is reinstated in her rights, is it necessary that art should be rudely jostled from her position? A wise discretion will rather use her as a handmaid and auxiliary, for which office alone she is fitted by her nature. Preaching still is, and ever must be, *a discourse*, and the preacher an *orator*, though an orator of God. Preaching is, and must be, in its formal development, a work of science and art; when it ceases to be this, it will cease to be itself.

If it be granted, then, (as it must be,) that preaching is, in its essential principle, a discourse before a congregation, all that we demand as the results of that principle must be granted also. Among these necessary results are *invention*, *arrangement*, *development*, and *delivery*,—departments essential to every discourse before an audience.

The doctrine of invention treats first, of the theme, as the synthesis of the subject; and secondly, of the matter for the development or analysis of the fundamental proposition. As it is not every proposition which can be formed into a sermon, rhetoric demands of the theme certain essential qualities, viz., *unity*, *precision*, *clearness*, *matter*, (in amount corresponding to the extent of the sermon,) *interest*, *dignity*, &c. Is the theme to be without these attributes? Can it possibly be without them? True, it is often the case now, when the nature of preaching *as a discourse before an audience* is lost sight of, that themes are presented to which these attributes are wanting; but what is the consequence? A theme without unity is a logical contradiction, and can lead an audience to no unity of knowledge: a theme without precision or clearness is a speaking proof of the lack of clear conceptions in the preacher, and a rack for hearers' brains: a theme without purport contains nothing on which a congregation can lay hold; and, finally, a theme without interest can awaken none in the hearer. If the text be made the theme, the product will be a homily, a style of preaching deservedly esteemed in its proper sphere. We hope that the coming better times will introduce it anew; for the interest and edification of a homily, when it is what it ought to be, is vastly greater than that of purely synthetic preaching.*

The next element of preaching *as a discourse before an audience*,

* Palmer, as an advocate of the homily, (p. 448,) gets into trouble with his "ecclesiastical usage," which admits the homily only as an exception, although the old usage of the church is decidedly in its favor!

is the arrangement, or disposition. We have already shown how strikingly PALMER owns the necessity of a definite order and of subdivisions in the sermon; nay, even of the proper finish to be given to the whole by the introduction and conclusion. But he evidently mistakes the true ground of this necessity, when (p. 319) he ascribes it to ecclesiastical usage. On the contrary, the necessity of a logical arrangement arises from the simple fact, that whatever is said without apparent arrangement cannot have been clearly conceived; and whatever is not clear in the conception of the speaker, cannot be made so to the minds of his auditors. Ecclesiastical usage had nothing to do with originating this law. Even the apostle (1 Cor. xiv, 27) gives his warning against unintelligent speech. "If any man speak in an unknown tongue . . . let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church." The real ground, then, on which we demand a logical arrangement is, that the *speaker must be intelligible to his hearers;* and this end is hindered, to some extent, even by trifling deviations from a logical order, the very least of which cannot but disturb the connection of thought in the mind of an intelligent hearer. Yet in these days how often is a theme advanced in one way, and treated in quite another: divisions and subdivisions made with no other object, apparently, than to conceal the preacher's purpose: parts introduced that have no connection whatever with the theme: repetition following repetition, and digression succeeding digression, until the poor audience, deluded and forsaken, longs for the amen! Now we do not insist upon any approved or stereotyped form of division; we do not ask (after the old type) for a fivefold application to every sermon; but we do demand of every preacher a definite arrangement of his material, and an obvious connection of thought throughout his discourse. We grant to the speaker liberty to adopt what precise system of arrangement he pleases, but on *any* system his discourse must combine unity, order, and clearness, if he would not disgrace his sacred functions. Every theme within the legitimate province of the preacher has various sides from which it can be viewed, and here is full scope for him to exercise his liberty; but then again every theme presents certain *indispensable* views which must not be lost sight of. To take a simple illustration: if we are preaching on the "love of our enemies," and fail to set forth clearly what we mean by such a love, developing the idea fairly with proper limitations and explanations, we shall do little but beat the air in searching for motives to lead our hearers to practice a duty which they do not understand; and wind up, perhaps, at last, with empty exclamations,—an O! here, and

an Ah! there. True, a momentary edification may result from a mere grouping of the principal thoughts of a text, made up by the arbitrary choice of the preacher, without any strict analysis of the parts; but certainly such preaching can never be permanently useful, can never promote a clear and distinct *knowledge of the truth*, which, after all, is the only trustworthy basis of genuine Christian edification. It may cause a transient glow of feeling; it may produce an evanescent religious sentiment; but it cannot "root and ground" the hearer in the "truth as it is in Christ Jesus!" We generally come to the conclusion, on hearing a preacher who indulges in this way of treating sacred themes, that he himself is not well grounded in the principles of the gospel, and seeks, by this wavering and vacillating presentation of his subject, to escape the necessity of bringing out his views in clear and sharp outlines.

The *introduction*, or *exordium*, falls also within the sphere of arrangement. On this point we can concede little to Palmer's "ecclesiastical usage." Usage may decide whether the sermon shall begin with a prayer, or an exordium, or both; or whether the transition from the text to the theme shall be regarded as an introduction. Yet, after all, usage cannot settle the whole matter; for, in general, the necessity for an exordium is unconditional: you cannot plunge your audience at once *in medias res*.* Palmer opposes introductions energetically. A passage occurs in our treatise, before cited,† to the following effect: "Whatever matter the preacher may select must be foreign, if taken apart from the context, and the exordium only brings it back to its proper connection. We use the exordium, not merely, as Cicero and Quinctilian express it, *auditorem attentum, docilem, benevolum reddere;* but to reveal the circle of thought, within which we intend to discuss the matter proposed." On this Palmer asks, "Why not refer to the text?"—and then continues: "No,—on the contrary, when we choose a text, we always bear in mind its connection with the context:‡ the text itself reveals the circle of thought within which we intend to move; and the matter is *not* foreign, for the text makes us acquainted with it." But does the text of itself reveal the view which the preacher intends to take of it? Has not every text, as we have before said, various sides on which it may be examined? And how

* Reinhard was by no means the originator of introductions: the older homiletitians attached great importance to them. Cf. *J. J. Rambach, Præcepta Homiletica*, 1736.

† Wesen und Beruf, &c.

‡ True, but do the *hearers* always bear it in mind?

is the hearer to follow or comprehend you, when, without disclosing the stand-point from which you contemplate the subject, you leap at once from text to theme, without so much as a transition to supply the place of exordium?

As for the question whether the introduction should precede or follow the text, usage may have some weight: our own preference, however, is strongly in favor of the former. A well-managed introduction, before the announcement of the text, excites the audience to interest, and even anxiety, to listen for the text itself, and fixes their attention upon it far more forcibly than its bare announcement can ever do.

We turn now to the *development* of the discourse and its *delivery*. Palmer objects to the usual doctrine of disposition, that it consists only in a scheme of divisions and subdivisions, which the development is to complete into a whole. Especially (and with distinct reference to the author of this article) does he object to the *topic;* although he soon finds that he cannot carry out his objection. On page 522 he asks, "Are we wholly to reject such categories as *origin*, *character*, *results*, &c.? Nay,—but we still stand in need of the categories, both in cases where the text is so short and simple that it offers no variety, and in cases where it is desirable to dilate upon the ideas of the text according to the form which they have assumed in the theme." Consequently, (we may add,) *always*. It is useless, then, to contend against the use of *topics*. We adhere to our old view of the nature of the sermon and its elementary parts; viz.—*invention* brings out the theme synthetically from the text, and thus provides the materials for the sermon; *disposition* (arrangement) gives to these materials their necessary organic connection; and *development* (by the aid of style) fills up the outline and completes the work. Let us illustrate our thought by the work of a painter. He selects as his subject a landscape or a figure,—that is his *theme:* he forms first his outlines,—the *arrangement;* and lastly, throws in light and shade, life and expression, into his composition,—the *development*. Can he omit either of these and yet produce a perfect picture? Just so we require matter, outline, and finish, to produce a perfect sermon.

In regard to *style*, ecclesiastical usage is silent, but science is not. Style is nothing but the peculiar form which we give to our expression; the plastic representation of our thoughts and feelings. Science demands correctness and purity of language, perspicuity, brevity, simplicity, dignity, and finally beauty, in the expression of the speaker. We say science demands these,—the style of the preacher must be cultivated, not that he may shine as an orator,

but that he may give the most appropriate and worthy garb to the great thoughts and emotions with which he is charged as the ambassador of God, not for *his own* sake, but for the sake of the congregation. It is sad, indeed, to find the great truths of the gospel made repulsive by rude and unworthy language in the preacher; yet how often is this done of late? At the present rate of downward progress it will not be long before we get back to the times of Geiler of Kaisersburg, who, in a certain sermon, having compared the body to an old ass, and the soul to a young one, exclaimed, "Now saddle both body and soul for the Lord, that he may ride upon them." Some, too, may be captivated by another of his elegant figures. "There be three geese that bite us; the first is *pride;* big, gray, and coarse: the second is *lust;* black, filthy, &c." In the mean time we think that PALMER's opposition to style is not very hearty, for he himself quotes a passage from Hofacker as very happy, though it is nearly all made up of tropes. "O sweet sleep on the bed of earth, and under a covering of stone,—if it be a sleep in the arms of Jesus! O happy death! when Jesus, the conqueror of death, stands by the couch and covers the departing soul with the wings of his mercy! O glorious victory of life over death, when the worn pilgrim hears, with his spirit-sense, the rustling palms of the conquerors that have gone before!"

Finally, we have to speak of the *delivery* of the sermon. It is true, as PALMER says, that ecclesiastical usage has decided that the discourse shall be spoken freely, and not read from the desk; but there is a deeper reason for this than mere traditional usage. Although, as a mere matter of taste, we might prefer a good sermon read from the manuscript, to the stupid balderdash which is so often thrown out in extemporaneous preaching, yet nothing can be more certain than that a free discourse, unfettered by notes or reading, seems more obviously to offer the genuine outpourings of the heart, and is therefore more effective than a written discourse can be. Moreover, the delivery can never be easy and natural, when the speaker must cast occasional anxious glances at his half-concealed manuscript; and every such glance is an annoyance to his auditors. Not merely usage, then, but nature and necessity, dictate free-speech in the pulpit in preference to read discourses. So, too, with gesture,—the ground of its employment lies far deeper than ecclesiastical usage, whose only real influence indeed is, by confining the preacher to a pulpit, to restrict his action to the upper part of the body, especially the arms and hands. Some gesture there must be, whatever usage may say, if the speaker would be natural and truthful: every heartfelt emotion will seek for some

outward expression in the countenance and gesture. It is folly, indeed, to refrain from this natural and effective expression, simply because some men fall into bad habits.

In conclusion, we sum up what has been said in a few words. We preach in the Christian church, because the WORD OF GOD exists and SPEECH exists. The Word of God is to be kept before the people, that they may "be built up on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." And, as speech is the fittest means of keeping this word before the people, speech must be used, according to its own laws, in the fittest way to accomplish the great end of edification. A truly scientific homiletics can occupy itself only about these two great points—the Word and its utterance; and will remember that ecclesiastical usage can alter or remove nothing that is essential to these. We hope that PALMER, to whom we cordially extend the right hand of fellowship, will elevate his mind to a greater unity of conception, and will employ the valuable materials which he has collected in the preparation of a new and scientific Homiletics,—a work to which he evidently has a decided calling.

ART. V.—*Reply to Rev. T. M. Hopkins on Jasher.*

WE took occasion, in a former number of the Review, (October, 1845,) to consider a series of arguments which had been adduced in the Biblical Repository of January, 1845, purporting to demonstrate that the passage in Joshua, which declares that *the sun and moon stood still*, is an interpolation. Our object was to seek and embrace the truth; to defend the integrity of our sacred Scriptures where they are not manifestly corrupted; and to rebuke the rashness that would yield, for slight reasons, to reject a portion of what is written therein.

The writer in the Repository, Rev. T. M. Hopkins, has seen fit to reply in a way which demands from us a brief notice.

We are sorry Mr. Hopkins chose to use, on such a subject, only vituperation and smart sayings, that might be considered discourteous if it liked us so to take them. We should have preferred his arguments. For by this means, calmly and candidly used, we may gain a clearer knowledge of Scripture; by the former, we shall mend neither head nor heart.

We are willing he should call himself Homer's frog, for the sake of calling us the snail; we only object to his trying to make

us *hop*. As snail, we like it best to crawl; and claim no *kin* to the *hop*-ping race. But we pass such dainties. Though they constitute the favorite dish of some, we presume the readers of the Review will not greatly relish them.

We propose to give simply a synopsis of Mr. Hopkins' reply, and show, in part, where he has misunderstood us; we will not say *misrepresented*, for that would imply a moral obliquity that we cannot lightly charge on a man and a Christian minister; and we are sorry, again, that he should have felt disposed so to charge us, because, in one place, we omitted a word, the use of which we probably did not perceive. But "the readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review, who may have read the statement" as we made it, shall have the full benefit of the author's own corrections.

He complains of us as "representing the writer [Mr. H.] to have said, that 'not a single expression in Habakkuk, chapter iii, can be, for a moment, supposed to have had reference to an act that ever transpired.' By omitting the word '*literally*' in this sentence," Mr. H. adds, "he has put into the writer's *mouth* what the writer never said."—*Bib. Rep., April*, 1846, p. 293. Mr. H. will permit us to place by the side of this complaint what we *did* represent. We quoted his language, first, as follows: The expression in Hab. iii, 11, "The sun and moon stood still in their habitation," "should *not* be thought to have had a reference to an event which actually took place." And a few lines below: "No one supposes for a moment that a single one of the remaining declarations [of this chapter] ever referred to a transaction which at any time literally occurred." And when, a few lines after, we said in our own language, not using quotation—*reference to any act that ever transpired*—we thought, in the simplicity of our understanding, we embraced all his *meaning;* but if we did not, it was there in his own words. Of course, we would not write as our own language—*literally* transpired—though we did twice quote his expression, "*literally* occurred." We hope our works without words will show that we did not intend to represent unfairly; and we frankly say now to "the readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review" that Mr. H. wishes to say, "Not a single expression in Hab. iii can be, for a moment, supposed to have had reference to an act that ever *literally* transpired."*

* It may not be improper to append here a few of the expressions of which it is so dogmatically asserted that "no one supposes for a moment that a single one of them referred to an event that ever literally occurred." Verse 5. "Before Him went the pestilence; and burning coals (margin, *burning diseases*) went forth at his feet." Now we read in Numbers xi, 33, "The wrath of

Our readers will now see our whole error. We acknowledge it. When quoting his language, we adhered scrupulously to his words —"*actually took place*"—which is good English—and "*literally* occurred"—a phrase which we could never consent to use in our own name. And because we chose not to imitate an unenglishism, which could add nothing to the sense, we are honored profusely with the charge of "misrepresentation," and *unfairness*, and want of "*veracity*."

We have been thus particular in exhibiting fully, and confessing the whole "head and front of our offending;" and we wish it distinctly noted and remembered, that this is the only instance in which even our lynx-eyed defender of literalities has found any unfairness in our presentation of his views and arguments. We wish it further noted, that he has not pointed out in our arguments a single sophistry, or a fallacy, or attempted a refutation. It will be remembered that in our former article our object was mainly to test the validity of the arguments for this new notion of his. In only three places did we present a proposition, which we argued

the LORD was *kindled* against the people"—(one of the commonest figures to express strong emotion or sensation, that of *heat*, *fire*, *burning*, *ardent*, &c.,)—"and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague." Indeed, so great was the destruction, by plague, and the *fiery* flying serpents, and by various calamities, that two only of all that came out from Egypt entered the promised land. The carcasses of a nation fell in the wilderness. We are reminded, too, of the *three days of pestilence* in the time of David, not to mention other so frequent and heavy strokes of public calamity, by pestilence and burning disease, as well as the cutting sword. Was there nothing to which one might *suppose* this to *refer?* These awful judgments are frequently referred to in the other prophets and in the Psalms, in language similar to this of Habakkuk.

Verse 6. "He beheld, and drove asunder the nations." *Drive out*, is the expression commonly used respecting the Canaanites, Jebusites, &c., who were displaced to make room for the children of Israel in the promised land. Who can prevent the association if he would? The mind *will* "refer," whether the prophet intended it or not.

Verse 9. "Thou didst cleave the rivers of the earth." Was Jordan parted?

Verse 10. "The mountains saw thee and trembled." Did Sinai quake under the thunderings of the Almighty?

Verse 15. "Thou didst walk through the sea with thy horses; through the heap of great waters." Ay; but which essaying to do, Pharaoh and his host perished.

Verse 11. "The sun and moon stood still in their habitation—thine arrows walked in the light," &c. Not so, says this purifier of holy writ—this is but the prophet's phrensy, and means nothing.

directly. The first was,—That in the course of human events it is not only possible, but probable, that after a glorious battle the rhapsodist should sing his song of victory before a history of the event should be written and published; and, in particular, that the history of Joshua was not written till after his day. Mr. Hopkins contents himself with calling it absurd; nay, the sublimity of absurdities, to suppose there could be a space of time sufficient even to wedge in the tiniest ode between the act acted and the history published. And upon this position of his hung his vitalest argument. The second was, to sustain our denial that Josephus refers to Jasher. This entire position of Mr. H., which, if made good, was, in our judgment, his weightiest one, he now abandons, and agrees with us on this point. The third was, that profane tradition *does* attest the miracle. He is evidently in doubt whether to receive the story of Phaëton as veritable tradition, hence originated, or not. For the rest, he has generally misunderstood us.

But we proceed to give the synopsis.

The first argument against the genuineness of the passage that records the miracle, was,—"It is evidently an interruption of the narrative; an interruption which, when considered with reference to its own statement at the close, destroys the credibility of the passage."

On this Mr. H. says we "*admitted* the first argument in all its force." If he means such force as would bring us to *his* conclusions, he *misunderstood* us. We admitted his first *premise*, to wit, "It interrupts the narrative;" that is, of the battle, while the writer pauses to insert in its own place an account of the miracle. But from this premise we *denied* that any argument could proceed till this problem is first solved, to wit:—*If* the passage were genuine—for that is the question—how would it the less interrupt the narrative? Our conclusion was stated in these words, which we will do Mr. H. the charity to believe he overlooked:—"It would seem, therefore, that before we could argue this passage to be spurious, from the fact that it interrupts the narrative, it were incumbent to show how it would not interrupt the narrative if admitted to be genuine."

The other assertion, to wit, that verse fifteenth (which says that Joshua and the army returned to Gilgal) is not reconcilable with the context, we admitted in a qualified sense; not as he *understands* us to have done. But if admitted positively, we denied —that which Mr. H. has not yet attempted to prove—that there is any connection, natural or logical, between the fact of so stupendous a miracle and the question—where the army encamped the

night after the battle. And we stated our conclusion, that "if there be argument here, it certainly resolves itself into this: because the context, and the nature of things, seem to forbid the supposition that Joshua returned to Gilgal as stated in verse fifteenth; therefore, the Almighty did not put forth his power to arrest the sun and moon, as stated in verses twelfth and thirteenth."

If, then, this reviser of the sacred canon claims that as his argument, it is very true we admitted it "in all its *force*."

But Mr. H. *misunderstood* us again just here. We did not propose to reject verse 15. We only intimated that it seemed to us more rash in him to reject four verses than in Dr. Horne to reject one. We distinctly stated, that we think the whole difficulty of this verse is in the word *Gilgal;* and suggested two ways by which the difficulty might be relieved; one of which Mr. H. afterward attempted to quote, for a special object. He should have remembered this fact in connection with the gratuitous charge of excision. We are sorry again, now that his memory is so short; for certainly he could not have intended wrong.

We are next taken by an actual surprise. We confess it. Our critic has turned antiquary. He says he has got the book of Jasher—the real Jasher. He says it is as big as a Pentateuch. He says he can give "an extract" from it; and "a larger one than the disputed passage, *yet one that embraces it!*" How Euclidian! And this he utters apparently with the air as if he fancied himself the repositary of the mighty secret of the existence of such a book. For, after a complacent pause, he leniently proceeds:—"The reader will, of course, allow himself to smile at the idea just advanced; yet it is most true. 'The Book of Jasher is now'* lying before me; the veritable 'Sepher Hajasher,' (literally 'correct record,') with its chapters and verses, [!] and with the passage in dispute, is at hand.† . . . Presuming the reviewer [that's ourself] will be satisfied with the assurance that it claims to have been," &c. We certainly should be very ungrateful not to make our acknowledgments for such information thus *assured* to us. But he goes on to increase the obligation, thus:—"The reader, it is presumed, and possibly the reviewer, [that's ourself again,] will be glad to see the entire passage from which the verses in dispute are thought to have been taken."

Our astonishment in all this is not at the modest *presumption* and the proffered "assurance," but that a man, and a divine, should

* Does that word *now* imply anything? Perhaps there is another secret.

† *Is at hand* (!) We know what "*is at hand*" means, in the phrase commercial, and the phrase epistolary.

adduce, in such connection, the authority of a book which we thought the learned had long agreed to pronounce a *modern forgery;* in which opinion, it appears, Mr. H. coincides, after giving an extract, at considerable length, which is probably well known to most of "the readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review," of whom he affects or enjoys a complacent ignorance.

We have here to say, that Mr. H. *misunderstood* us again, (for surely he "is an *honorable* man,") in supposing that we claimed for the book of Jasher "authentic antiquity."—P. 272. We affirmed nothing on this point. We said, (p. 510,) "We do not propose to say who was Jasher, or what the book of Jasher, but only to examine what has been said to us." Mr. H. *assumed that it was ancient*, and testified of by Josephus. We denied that Josephus said anything about it; and in this he now agrees with us. He assumed that it "was probably a collection of sacred songs, composed on various occasions; and one of its pieces *undoubtedly* was that recorded in 2 Samuel i," (p. 112,) which certainly makes it synchronous with David. From this opinion we expressly dissented. Though we cannot demonstrate our opinion, we have reasons for it, stronger than any we have seen for regarding it a book of poems. Having assumed the fact, that the book was a compilation of poems, he wishes to argue that its date must have been subsequent to that of the book of Joshua, *because there was no intervening time between the acts and the writing of the history.* At this point we took issue with him, and claimed that *if there was* a national ode to celebrate the victory of Joshua and the miracle, "it was more reasonable to suppose that the poetic effusion should have been antecedent to the prose record; that the flight of the winged Pegasus should have outstripped the tardier movements of the pedestrian muse." We further gave arguments, for which we challenge refutation, that the book of Joshua was not written till some time subsequent to the man Joshua.

"The readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review" shall have the benefit, in full, of his reply to these two positions. It is this: "The man whose credulity can overcome such obstacles will never find anything in the way of a position he may wish to establish." The "obstacles" he means are, the "absurdity" of supposing the ode could be written before the history, and that the history could be written some little time after the deeds of it were done! *So* absurd! he redoubles upon the track, and finds it the "ultimatum in absurdity" to suppose the poet could compose an ode, or (to conform our ideas to the customs of the age) that the

rhapsodist could utter his *impromptu song* before the historian had accomplished his task! Why, the strains might have been caught by the daughters of Israel, and sent echoing round all the hills of Palestine, ere the general was sufficiently refreshed from battle to withdraw the stylus from his belt, or unrol his parchments. And if our sires and grandams tell us truly, the victories of our revolution were sung all over the land long before men thought of history, save the living history in the conversation of the people.

We are sorry he should have written so rashly—we might be justified in saying, *absurdly*—'twere more just to the fact, however, to say *stupidly*—but we dislike either word.

One other thing, *en passant*. We hope Mr. H. "will be satisfied with the assurance" that we did not intend to unsettle his nerves so sadly by the sight of a Pegasus. We "*presumed*" that a man who could do and undo the writings of antiquity, was too familiar with the whole classical menagery to take fright at the commonest of the herd. Poor Peg! he's a harmless beast in these days. That he did not comprehend the common phrase—not to say trite—*pedestrian muse*, we are satisfied did not result from any will to pervert or misunderstand, but simply from having forgotten the use of it in our standards, and from lack of a dictionary. His error here is no doubt from his memory. A pity for its shortness! If he has forgotten his Quinctilian, and his Horace, and our English classics, any good dictionary would have served as a prompter; and would have taught him, that though "professing to know a little of almost everything," (we had judged as much,) he has guessed totally wrong this time.

But perhaps it were as well to stop. These misconceptions and misstatements—unintentional we hope, for the man abhors to misrepresent—yet utter and unjustifiable misstatements—fall frequenter than the pages. A pity for its shortness, we said—his memory's. See how it serves him in a quotation; or better to say, *subserves*.

He had said that Josephus gave a full account of Jasher, and recites that account item by item, (p. 110.) We denied that Josephus even so much as intimates that he ever heard of such a book. And, respecting the passage in that author, where he speaks of "the *books* laid up in the temple," from which Dr. Horne deduces a detailed opinion about Jasher, we said this:—

"The inquiry, then, is, What were the *books* laid up in the temple? We can easily conceive that it is not among the wildest of conjectures that have been made, to suppose that the *book* of Jasher was intended; and that point *assumed*, the *further con-*

jecture, that the *other items* above named must also have been of Josephus's opinion, gains a strength of probability, amounting, perhaps, to inference. But remove this substratum, and the fabric it supports goes with it. And we claim that such a conjecture is entirely independent of the *data* which might have guided it."—P. 512.

Mr. Hopkins quotes us thus: (he means to do it "*literally*," of course:)

"'Now we can easily conceive,' adds this reviewer, 'that it is not among the wildest of conjectures to suppose that the book of Jasher was intended.' Nay; he admits that '*this opinion* gains a strength of probability, amounting, *perhaps*, to inference.'"—P. 282.

That we call pitiable, *literally* pitiable.

We then showed that, by the *books*, Josephus could have meant no other than the sacred Scriptures. This Mr. H. now admits, abandons his former opinion, and again reiterates that we "admit that it is altogether probable Josephus *did* refer to this book." A *literal* man, no doubt, and an honorable, and who abhors to misrepresent.

Another. On the question, whether the passage is poetry, he quotes us to have said:—"The characteristics by which we are accustomed to distinguish poetry *are these*, to wit: the determination of the verse by a certain number and fixed order of feet, ascertained by the number and quantity of syllables in each." Here he stops; and upon these disjointed fragments of our sentence he remarks:—"Will the learned professor deny that the book of Job (excepting, &c.) is poetry? And can he find here his 'determination of the verse?' &c., &c. Let him look also at the book of Psalms and that of Proverbs," &c. Now the simple thing we said was, that the characteristics above named *are wanting in Hebrew* poetry. We said it thus:—"That all the *obvious* characteristics by which we are accustomed to distinguish poetry, to wit: the determination of the verse by a certain number and fixed order of feet, ascertained by the number and quantity of syllables in each; *in fine, the entire subject of prosody as it exhibits itself from the ancient Greek hitherward, was wholly unknown to the Hebrew:* at least we have no knowledge that it was recognized by them at all." We then noticed the characteristics of Hebrew verse, as defined by all the grammarians, and referred to Nordheimer for a more full exhibition of what we received as the true doctrine. If he dislikes our views, the question is with Nordheimer and Stuart, and the German philologians. But we in-

troduced this to show how *literally* he quotes. He does not attack our argument.*

He next makes us say,—"That which follows the question in verse 13, ('is it not written?' &c.) is a little *more* poetical than that which precedes it;" and adds, "There are degrees, then, it seems, in poetry, according to his own standard, and that, too, where there is no poetry at all!" Our sentence was *literally* this. After having noticed the characteristics of Hebrew poetry, and having said, "They had poetic thoughts, poetic diction, we might even say, a poetic style, but no verse;" that is, in the Greek and Latin, and modern sense of the word *verse;* we said,—"The latter clause of the thirteenth verse may be said to be, *in its phraseology, poetic.*" It is surely time to refer this *literal* man, who "professes to know a *little* of almost everything," to Noah Webster, to renew his extinct memory of the *use* (not *ab*-use) of the "marks of quotation."

The argument about tradition rests where we left it. He does not attempt to refute it. He quotes a part of it; so as not to exhibit its force, however; but does not misquote under this head, only to make us say something about the flood *which we never said.* If he would not put his constant misstatements in quotation marks, as if we had said so, it would not have been quite so *guilty.* We have not said the half that he has thus marked for us.

We *must* give one more. "The writer of the *Examination*" had found a difficulty in the passage, from the relative position of Gibeon to Joshua; and this difficulty he had invented by *misreading* the text—*over* Gibeon, for *upon* Gibeon. We felt, indeed, that it was childish in us to stoop to illustrate the fact, that

* It will be remembered that we did not deny the quotation in verse thirteenth to be poetry. That it exhibits the rhetorical figure of *parallelism* is evident to any one; and so far we said its *phraseology was poetic;* but we reaffirm that this figure is one of the common ornaments of prose, and, therefore, does not sustain the unqualified assertion that the clause is poetry. But if we are to admit any sentence to be absolutely *poetry* on such slight evidence, and then agree with Mr. H. that a poetic clause cannot legitimately stand in connection in prose, we have done a sad work. The knife of excision must at once go through the Gospel histories, cutting them piecemeal from beginning to end. Many of the most pointed and instructive of our Saviour's parables, and other portions of his discourses, suddenly become, in the hands of such *critics*, modern interpolations from smutty monks' books! Nay, go through the masters of literature in all languages, and you reduce their symmetry to utter deformity, and annihilate the very idea of art or refinement in prose composition.

if one would look, at evening, to see the sunlight rest *upon* a mountain, he must, of course, look toward the east; and that when the sun is near the horizon, whether east or west, and we say the *sun is upon the mountain*, we always imply that the two objects are in opposite directions from us. Having done this, however, with due gravity, the spirit of burlesque got the better of us for a moment. We said,—"We have read that this preposition, *upon*, once gave rise to an elaborate discussion by all the learned jurists that attend on the two highest courts in the British empire, to determine whether it meant *before* or *after;* and it gained a different decision from each of the august benches. It was not argued at that time whether it might also signify *over*."—P. 521.

Listen, now, to the man who proffers, and quite urges us to accept, his *emendations* of the sacred text. After complaining that we think so little of his argument, we have *literally* this:—"He has read, as he informs us, somewhere in the course of his researches after wisdom and knowledge, 'that the preposition *upon* once gave rise to an elaborate discussion in the British *Parliament*,* to determine whether it meant *before* or *after*.' This, as it would seem, is sufficient to satisfy him, that when Joshua, standing at Makkedah, near the close of the day, gave command that the sun and moon should halt 'upon Gibeon,' a city lying directly east of him, he meant only that the sun should stand still either 'before' or 'after' Gibeon."—P. 290.

Now we will not call this *absurd;* for we are convinced, from his use of it, that Mr. H. has forgotten the meaning of that word; nor *misrepresentation*, for that he abhors; nor lack of *veracity*, for he must have but vague notions of that virtue who can question the veracity of another for choosing not to imitate his *bad grammar*, by inserting a word which could add nothing to the sense, in a place where it could not properly stand, though when *quoting his* language, he did it *literally—verbatim et grammaticatim*—we will call it none of these; in fine, we will not name it. A friend at our elbow suggests that it simply looks to him like—*hopeless stupidity*, or *willful perversion;* that he either could not understand simple language, or has deliberately falsified. We affirm not, lest we should not be literally correct.

On page 280, he says we have not noticed a single one of the

* He evidently quotes from memory—and that a very short one, which is as good as *mismemory*. A pity for such a memory! If he will look into the Reports of the Courts of Queen's Bench and the Exchequer for 1839, he will find the arguments in full.

considerations on pages 110, 111 of the Examination. We are at a loss to know what to make of this, unless it be that the numbers are misprinted. He could not have meant pages 110, 111, for those are the pages in which he treats of the book of Jasher—a topic to which we gave more space than to any other one in the Examination, as may be seen—about four pages. At least we should have believed the error to have been of the printer, had we not had so many similar specimens of his *literal reference*.

In another passage we are happy to do justice to this writer, so fond of literal accuracy. Now it happened that our printer marred us sadly. He has promised to do better, and we forgive him. We caused a copy of our article to be sent to Mr. Hopkins, with the typographical errors corrected on the margin. In citing one of these unfortunate sentences, Mr. H. has amused us by copying the *type literally*, and then suspending the marginal correction as a conjectural emendation of his own. We had hope now, when we saw him following both the text and margin, that he would for once get through the sentence correctly. But, alas! the next three or four lines, simple as they are, are garbled and deformed, till we cannot own them. The sense is not changed, it is true, as is so often done in other places, but the phraseology is not ours. We ask Mr. H., in the name of common sense and common honesty, by what law, whether of usage or literary courtesy, or honor or *morality*, he thus continually marks as quotation from us language that we never used.

But we cease from the bootless task of such exposition. Save the three or four pages occupied with the extract, and description of his new-found book of Jasher, there is barely one page of his twenty-seven (we are thankful for *one*) in which he has not misunderstood, or misstated, or misquoted, or perverted, or falsified (which, we pretend not to say) our words and sentiments. So thick, indeed, do these gems of *literalness* and *veracity* cluster, that sometimes not less than half a dozen on the same page have occurred. We should have preferred his arguments.

We regret exceedingly that it has seemed necessary to dwell so long on matters so ungrateful. We would wish, rather, to look at the merits of the question. Is the passage referred to in Joshua, genuine? Did "the sun and moon stand still in their habitations?"

Recapitulation of the Argument.

Against the reception of that passage, Mr. Hopkins had offered nine several reasons; the sufficiency whereof we did not see, and

accordingly sought to show their invalidity. Our arguments he has not once analyzed or attempted to answer. Let that be remembered. And this also:—In but one instance has he found even a pretext to complain that we failed to present his positions and arguments fairly. We are gratified at this; for we would study, first of all, to be candid and impartial, especially in a discussion concerning the word of God. Yet once we sinned. We confess it. Though we caused the writer's own words to appear distinguished by proper marks—"literally occurred"—we did not choose to say in our own language—*literally transpired*—because we did not understand what quality may inhere in an *act of transpiration*, which should be denominated *literalness*.

Of his nine propositions, we showed that all, except three, *if admitted*, are, in their bearing on this question, merely negative—they would consist equally with either the rejection or retainment of the passage. Of these three, two were founded on a *misapprehension*—this seems to be a favorite figure of the man, and it certainly makes us not a little charitable toward his misknowledges of our meaning—of the text. In one, he supposed the text to mean, that the Lord *had never before heard and answered prayer, and never would again*, in any respect whatever; or that he had never before fought for Israel, and *never would again!* We hope he sees clearer now. The other is in trying to get the sun *over* Gibeon. Our readers have had enough on that point; and from some symptoms of progression in his last article, we do not despair but even Mr. Hopkins may yet learn the meaning of *upon*. We have known wonders accomplished in that way. There is yet one of a positive character; and Mr. H. claims that we admitted it "in all its force." Verse fifteenth says that Joshua returned to Gilgal; but the distance seems too great for the army to have marched after the battle, and immediately subsequent we find them again near the site of the battle; *therefore the sun and moon did not stand still!* The connection between these events necessary to render the syllogism quite Aristotlean, the author of it has not shown us. He has said, indeed, "there is such a marked family likeness in all the parts as to force us to the belief that they belong together."—P. 271. A family likeness! It may be; but not surely

"qualem decet esse sororum;"

else, does the Jasherean sire demean him toward the twain with a very unfatherly partiality; for while one is mounted on a "winged Pegasus," to take its "flight, hap-hazard, through the

heavens," the other is doomed to trudge *cum "musa pedestri."* "A plain English translation of which is"—we insert it for Mr. H.'s *understanding*—(see his last article, p. 286)—in the Jasher, by which he now abides, one part is poetry; while the other, separated by a long intervening passage, is "the gravest prose." But as he has not hinted to us in what this family likeness consists, perhaps he sees it in some feature where common observers would not expect it.

Here, then, is the sum total of all the argument he has brought against the genuineness of this passage. It happens, further, that two of his negative propositions have a *positive* side, either one of which outweighs books full of mere negatives. 1. We presume there are few readers who will not feel the conviction that Habakkuk referred to this event when he says, "The sun and moon stood still in their habitation; thine arrows did walk in the light," &c. 2. We referred to a *tradition* of this event, which was current among some of the ancient nations, and of which the verisimilitude scarcely suffers us to entertain a doubt of its origin. This we showed in detail. Mr. Hopkins has *not attempted* to place *argument* against this *in one particular*. We must understand him, then, as admitting it. And, according to his own declaration, either of these two points made good settles the question.

Though the conclusion from these two arguments cannot be evaded, we yet notice one other consideration which Mr. H. has urged in his last article. He says,—

"Let the supposition, then, be made, that Joshua x, 12–15, is to be retained, because the thing it states is true. Wherefore this citation, then, of another writer? Is it to command belief? Where, in all the word of God, do we find another case like it?" &c.—P. 279.

Why, in the name of truth, does he write thus? Divine though he be, one of common intelligence, and who does *not* "profess to know a little of almost everything," would be tempted to believe that one of the things of which he knows *little*, is—the contents of his Bible. But we bethink us of that sad memory of his. "Where do we find?" In many places. In the historic books of the Old Testament, the so frequently recurring reference for additional facts on the same subject, to "the book of kings of Judah" and Israel; and to "the book of the Chronicles of the kings," &c. That these references were not to the books bearing those titles as they now stand in the sacred canon is evident—first, from the fact that in the book to which, on that supposition,

the reference is made, there are, in some cases, no additional facts given; and, second, there *could not* be this reciprocal reference from one book to the other, *unless each were written before the other.* Of necessity, therefore, we believe Biblical scholars agree that the compilers of these books referred to the same original documents, which were probably the official records of the government.

But, secondly, there is another class of books referred to by their various titles, to wit: a biography of Solomon. 1 Kings xi, 41. In 1 Chron. xxix, 29, we are referred to the histories of Samuel, and Nathan, and Gad, for "the rest of the acts of David." In 2 Chron. ix, 29, "the book of Nathan the prophet, and the prophecy of Ahijah, the Shilonite, and the visions of Iddo the seer." Also 2 Chron. xii, 15, "the book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer, *concerning genealogies;*" a different work, it appears, from his "visions." Chap. xiii, 22, "the commentary of the prophet Iddo"—still another, by the same author. Chap. xx, 34, "the book of Jehu the son of Hanani;" and so on in other places. "Where, in all the word of God, do we find another case like it?" is the question of the man who "professes to know," &c.

Again, in Num. xxi, 14, we are cited to "the book of the wars of the Lord."

The New Testament writers also. Jude, verse 14, quotes a prophecy of Enoch, known to be from an apocryphal book, called "the book of Enoch," which was known to the Christian fathers; and, though believed for a long time to be lost to the world, has been recovered, and was published a few years ago.

The author of the same epistle, in verse 9, also cites a current tradition, or some book that has since perished. St. Paul does the same thing in 2 Tim. iii, 8.

But more than all this. St. Paul quotes heathen writers in not less than three several places; and this he does precisely as an ordinary man would invoke to his support an acknowledged authority: not that he needed human authority to sustain the truth of his assertions to those who understood his sacred mission and his inspiration, but we think it would naturally tend, under the circumstances, to carry a fuller conviction to the minds of those he addressed.

Mr. Hopkins' present Position.

The "writer of the Examination" takes entirely new ground in his last article respecting the book of Jasher, from that which he

occupied in his first. In that he claimed that the book of Jasher was an *ancient* writing, known to Josephus, and spoken of by him in copious detail, (p. 110.) 2. He claimed that its precise date, at least of some of its contents, was the time of David; and that "one of its pieces was *undoubtedly* that recorded in 2 Sam., chap. i."—P. 112. All this is as clear as language can make it. But what now?

The whole reading world will remember that there was published, a few years ago, a work assuming the title, and claiming to be the "veritable book of Jasher" referred to in the sacred Scriptures.* This novelty excited the attention of the learned; and, of course, its high pretensions were canvassed; and the general judgment, as we have all along understood it, was, that it was a spurious production of the middle ages. This opinion is also adopted by Mr. H. He thinks the book "first saw the light about the commencement of the dark ages."—P. 283. He has justly characterized it as "replete with absurdities, vain and inconsistent surmises—deeply imbued throughout with the smut and moonshine of monkish superstition and folly."—P. 276. But what was our surprise to discover that this thing of absurdities; this, as one has fitly styled it, "illegitimate spawn of an idle monk," Mr. H. now claims as the "veritable book of Jasher," referred to in Joshua and Samuel! That, from such a source, and within these later times, the passage in dispute has been foisted into the sacred text.

Surely it is time to have done with arguments. We will only say that, if Mr. H. was candidly seeking for the truth on this question, the road to it was very short compared to that which he chose to take. We will indicate it.

The process is this:—1. Here is the book of Jasher. 2. It was composed "about the commencement of the dark ages." 3. Was the passage in Joshua taken from *this book*, as a quotation? This is a simple question, easily answered by historic evidence. Let him, then, write to some of his learned friends, and propound this question: Was this passage in Joshua, or the reference to Jasher in the Second Book of Samuel, in the sacred text before the dark ages? The whole problem lies in that nutshell. The question would indeed "be narrowed down to a very small compass;" and notwithstanding he objects to any compres-

* New-York, 1840—edited by M. M. Noah, with a flourish of prefaces, not unprofitable to read for a dyspeptic of a rainy day. It is seldom seen in the book-stores, more for that it is not marketable, than that it is not in market.

sion or restriction of the rambling latitude he had given it, we can assure him it is always safest when inquiring after truth. Or if he does not wish to trouble his friends who are competent to such investigation, a few books, that are in every reader's way, may throw sufficient light on it; as, first, Josephus, in the passage to which Mr. H. himself before referred, says, that "in the books laid up in the temple," from which he takes all his history, and which he calls, in another place, "the Jewish Scriptures," he finds this account of the sun and moon standing still, &c. Aha! was it there in the time of Josephus? and received by the Jewish nation as a part of their sacred Scriptures, which were kept by them with such peculiar care as to render it almost impossible that they should have become adulterated?* Poor monk's book! it must forego the honor of originality!

Another: it appears that he sometimes reads Dr. Clarke. Let him turn to 2 Samuel, chap. i, and he will see, on the authority of that commentator, that Jasher was in the text in that place when the Targum of Jonathan was written—which was probably about the time of Christ. But we have said enough. He would hardly need to call for further light on such a question.

We have, then, these conclusions:—

1. The *fact* of such a miracle is attested by profane tradition; and, that fact admitted, Mr. H. admits the passage.

2. That Habakkuk did refer to this act of the Almighty, we think but one man doubts; and he, because he *has* doubted.

3. This passage was in the text in the time of Josephus; but our objector's basis, and only support to his theory is, that the idea of such a miracle was first invented, and the words first written, by some vagrant monk some time in the dark ages.

If he had stated that proposition in the first place, we should never have lifted a pen to expose an absurdity so puerile. But he

* It will be remembered that the school of the Masorites arose several centuries before Christ—a body of men who devoted their lives to the labor of examining and guarding the purity of the sacred text; descending to the painful *minutiæ* of testing the correctness of every new manuscript, by counting the divisions, and even the letters, and marking the slightest variation in a vowel point or accent, or the form or size of a letter: whence it has been justly concluded to be *impossible* that any material corruption could have crept into the Hebrew text after they commenced their labors. In the sixth century after Christ, the doctors of this school published a complete body of the notes that had accumulated by the study of these men so superstitiously scrupulous for a period of about a thousand years. It was in the midst of this period that Josephus lived, and the Targums were written; and before the close of it, copies and versions were everywhere multiplied.

had evidently no such idea when he wrote his first article; and we hugely suspect that the same big Jasher, "with its chapters and verses," which, he says, *is now at hand*, is as much a novelty to him as he modestly (!) fancied it would be to his readers.

What was the Book of Jasher?

This "Sepher Hajasher"—"Correct Record," as Mr. Hopkins translates it—what was it? We cannot tell. We are frank, notwithstanding Mr. H. thinks it "somewhat amusing"—these are his words—"and instructive to see our antagonist taking refuge in the obscurity, which he says [we say] hangs over the whole subject of said book." To him it seems clear. He asserted, first, that it was an ancient book of miscellaneous poems. This we doubted; and he now abandons. He now claims it to be nothing more or less than this thing of absurdities, born of monkish folly during the dark ages. Very clear! He further concludes, by a logic peculiar to himself, that inasmuch as this smutty monk's book is now extant, and *called* Jasher's Book, there could not have been an ancient writing bearing the same title. If he had reasoned thus: had there been no ancient, genuine Jasher, there would have been no modern spurious Jasher—that were more probable.

But what *was* the book of Jasher? We have already seen that there were certain documents referred to by the men appointed and inspired of God to write out such portions of the known history of his people, as he chose to preserve as sacred for the instruction of future ages, by the title of "the Chronicles of the Kings;" which documents, we suppose, to be the official records of the transactions of the government. We also learn from many passages, that, under the regal government, there was an officer appointed to the special charge of making such records. See 2 Sam. viii, 16; 2 Kings xviii, 18; 1 Chron. xviii, 15; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 8. That the term *chronicles*, or, as the Hebrew is, "the words of the days," that is, *journals*, designates documents of the character we have supposed, seems placed beyond a doubt by the use of it elsewhere in the Hebrew writers. Thus, when the conspiracy against the life of Ahasuerus was detected, and the conspirators executed, the sacred historian says, "It was written in the book of the chronicles before the king." Esther ii, 23. And some time after, during that sleepless night of his, the king "commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king." Esther vi, 1.

Further: we have never known, and can hardly conceive of, a

regular government carried on without such records. Did the Jews have such during the rule of the Judges? They *must* have had. And do the historians of those times ever refer to them as the subsequent ones do to the regal state documents? and by what title? We think they do; and that this is the very thing meant by the "book of the Just," or, as Mr. H. translates the *Sepher Hajasher*, "Correct Record."

In this view of the subject, then, inasmuch as the book of Joshua was not composed till some time subsequent to the events, it is in nowise marvelous that the author should refer to this *record*, acknowledged by the Jews to be authentic and *correct*, or the work of a *just* and true man. Nay, it is one of the most natural things we have seen. Far more so than that St. Paul when setting forth to the Athenians that God is the common father of us all, should add, for their better persuasion, "as certain also of your own poets have said, 'For we are also his offspring.'"

In this opinion we are not peculiar. We think it is the more common view of the subject, certainly of scholars. Such is Dr. Robinson's*—a man whose authority, we hope, has some weight with Mr. H. Dr. Horne, in one place, albeit quite contrary to what he says in another, teaches the same thing.† Dr. Glassius, in his Philologia Sacra, gives a compilation of various opinions, and decides in favor of this same.‡

Let it suffice to have said thus much respecting the miracle and the author quoted. Quite distinct from this, and will ever remain distinct, is the historical, or rather geographical, difficulty in verse fifteenth. We recur to it to show another specimen of the *accuracy* of this rectifier of the Bible for us. He says (p. 294) that we have put forth a *conjecture*, "that verse 15 should read, 'And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp at *Makkedah*,' instead of Gilgal." And continues, "The Hebrew letters in 'Hagilgalah,' he thinks, are so nearly like those which are combined to form the name 'Makkedah,' that some early, careless transcriber mistook the one for the other."

And, on the next page, he puts in quotation marks as being said by us—*Hagilgalah*, "in the Hebrew character, 'is formed of letters so nearly resembling those in Makkedah, as to be easily mistaken, the one for the other.'" Listen, thou reverend man, to our reply. We have not written one syllable of all that. We have never made such a conjecture. We have never uttered such

* See in Calmet, art. *Bible*. † Vol. iv, p. 1, chap. ii, sec. 2.

‡ Lib. v, tract 1, cap. xiv, pp. 1906, 1907.

a thought. We have said nothing, in any way, like it. We did not write that which could, by any possibility of *mistake*, (adept as he is in the art,) be understood to mean that. It is sheer fabrication or *conjecture*, every word of it. Other and great men have entertained that conjecture, and we do not see but it is about as probable as any; but we did not refer to that opinion at all. Our conjectures—they are two—are recorded on page 523 of the Methodist Quarterly Review for October, 1845.

We have been not a little affected with pity to see the miserable work of one whom we at first supposed to be candidly seeking the truth, and to whom we kindly proffered our aid; but we confess that, at the present moment, our pity is mingled with a stronger feeling of disgust than we love to harbor—that a *man* should dare to use, in the presence of a just God, such utter disregard of truth and common honesty! His quibblings, and distortions, and perversions, and evasions throughout, (for we have not noticed the half of them,) we call petty beyond ordinary pettiness. But such things as these are fearful. We did not intend to urge him to desperation. We supposed him to be inquiring after truth, and that he would be thankful to have his errors corrected. And we did not wish to do that in an unkind spirit. We certainly did not. Nor in an unkind manner. If we did so, we were wrong; and ask his forgiveness of our weakness. We exhort him to review with candor the whole subject, and see if he does not find reason to abandon his notion as a chimera.

We have done. We have submitted to notice the strange rejoinder of Mr. H., because of the highly respectable character of the Review in which it appeared.

Errata to Art. II. in the Meth. Quart. Review, for Oct., 1845.

Page 504, line 21, for *Joshua*, read *Jasher*.
504, last line, for *Jasher*, read *Joshua*.
505, line 14, for *or*, read *and*.
508, line 9, for *these*, read *three*.
508, line 10, for *by*, read *into*.
509, line 20, for *any*, read *none*.
513, line 13, for *warfare*, read *carnage*.
513, line 11, from bottom, omit *own*.
513, line 5, from bottom, before *passage*, insert *other*.
514, line 22, for *forms*, read *poems*.
515, note, for *Theol. Soc.*, read *Phil. Sac.*

Page 516, line 10 from bottom, before *the text*, insert *in*.
518, line 5, for *Homer*, read *Horne*.
518, line 9, for *strongest*, read *strangest*.
521, line 9, from bottom, for *unpardonable*, read *unpronounceable*.
522, line 3, from bottom, before *verse*, insert *in*.
523, line 2, after *which*, insert *we*,
523, line 5, for *Mannedah*, read *Makkedah*.
523, line 19, for *sense*, read *verse*.
523, last line, before *ten*, insert *these*.

ART. VI.—1. *Philosophical Essays and Correspondence of* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Philadelphia: 1808.

2. *Eloge Historique D'Alexandre Volta, par* M. ARAGO, Secretaire Perpetuel de l'Academie des Sciences, lu ála séance publique du 26 Juillet, 1831.

3. *History of the Inductive Sciences, from the earliest to the present Times.* By the Rev. WM. WHEWELL, M. A. 3 vols., 8vo. London. 1837.

4. *Popular Lectures on Science and Art; delivered in the principal Cities and Towns in the United States, by* DIONYSIUS LARDNER. 2 vols. 8vo. New-York: Greeley & M'Elrath. 1846.

THE literary and scientific fame of its children is part of a nation's glory; and if the renown obtained by martial achievements be regarded as a common inheritance, which a people is bound to preserve and transmit, so should the more fruitful renown which genius confers upon the land of its birth be guarded with an eye no less vigilant, and defended with a spirit no less determined. To say that America has gleaned but a few slender sheaves in the harvest-field of scientific discovery is a poor reason for robbing her of those few; and to assert that her genius is practical and utilitarian, prompt to appropriate the labors of others, skillful in imitative arts, ingenious in applying new discoveries by new inventions, is a still poorer reason for denying her the ability to comprehend the scientific principles on which those arts and inventions are founded. We believe that America can point to her philosophical, as well as to her economical, industrial, and political heroes; and the life and deeds of Benjamin Franklin will attest that all these species of heroism have been combined

in a single individual. This celebrated man—self-instructed, self-made, and self-sustained—left the seal of his wisdom and sagacity on every subject to which he applied his powers. So amiable were his private virtues, so eminent his public services, and so brilliant his philosophical discoveries, that he lived the delight of his friends, and died the idol of his countrymen. Next to the father of his country, the memory of no one of the mighty men among whom he moved, and with whom he acted, is cherished by the American people with more enthusiasm than his.

It is not our purpose, in the present paper, to enter into a general discussion of Franklin's political acts or scientific theories. After a brief summary of the progress of electrical discovery anterior to his time, we propose to vindicate his claim to the honor of discovering the identity of electricity and lightning, and shall review the books whose titles stand at the head of this article no further than they touch upon that question. As Dr. Lardner has examined this subject at considerable length, and with much candor, we shall follow the course of his argument whenever it suits our object, and coincides with the opinions which a careful study of the authorities has led us to adopt.

As a science, electricity dates back but little more than a century. The Greeks had indeed noticed the shocks of the torpedo; but they satisfied themselves with the supposition, that the power of giving these shocks was merely that animal's peculiar mode of attack and defense; and they inquired no further. They had also observed the attractive force of amber excited by friction; but they dreamed not that the fancied soul of the amber was a universal soul. A Roman legion, standing under arms during a thunder-storm at night, had observed a luminous appearance upon the points of their spears;* and they hailed the phenomenon as an auspicious omen from the gods. Seamen had observed flame playing upon the tops of their masts; and they offered thanks to Castor and Pollux, the guardian deities of mariners, for their divine protection. A Gothic chieftain had seen sparks and flashes of fire upon his garments; but he either regarded them as scintillations of his own fierce and fiery spirit, or as harbingers of his approaching apotheosis. All these facts were disconnected and misunderstood. They took no root in the human intelligence, and therefore produced no fruit. They were the lights which science hung out upon the portico of her temple, to show the way to the inner sanctuary of her truths; and though men saw her signals, they misconstrued their import, and refused to enter.

* Cæsar de Bello Africano, cap. vi.

But after Francis Bacon had taught the right method of interrogating nature in order to extort her secrets, men began to question her more closely and earnestly, to seek the true meaning of the language of her phenomena, and to arrange and classify the results of observation and experiment, so as to discover the hidden laws of her action. In the enthusiastic cultivation of physical studies, which was the immediate fruit of Bacon's method, electricity could not be long neglected. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, a step was made in the generalization of electrical facts, by William Gilbert of Colchester. This distinguished physician discovered that the attractive power, which had been long observed in amber, could be excited in a great variety of bodies,—such as sealing-wax, resin, sulphur, jet, opal, amethyst, sapphire, diamond, and many others. He was unable to excite the force in metals, bones, wood, and some other substances; and thus established the distinction between what were afterward called *electrics per se*, and *non-electrics*. Robert Boyle extended the list of electrics, and discovered that the attraction is mutual between excited bodies and non-electrics placed near them. He also observed that the attractive power continues for some time after the friction has ceased. Otto Guericke constructed a rude electrical machine, which was nothing more than a sphere of sulphur, mounted on an axis, turned by a crank, and rubbed with the hand. He discovered that a body, after contact with an excited electric, is repelled; and that after repulsion, if it touches another body, it is again attracted. He was the first who observed the light which accompanies the electric spark, and that bodies, placed within the sphere of influence of an excited body, are themselves excited without contact with it. Newton substituted a globe of glass for the sulphur one of Otto Guericke, and observed that if one of the surfaces of a glass disc be rubbed, the opposite surface will attract. Francis Hawksbee contributed numerous facts to the science, among which were the illumination of rarefied air by electrical light, and the power of electricity to render certain opaque bodies translucent.

But of all the earlier cultivators of electricity, none pursued the subject with more industry and enthusiasm than Stephen Gray. He performed some experiments as early as the year 1720; but his principal discoveries were made between 1729 and 1736. Of these, the most important in the progress of the science was the fact that the bodies usually called non-electrics are *conductors* of electricity; while those which are excitable by friction obstruct its passage along their substance, and are therefore *non-conductors*.

Accounts of his experiments were published, from time to time, in the Transactions of the Royal Society, of which he was a fellow. In reading these papers, an electrician cannot fail to remark how frequently he placed himself on the very threshold of nature's choicest arcana, and then stumbled away without perceiving the treasures by which he was surrounded. Had he possessed the acuteness and sagacity of Franklin, he might have anticipated the discoveries of the latter; and, like him, have disarmed the clouds. But with all Gray's zeal and ardor, he was deficient in the highest trait of philosophical genius—the power of generalization. He multiplied experiments and accumulated facts, but failed to deduce the formulæ which are expressions of their laws, and to follow them out in their consequences. He propounded his questions to nature in sufficient number, and with adequate skill; but knew not how to translate the language of her answers. Cotemporary with Gray was the distinguished French philosopher, Dufay, member of the Academy of Sciences, and superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden at Paris. He applied the non-conductors, discovered by Gray, to insulate all sorts of bodies, (himself among the rest,) and found that every substance, when suspended or supported in dry air by such non-conductors, was capable of being electrified by contact with an excited electric. He also informs us that he "discovered a very simple principle, which accounts for a great part of the irregularities, and, if he may use the term, of the caprices, which seem to accompany most of the experiments on electricity. This principle is, that electric bodies attract all those that are not so, and repel them as soon as they are become electric, by the vicinity or contact of the electric body. Thus leaf-gold is first attracted by the tube, and acquires an electricity by approaching it; and of consequence is immediately repelled by it. Nor is it re-attracted while it retains its electric quality. But if it chance to light on some other body, it presently loses its electricity; and consequently is re-attracted by the tube, which, after having given it a new electricity, repels it a second time. On applying this principle to the various experiments of electricity, one is surprised at the number of obscure and puzzling facts it clears up."* This is a generalization of the discovery of Otto Guericke.

"Chance threw in M. Dufay's way another principle, more universal and remarkable than the preceding, and which casts a new light upon the subject of electricity. This principle is, that there are two distinct electricities very different from each other; one of which

* Abridged Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. vii, p. 640; see also Lardner's Lectures, p. 108.

he calls vitreous, and the other resinous electricity. . . . The characteristic of these two electricities is, that a body of the vitreous electricity repels all such as are of the same electricity, and attracts all those of the resinous; while a body of the resinous electricity will repel those which are resinous, and attract all such as are vitreous. From this principle we may deduce the explanation of a great number of phenomena; and it is probable that this truth will lead to the further discovery of many other things."*

Such was the first conception of a theory which has since been greatly modified, but which still bears the name of its author. Dufay did not perceive that one of these kinds of electricity could not be excited without at the same time exciting the other. It was not till twenty-five years afterward, that Robert Symmer distinctly conceived that bodies, in their natural state, remain unelectrified from an equal balance of those two powers within them;† and that the excitement of two bodies, by the friction of one upon the other, does not consist in adding anything to their natural electricities, but in the destruction of the equal balance of these electricities by the accumulation of one of them on one body, and the other on the other. It is only by the modification of Symmer that the theory of two electricities becomes capable of explaining the facts of the science; and this will sufficiently account for the neglect of Dufay's theory by electricians, till it was molded into its present form by the labors of the English philosopher.

Several improvements were next made in electrical machines. The prime conductor was added by Prof. Boze of Wittemberg; a cushion was substituted for the hand, as a rubber, by Prof. Winkler of Leipsic; and a glass cylinder was first used instead of a sphere by Prof. Gordon of Erfurt. But in the year 1745 a new impulse was given to the science by the invention of the Leyden jar. Dr. Lardner attributes this invention to Prof. Muschenbroeck and his associates in 1746; and Franklin, in one of his letters, calls the jar "Muschenbroeck's wonderful bottle." There is, however, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of London for 1746, a letter from Mr. Trembley, F. R. S., dated at the Hague, Feb. 4th, 1745, in which an account is given of the experiments of M. l'Allamand, one of which is as follows: M. l'Allamand electrified a tin tube by means of a glass globe; he then took in his left hand a glass full of water, in which was dipped the end of a wire; the

* Abridged Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. vii, p. 640; see also Lardner's Lectures, p. 108.

† Abridged Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. xi, p. 414.

other end of this wire touched the tube. He then touched the tube with his right hand, and drew a spark from it. At the same instant he felt a most violent shock all over his body, so that he lost the use of his breath for some moments. The same experiment was repeated by Muschenbroeck with similar effect.*

L'Allamand's glass of water was the Leyden jar in embryo; the water being the inner coating, and the hand which held the glass the outer. Dr. Bevis soon after placed a metallic coating upon the outside of the jar to increase the conducting surface, and found that the shock was thus rendered more powerful. Sir William Watson dispensed with the water, and placed a metallic coating on the inner surface. The jar was then complete.

In 1747, Franklin, having received some apparatus from England, applied himself to the study of electricity at Philadelphia. In the space of a few months he repeated most of the experiments of his predecessors, and contrived many of an ingenious and novel character. He sent an account of these experiments to his friend and correspondent, Peter Collinson, F. R. S., of London, in a series of letters, which are equally remarkable for perspicuity and vivacity, and for philosophical acuteness. These letters were at first treated rather cavalierly by the Royal Society, but were soon afterward published in London, translated into most of the continental languages, and read with avidity and admiration by all the electricians of Europe. The ardor with which Franklin engaged in his new career may be inferred from a passage in his first letter to Collinson:—

"For my own part, I never was before engaged in any study that so totally engrossed my attention and my time; for what with making experiments when I can be alone, and repeating them to my friends and acquaintance, who, from the novelty of the thing, come continually in crowds to see them, I have, during some months past, had little leisure for anything else."—*Essays and Correspondence*, p. 2.

This letter is dated March 28, 1747. In July following, Franklin describes "the wonderful effect of pointed bodies, both in drawing off and throwing off the electrical fire." Here we find the germ of the splendid discovery which he soon after made, and the guide which pointed to the application of it for the benefit of mankind. He also states his opinion that electricity is not created by friction, as some had supposed, but that it is "an element diffused among, and attracted by, other matter, particularly by water and metals;" and that it is collected by friction, so that more than the natural quantity is accumulated upon electrics, and

* Abridged Transactions, vol. ix, p. 200.

upon insulated conductors in contact with excited electrics. The experiment on which he founded his reasonings may be briefly stated as follows :—A. and B. are insulated by standing upon wax. A. rubs a tube of glass, and B. draws the electricity from it without touching A. C., standing upon the floor, applies his knuckle to B., and a spark passes. He next applies his knuckle to A., and a spark passes. Now, says Franklin, the tube has collected electricity from A., and communicated it to B.; B., then, has more than his natural quantity, and A. less. When C., who is in communication with the floor, touches B., B.'s excess passes through C. to the earth, which is a common reservoir of electricity. But when C. touches A., electricity passes through C. to B., and by thus supplying his deficiency, restores the electrical equilibrium. B. was electrified *positively*, or *plus*, and A. *negatively*, or *minus*.

Such was the origin of the Franklinian theory—a theory remarkable for its simplicity and beauty, and which appeared to offer an easy explanation of most of the phenomena of this subtil and mysterious force. It had, however, a weak point, which did not escape the sagacity of its author; for in a subsequent letter he admitted that the repulsion of two negatively electrified bodies sadly puzzled him. We shall enter into no discussion of the comparative merits of the theories of one, and of two fluids, because there is now hardly any probability that either of them can stand in the light of future science. The opinion, that electricity consists of lines of force, in which action and reaction are equal and opposite, seems to be gaining strength among electricians, and may, at no distant day, receive full confirmation.

In his letter of September 1st, of the same year, Franklin applies his theory to explain the action of the Leyden jar. He proves that the outer surface is negative, and the inner surface positive, when the wire communicates with the prime conductor of the machine; and that the glass confines the fluid accumulated in the interior. He shows that the bottle cannot be charged if the outer coating is insulated, and concludes that as much as enters the interior, so much is driven away from the exterior surface, and that the jar actually contains no more electricity after it is charged than before. The equilibrium between the inner and outer surface is destroyed, but may be restored by making a communication between the two surfaces by means of a conductor. The elastic fluid will then rush violently from the surface on which the fluid is plus, to that on which it is minus, just as air, expelled from one vessel, and condensed in another, will rush from the plenum

to the vacuum as soon as an aperture is made from one to the other.

A paper, which Franklin informs us was written first in 1747, enlarged, and sent to England in 1749, contains a conjecture that the sea is the grand source of electricity, and that the electric fire is carried up into the air with the ocean vapors, the condensation of which forms electrified clouds. These clouds discharge their electricity into the mountains against which they are driven, and into the land clouds with which they come in contact, thus producing the phenomena of thunder and lightning. In the same paper he mentions several analogies in support of his opinion that electricity is the same thing as lightning. Among these, are the crooked form of the spark; the striking of prominent and pointed bodies; the ignition of combustibles; the fusion of metals; and the rending of imperfect conductors. Here is an example of a false hypothesis leading to the discovery of a great physical truth. Franklin afterward retracted his opinion that the sea is the great laboratory in which electricity is generated; but the truth, which that erroneous conjecture suggested, he soon demonstrated.

There is, indeed, no department of physical science in which the benefits arising from adventurous speculation have not been seen and felt. On this subject Dr. Roget has made some remarks, which are not more eloquent than true. "The human mind is so constituted as to refuse being restrained within the boundaries of a rigid inductive philosophy. Incited by an irresistible desire of exploring the secrets of nature, it scruples not as to the means of forcing her to disclose them; and, borne on the wings of imagination and conjecture, presses forward with an eagerness which often betrays it into courses widely deviating from the truth. Yet good is often found to result from these erratic excursions of our faculties: they infuse fresh interest into the pursuit of knowledge; they inspire with the hope of success; they invigorate those powers which must be exerted to attain it. The spark which kindles a train of light is sometimes struck out in the conflict of discordant speculation; and amid a multitude of attempts, some effort, more happy than the rest, elicits an important discovery. No great or comprehensive fact in science was ever established without being preceded by a bold, though sagacious conjecture. Hypothesis of some kind or other is invariably the precursor of truth."*

In July, 1750, Franklin's ideas had assumed a more definite shape. He found that electricity is distributed uniformly over the surface of a sphere; but that, in an angular body, it may be drawn

* Treatise on Magnetism, p. 32.

off with greater facility from the angles, and most easily from the angle which is most acute. When a body terminates in a sharp point, it is incapable of retaining electricity, and throws it off, through the point, into the surrounding air. He also repeated and varied the experiment, which he had first made in 1747, on the power of a pointed conductor to draw off the fire from an electrified body more rapidly than a blunt one. He suspended a scale-beam by a pack-thread from the ceiling of a room, and to the ends of the beam he attached a pair of large brass scales by silk cords. One of the scales was electrified, and an iron punch was set on the end upon the floor. The scales moved round in a circle by the untwisting of the pack-thread; and when the charged scale came over the punch, it dipped toward it, and discharged its electricity in the form of a spark. But when a needle was fastened to the end of the punch, the electricity was discharged silently, without the scale dipping toward the point.

Now, says Franklin, if the fire of electricity, and that of lightning, be the same, as I have endeavored to show at large in a former paper, these scales may represent electrified clouds. The horizontal motion of the scales over the floor may represent the motion of the clouds over the earth; and the erect iron punch, a hill or high building; and then we see how electrified clouds, passing over hills or high buildings at too great a height to strike, may be attracted lower, till within their striking distance. And if a needle, fixed on the punch with its point upright, will draw the fire from the scale silently, at a much greater than the striking distance, may not the knowledge of this power of points be of some use to mankind in preserving houses, churches, and ships from lightning? Would not pointed rods of metal, extending from the highest parts of those edifices to the earth or water, probably draw the electrical fire silently out of a cloud before it came near enough to strike, and thereby secure us from that most sudden and terrible mischief?*

So fully is this sagacious man possessed of the idea that lightning is electricity, that he immediately proceeds to describe the experiment by which their identity may be demonstrated. His directions are as follows:—

"On the top of some high tower, or steeple, place a kind of sentry-box, big enough to contain a man and an electrical stand. From the middle of the stand let an iron rod rise and pass, bending out of the door, and then upright, twenty or thirty feet, pointed very sharp at the end. If the electrical stand be kept clean and dry, a man standing on

* Essays and Correspondence, p. 48; see also Lardner's Lectures, p. 121.

it, when such clouds are passing low, might be electrified, and afford sparks, the rod drawing fire to him from a cloud."—*Essays and Correspondence*, p. 49.

Franklin also brings forward in this paper some new analogies between the effects of electricity and lightning. Lightning had been known to strike people blind; he made a chicken blind by an electric shock. Lightning melts metals; he melted gold leaf by the electrical discharge. In a subsequent paper, written in 1751, he notices the power of electricity to reverse the poles of a magnetic needle, and to give polarity to needles that had none. Lightning had been long before known to do the same.

The reason that Franklin did not immediately put his hypothesis to the test of experiment, was his belief that the pointed rod should be erected upon a very high edifice. While he was waiting for the completion of such a building in Philadelphia, he lost the opportunity of being the first to draw electricity from the clouds. M. D'Alibard, desirous to satisfy himself of the truth of Franklin's views, erected a pointed iron rod, forty feet high, in a garden at Marli-la-Ville, in strict accordance with Franklin's directions. He left the apparatus in charge of a carpenter, named Coiffier, with instructions to try whether he could draw sparks from the rod whenever a thunder-cloud should pass over the place. On the 10th of May, 1752, a thunder-storm occurred, and the carpenter succeeded in obtaining numerous sparks from the rod. He immediately hastened to Paris to inform his employer of the result, and three days after, D'Alibard read a memoir to the Royal Academy of Sciences, in which he gave a full description of the apparatus and the experiment. In this memoir he ascribes the honor of the discovery entirely to Franklin; and probably never dreamed that the next generation of his countrymen would claim it for himself. On the 18th of May, M. De Lor repeated the same experiment at his own house in Paris, by means of a rod, ninety-nine feet high, standing on a cake of resin.*

About a month afterward, ignorant of what had been done in France, Franklin made his well-known experiment with the kite, and thus demonstrated the truth which he had proclaimed three years before—the identity of electricity and lightning.

We shall pursue no further the history of Franklin's experiments, but proceed to the question which we proposed at the outset, and which we are now prepared to discuss—whether or not

* Franklin's Essays and Correspondence, pp. 82, 87; Abridged Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. x, p. 290; Lardner's Lectures, p. 123.

the credit of the splendid discovery, usually attributed to Franklin, actually belongs to him. Dr. Lardner sums up his argument in the following manner:—

"In 1708, Dr. Wall mentions a *resemblance* of electricity to thunder and lightning.

"In 1735, Mr. Gray *conjectures* their *identity*, and that they differ only in *degree*.

"In 1748, the abbé Nollet reproduced the conjecture of Gray, attended with more circumstantial reasons.

"In 1749, Franklin strongly maintains their *identity*, and accurately describes two ways of experimentally testing it; and sends his instructions to Europe, to enable others, with better local opportunities than he possessed, to try it.

"In 1752, M. M. D'Alibard and De Lor, in France, make the preparations prescribed according to one of Franklin's methods; and Franklin makes in Philadelphia preparations according to the other method.

"On the 10th of May, 1752, Coiffier and the curate make the experiment as directed by Franklin, and obtain the results foretold by Franklin.

"In June, 1752, Franklin makes the same experiment in Philadelphia, according to the other method, with like results.

"If the credit of the discovery is due to him who first *conjectured* the identity of lightning and electricity, then it is due to Mr. Stephen Gray.

"If it be due to him who showed the method of making the capital experiment by which the identity must be either established or refuted, it belongs to Franklin.

"If it be due to the persons at whose expense Franklin's apparatus was first constructed, then it must be shared between Franklin, D'Alibard, and De Lor.

"If it be due to him who first, in person, *performed* the experiment proposed by Franklin, then it must be accorded to the carpenter and dragoon, Coiffier."

The conclusion which Dr. Lardner draws, ascribing the credit of the discovery to him who first clearly and distinctly pointed out the means of making it, is just and impartial; but we think that his summary of the case is in some respects erroneous. Dr. Wall, describing the snap and light produced by rubbing amber, says, "The crackling is full as loud as that of charcoal on fire; and it seems, in some degree, to represent thunder and lightning."* Stephen Gray, speaking of the effect produced by placing the finger near the surface of electrified water in an insulated metallic dish, says, "By these experiments we see, that an actual flame of fire, with an explosion, and an ebullition of cold water, may be

* Transactions of the Royal Society, No. 314, p. 69.

produced by communicative electricity; and though these effects are at present in minimis, it is probable that in time there may be found out a way to collect a greater quantity of it; and consequently to increase the force of this electric fire, which, by several of these experiments, *si licet magnis componere parva*, seems to be of the same nature with that of thunder and lightning."*

It has generally been supposed that these passages were intended as mere comparisons; and it is certain that they were so understood at the time of their publication. Wall and Gray perceived a single point of resemblance between the *effects* of electricity and lightning; but they probably did not conjecture that the *causes* which produced these effects were themselves *identical*.† Franklin, on the contrary, not only perceived many points of resemblance between the two classes of phenomena, but also reasoned from *similarity* of effects to *identity* of cause. At all events, it is obvious that neither Wall, in 1708, nor Gray, in 1735, had any firm grasp of the idea, of which their language was so faint a foreshadowing, that it did not even attract sufficient attention to excite the public ridicule. If such indefinite expressions as theirs are to be taken for proofs of the discovery of truth, the philosophers of modern times have established hardly a principle in physics in which they were not forestalled by the ancient Greeks.

The claim of the abbé Nollet to the honor of having first clearly conceived the identity of electricity and lightning is more plausible, and we shall consider it on a subsequent page. Dr. Lardner has, we believe, fallen into an error, when he alledges that, in 1749, Franklin accurately describes *two ways* of making the proposed experiment. We have not been able to find any proof that he thought of using a kite for this purpose till 1752; nor that he revealed the thought to any one, except his son, till after the experiment had been successfully performed. He had been too heartily laughed at, by the members of the Royal Society and others, for making what seemed to them so wild a conjecture, to expose himself to public ridicule by recommending what would be considered, in case of failure, so whimsical a scheme to test it.

We next hasten to notice the extraordinary allegations and reasonings of M. Arago, which Dr. Lardner has examined and refuted with much ability. The perpetual secretary of the French Academy of Sciences claims all the credit of the first conjecture, that electricity and lightning are the same, for his countryman, the

* Transactions of the Royal Society, No. 436, p. 16.

† Arago. 'Eloge de Volta, p. 11.

abbé Nollet; and all the honor of the verification of that conjecture for his countryman, D'Alibard. After remarking upon the uncertainty which attaches to the language of Wall and Gray, and which we have alluded to above, he proceeds as follows:—

"This doubt, however, could not apply to the remarks inserted by Nollet, in 1746, in his *Leçons de Physique.* In that work the author represents a thunder-cloud, over terrestrial objects, as nothing else than an electrified body placed near bodies which are not electrified. Thunder, in the hands of nature, is electricity in the hands of philosophers. Many resemblances in their action are pointed out; nothing, in a word, is wanting to this ingenious theory except the only thing which a theory cannot dispense with, in order to take a place definitively in science,—the sanction of direct experiments.

"The first views of Franklin upon the analogy of electricity and lightning were, like the earlier ideas of Nollet, mere conjectures. Then, all the difference between the two philosophers is reduced to a method of experiments, (un projet d'experience,) of which Nollet had not spoken, and which seemed to promise conclusive arguments for or against the hypothesis. This experiment consisted in observing, during a thunder-storm, whether a metallic rod, insulated and terminated by a point, would give sparks similar to those which are drawn from the conductor of a common electrical machine.

"Without aiming a blow (sans porter atteinte) at the glory of Franklin, I may remark, that the proposed experiment was almost useless. The soldiers of the fifth Roman legion had already performed it during the African war, when, as Cesar relates, the points of all the javelins seemed on fire in consequence of a storm. Castor and Pollux had also been seen by many navigators, either upon the metallic extremities of the masts, or of the yards, or upon other prominent parts of their ships. In fine, in certain districts of country, in Frioul, for example, at the chateau of Duino, the sentinel executed precisely what Franklin desired, when, according to orders, and for the purpose of deciding when he ought to ring a bell in order to apprise the country people of the approach of a tempest, he went to examine with his halberd whether the iron of a pike, placed vertically upon the rampart, would give sparks. Nevertheless, whether these circumstances were unknown, or were not looked upon as conclusive, some direct trials seemed necessary; and for these, science is indebted to our countryman, D'Alibard. On the 10th of May, 1752, during a thunder-storm, the large rod of pointed metal, which he had erected in a garden at Marli-la-Ville, gave small sparks, as does the conductor of an electrical machine when an iron wire is brought near it. Franklin did not realize this same experiment in the United States, by means of a kite, till a month later. Lightning rods were the immediate consequence of the discovery. The illustrious American philosopher hastened to proclaim it."—'*Eloge de Volta*, pp. 11–13.

Does M. Arago imagine that the courteous epithet, which, in the last sentence, he applies to the American philosopher, will make

amends for robbing him of whatever could impart to that epithet any appropriate significance? Does he expect thus to disarm the indignation of those friends of science who cherish the memory of Franklin, and to heal a mortal stab with a honeyed phrase? M. Arago, a lover and distinguished cultivator of science, is not deficient in knowledge of the history of its progress. We will, therefore, put the most favorable construction upon these remarkable paragraphs, and presume that his partiality for France made him partial to French philosophers, and led him to do unintentional injustice to the foreign competitor of one of his own countrymen.

M. Arago asserts that Nollet's conjecture was made in 1746. To this we answer, that the passage on which the claim is founded is contained in the fourth volume of his Leçons de Physique, which was not published till 1748. On this point we have the testimony of the abbé himself. On June 6th, 1752, after the experiments of D'Alibard and De Lor, he claims the honor of the new discovery by referring to the opinions "which he had conceived, and which he ventured to publish more than four years before."* It would be puerile to reply that, as six is more than four, Arago's date may be correct. Had it been so, the abbé would certainly have asserted that his views were published six, or nearly six, or more than five years before. The paper which contains Franklin's first conjecture was written, as we have seen above, in 1747, enlarged and published in 1749. It is a rule among scientific men, in questions of priority, to take, for the date of a discovery or theory, the date of its publication; and as we have no direct proof that Franklin distinctly conceived the idea in question till 1749, we admit Nollet's claim to priority in making the conjecture, so far as the passage on which he founds it is worthy to be called a conjecture. That the reader may form his own estimate of this celebrated passage, we take the liberty, not having the original work at hand, to transcribe Dr. Lardner's translation of it, (Lectures, p. 118,) which strikes us as being more accurate than a translation given in the Transactions of the Royal Society for 1752.

"If any one should undertake to prove, as a clear consequence of the phenomenon, that thunder is, in the hands of nature, what electricity is in ours,—that those wonders which we dispose at our pleasure are only imitations on a small scale of those grand effects which terrify us, and that both depend upon the same mechanical agents;—if it were made manifest that a cloud prepared by the effects of the wind, by heat, by a mixture of exhalations, &c., is, in relation to a terrestrial object, what an electrified body is in relation to a body near it not

* Abridged Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. x, p. 295.

electrified, I confess that this idea, well supported, would please me much; and to support it, how numerous and specious are the reasons which present themselves to a mind conversant with electricity! The universality of the electric matter, the readiness of its action, its instrumentality, and its activity in giving fire to other bodies; its property of striking bodies externally and internally, even to their smallest parts, (the remarkable example we have of this effect even in the Leyden jar experiment, the idea which we might truly adopt in supposing a greater degree of electric power;) all these points of analogy which I have been for some time meditating, begin to make me believe that one might, by taking electricity for the model, form to oneself, in regard to thunder and lightning, more perfect and more probable ideas than any hitherto proposed."—*Leçons de Physique*, tom. iv, p. 315.

If Franklin's experiment had been unsuccessful, would this passage ever have been cited to prove that the abbé Nollet had entertained so chimerical an idea as the identity of electricity and lightning? He does not, as Arago alledges, tell us that "lightning in the hands of nature is electricity in ours;" but that if any one would undertake to prove this, he himself would—what? find his own opinions confirmed? hail the demonstration of a truth of which he is already confident? Nothing of this: but the abbé would be much pleased! Do the analogies which he mentions enable him to take hold of the truth with a firm and steady grasp, and induce him to express it in the direct terms of honest conviction? Or do they rather give him an obscure glimmering of something which assumes no definite shape or hue, the existence of which he is equally prepared to believe or disbelieve, and which he describes, or rather shrouds and mystifies, in the language of oblique hints and hesitating suggestions? They have only taken sufficient root in his understanding to make him *begin* to believe that one *might*, by taking electricity for the model, form to oneself, in regard to thunder and lightning,—not a demonstration of their identity with electricity—but, more perfect and more probable ideas than any hitherto proposed.

How different from these Jesuitical inuendos is the bold, simple, straightforward language of Franklin one year afterward!

"Electric fluid agrees with lightning in these particulars: 1. Giving light. 2. Color of the light. 3. Crooked direction. 4. Swift motion. 5. Being conducted by metals. 6. Crack or noise in exploding. 7. Subsisting in water or ice. 8. Rending bodies it passes through. 9. Destroying animals. 10. Melting metals. 11. Firing inflammable substances. 12. Sulphureous smell.—The electric fluid is attracted by points. We do not know whether this property is in lightning. But since they agree in all the particulars wherein we can already compare them, is it not probable they agree likewise in this? Let the experiment be made."—*Essays and Correspondence*, p. 138.

There is no proof or probability that when Franklin sent his paper of 1749 to Peter Collinson, he had seen Nollet's book, or heard of his conjecture. While, therefore, we concede to Nollet the credit of having first published a suggestion that electricity and lightning might be the same, we claim for Franklin the honor of having, by independent experiments and reasonings, and by an array of analogies that, in moral questions, would have been regarded as conclusive, first proclaimed this truth to the world in a clear and distinct form.

But even if the conjecture of Nollet had been not only anterior to that of Franklin, but also equally authoritative, there was still a wide difference between the two philosophers in another respect. Franklin's hypothesis suggested to him the means of its own demonstration; Nollet's conjecture remained an undeveloped germ, and brought forth no fruit. Franklin, as we have seen, had described with great precision the way of conducting the experiment which D'Alibard subsequently, and in strict accordance with his directions, executed with success; and if, as Arago pretends, this was the only difference between Franklin and Nollet, still the difference is so great as to confer on Franklin all the honor of the discovery, except a priority in conjecturing that the discovery might be possible. To assert that a thing may be done, and to show how to do it, are two very different matters. Was the astronomer who first conceived the possibility of ascertaining the distance of the sun entitled to the same distinction as he who showed that observations on a transit of Venus would furnish data for the solution of the problem? To conjecture, from the irregularities of the motions of Uranus, that another and more distant planet revolves around the sun, was highly creditable to its author, and implied correct notions of physical astronomy; but did that conjecture render the calculations of Le Verrier unnecessary, or detract the tithe of a hair from the merit of his wonderful discovery?

But, says Arago, the experiment was almost useless, for it had been already several times performed; as, for example, by Cesar's fifth legion. This, to say the least, is a most singular and extraordinary allegation for a man of science to make. We are bold to say that it is based on a principle which never has been, and never will be, admitted by the pioneers of science, and which M. Arago would himself repudiate. Was the man who first noticed the double images formed by Iceland spar the discoverer of the polarization of light? Perhaps Eve saw an apple fall from the tree of knowledge; did Eve, therefore, anticipate the discoveries of Newton, and render his labors useless? In a word, can the

accidental notice of a fact, without any attempt to comprehend it in its scientific relations, ever constitute a discovery in philosophy?

But, finally, if the experiment were necessary, the credit of having first made it belongs to D'Alibard, and not to Franklin. This assertion is a conclusion from the principle, assumed for the occasion, that the honor of a work belongs not to the head that devised it, but to the hand that executed it. Let us apply this principle in some other cases, and show its absurdity. A geologist, reasoning from observation and analogy, assures a miner that by digging through certain strata of rocks he will find coal; the miner follows the instructions of the geologist, and the coal is found. The miner is the discoverer of the coal-bed! A chemist, from his knowledge of the effect of small metallic tubes in preventing the communication of flame, instructs an artisan to cover a lamp with wire-gauze, and see if it may not be placed in explosive gases without setting them on fire. The artisan is the inventor of the safety-lamp! A mathematician concludes, from a laborious and complicated analysis, that a planet, hitherto undiscovered, must be in a particular place in the heavens, and he requests a star-gazer to turn his telescope in that direction, and forthwith a star is seen which is not found in any of the catalogues. The star-gazer is the discoverer of the new planet of 1846! But it is useless to dwell longer upon this point. If Arago denies the honor of the discovery to Franklin, he must, for the same reason, if he would be consistent, deny it to D'Alibard, for neither Franklin nor D'Alibard was the first actually to perform the experiment. He must accord it to the poor discharged dragoon, Coiffier, who probably never had a philosophical idea in his life, but who obeyed the instructions of Franklin, received at second-hand from D'Alibard, and drew down, with his own hand, the first spark from the fiery magazine of the clouds!

That we may not seem to do injustice to D'Alibard, it is proper to state, that, in his Memoir to the Academy, he attributes the honor of the discovery entirely to Franklin. He commences the paper thus:—"Following the direction which Franklin has marked out for us, I have been completely successful." He concludes the paper by saying,—"The idea which Franklin has entertained, ceases to be a conjecture. Behold it a reality; and I dare believe that the more attentively any one will examine what he has published upon electricity, the more one will perceive how much physical science is indebted to him for that part."*

* Memoire de M. D'Alibard; Lu á l'Academie Royale des Sciences, le xiii, Mai, 1752.

We might here submit the case to the judgment of impartial men; but we are unwilling to pass by the characteristic remarks of Professor Whewell on the same question without a brief notice:—

"Franklin, about 1750, had offered a few somewhat vague conjectures respecting the existence of electricity in the clouds; but it was not till Wilke and Æpinus had obtained clear notions of the effect of electric matter at a distance, that the real condition of the clouds could be well understood. In 1752, however, D'Alibard, and other French philosophers, were desirous of verifying Franklin's conjecture of the analogy of thunder and electricity. This they did by erecting a pointed iron rod at Marli; the rod was found capable of giving out electrical sparks when a thunder-cloud passed over the place. This was repeated in various parts of Europe, and Franklin suggested that a communication with the clouds might be formed by means of a kite." —*History of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. iii, p. 18.

Is this all that a cultivator of science, and a man of learning, who undertakes to write a history of the progress of the inductive sciences, can tell us of one of the most brilliant discoveries of modern times, and of the philosopher who made it? If his purpose had been, under the semblance of historical impartiality, to "damn with faint praise," while he kept Franklin's real merits out of sight, he could hardly have framed a paragraph better suited to his aim. The passage is erroneous in several particulars, and conveys erroneous impressions in others. What with its sins of omission and of commission, it is about as sinful as anything, claiming to be history, that we have ever seen. The conjectures were published, as we have shown, in 1749. They were not vague as to the existence of electricity in the clouds, but as to its *origin*, and the *mode* of its existence. Franklin's letter of 1750 is remarkable for definiteness and precision. It is not a "conjecture of the *analogy* of thunder and electricity," but an *argument* to prove their *identity*, sustained by a multitude of analogies, not hypothetical, but well established. Professor Whewell informs us that D'Alibard verified Franklin's conjecture; why does he not tell us that Franklin devised the apparatus by which D'Alibard did this, and described the manner of using it? Professor Whewell knows that Franklin *suggested* the kite, does he not know that Franklin did somewhat more?

In the following extract the historian instructs his own, and future ages, what estimate to place upon the American philosopher:—

"Franklin's real merit as a discoverer was, that he was one of the first who distinctly conceived the electrical charge as a derangement

of equilibrium. The great fame which, in his day, he enjoyed, arose from the clearness and spirit with which he narrated his discoveries; from his dealing with electricity in the imposing form of thunder and lightning; and partly, perhaps, from his character as an American and a politician; for he was already, in 1736, engaged in public affairs as clerk to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, though it was not till a later period of his life that his admirers had the occasion of saying of him,—

'Eripuit cœlis fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.'"

History of the Inductive Sciences, vol. iii, p. 33.

Had Franklin lived somewhat nearer to Cambridge, and had he not "wrested the sceptre from tyrants," as well as "the lightning from the heavens," perhaps he might have made a different figure in Professor Whewell's octavos. Without mentioning the discovery on which Franklin's reputation as a philosopher chiefly rests, Mr. Whewell makes his merit to consist in being *one* of the first to propose a mechanical theory of electricity, which, in a subsequent part of his History, he attempts to overthrow.* In plain terms, he concedes to Franklin a share with some others in the honor of conceiving a false theory of electricity! Now whether Franklin's theory be true or false, it is his own. In 1748, Sir William Watson did indeed claim that he had suggested the idea of a plus and minus state of electricity in a paper which he read to the Royal Society about the time that Franklin's paper of July, 1747, was written.† In that paper he conjectures that there is a simultaneous afflux and efflux to and from an electrified conductor, and that the afflux causes attraction, and the efflux repulsion. He also suggests that a quantity of electricity, equal to that accumulated in excited bodies, is furnished by the nearest unexcited non-electrics; so that electricity, or what he calls the elastic electrical ether, may be more dense in one body, and less dense in another. But that he did not comprehend the disturbance of the electrical equilibrium, in the Franklinian sense, is plain from the application which he makes of his hypothesis to explain the action of the Leyden jar. He says that when a man holds in one hand a Leyden jar, whose wire communicates with the prime conductor of an electrical machine, and touches the conductor with the other hand, a part of the electricity of his body goes through one arm to the conductor, and through the other arm to the jar. He also supposes that the electricity which the man's body thus parts with, is instantly replaced from the floor; and he ought, therefore, to

* History of the Inductive Sciences, vol. iii, pp. 40, 41.

† Abridged Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. ix, p. 454.

*receive no shock if he stands upon any insulating substance.** Franklin's theory never could have led to a statement so preposterous as this.

Professor Whewell is sorely puzzled to account for the great fame which, *in his day*, Franklin enjoyed, and taxes his ingenuity to ascribe it to anything rather than to his philosophical discoveries. It is certainly a novel idea that a man's political success is likely to add much to his scientific reputation; and the time seems to have gone by, when being an American citizen could give prestige to a philosopher's name in England. Professor Whewell is determined that Franklin's fame shall extend as little as possible beyond "his day," and therefore attributes it, not to his having matters of importance to *narrate*, but to his *manner of narration!* The History of the Inductive Sciences was designed to go down to posterity as a standard book of reference on all questions relating to the progress of physical discovery; but we question strongly whether posterity, with no other source of information than this book, would ever learn that Franklin had contributed anything to the advancement of science, more than to make a lucky guess, and to play a skillful game at the politician's trick of telling more than he knew.

Art. VII.—*Biblical Exegesis.—St. Paul's Doctrine of the Law.*

Various definitions have been given of *law*. According to Blackstone, "law, in its most general and comprehensive sense, signifies a rule of action; and is applied indiscriminately to all kinds of action, whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational. Thus we say, the laws of motion, of gravitation, of optics, or mechanics, as well as the laws of nature and of nations. And it is that rule of action which is prescribed by some superior, and which the inferior is bound to obey." The law with which we have to do at present is the *moral law*, or that rule of action which God has given to his intelligent creatures, and which is founded in the relations which they sustain to him. When man came from the hands of his Creator, he was necessarily indebted to him for all his powers, and responsible to him for their exercise and improvement. God could not require of him less than he had invested him with ability to perform, and his justice and goodness would preclude his requiring more.

* Transactions of the Royal Society, No. 484, p. 704.

This law must necessarily be permanent and unchangeable in its nature. For no circumstance could possibly occur to remove the foundation upon which it is based. Man's relation to God as a dependent creature, and as his offspring, must of necessity remain the same to all eternity, unless we suppose the possibility of his annihilation. And, by consequence, the law of God founded upon and growing out of this relation, must remain in full force while man continues in being. No change in the character or circumstances of man, effected by the exercise of his own free agency, could possibly alter his relations to God as his creature; and, consequently, no such change could release him from the obliations of that perfect obedience which the law requires. And hence the original law of God, which he first gave to man, and which he had previously given to angels, still remains, and will continue eternally in all its integrity.

But by this we do not mean to deny that the divine law has been imbodied in various formularies, and combined in different systems. It took one form of outward expression in the garden of paradise, another on Mount Sinai, and still another upon the mount of Olives. These varying forms of expression involve the same great principles of love and obedience to God. The diversity of outward development was designed to suit the different periods in the history of the race and in the great plan of divine government.

There is one essential element of law which is uniform and invariable, and that is, that it furnishes no remedy for past offenses against its requirements, or for the ruined or vitiated character of the offender. It shows no mercy—it knows not to forgive or restore. The terrible penalties of the divine law lie in full force against all offenders, pronouncing upon them the sentence of death for the least departure. It is inexorable and impartial, hurling its thunderbolts against every violator, high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, strong and feeble—all, all transgressors are under its withering *curse*.

St. Paul has treated the subject of the divine law specifically, and of set purpose, in his Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. It shall be our object in this paper to endeavor to ascertain the views which he has presented upon this important topic in these two epistles.

The purpose which the apostle has in view in discussing this subject, is to exhibit the true ground of salvation, and to explode and refute the vain notion of justification and sanctification upon the principles of legal obedience. He first meets and refutes the

position of the Gentiles—showing that their philosophy had wholly failed to conform them to the requirements of the law. (See Rom. i.) He then proceeds to prove that the Jews are equally far from standing fair with the law; but while they "judge," the Gentiles "do the same thing," and are equally cut short from all hope upon the principles of law. (See chapters ii and iii.) He next proceeds to contrast the impracticable mode of *salvation by the law* with the easy and efficient plan of the gospel—that of *salvation by faith.* We now invite the attention of the reader to the following passage:—

"19. Now we know, that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. 20. Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin. 21. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; 22. Even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe; for there is no difference: 23. For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; 24. Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: 25. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; 26. To declare, I say, at this time his righteousness; that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus. 27. Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay; but by the law of faith. 28. Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. 29. Is he the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: 30. Seeing it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith. 31. Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law." Rom. iii.

We understand the term *νομος law*, as it stands in this passage opposed to *πιστις faith*, to refer to *the great moral rule of duty which binds universal man to the love and service of God to the utmost of his capacity.* Indeed, this is the sense in which this term is most generally employed by the great apostle. When used in a specific sense, it is qualified by some epithet, or by the connections in which it is found. That the apostle, in the above passage, is not discussing the *ceremonial law*, is obvious from the general offices which he assigns to it. He speaks of a law that addresses itself to "all the world," and by its sentence of just condemnation stops "every mouth"—a law which "all" have violated: "for," says he, "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." The sense is varied in two instances in the section

under consideration. The first is in verse 21, where "the law and the prophets" means the Old Testament scriptures; and the second is in verse 27, where "the law of faith" refers to the gospel method of salvation. In both these instances, the sense is perfectly plain. But let us more closely analyze the language of the passage in question, and see what are its obvious doctrines.

1. The law justly condemns the whole world. Ver. 19. Consequently all men are cut off from all grounds of hope upon the provisions of law.

2. None can be justified in the sight of God "by the deeds of the law," as the law only gives "the knowledge of sin," without providing any remedy for it. Ver. 20.

3. "The righteousness of God"—or God's method of saving sinners—"is manifested" without that obedience which the law requires, making another condition. Ver. 21.

4. Righteousness, or justification, is only attainable "by faith of Jesus Christ." Ver. 22.

5. This condition is equally applicable to all men: "for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." Ver. 23.

6. This justification is so far from being conferred upon principles of law, that it is bestowed "freely by his [God's] grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." Ver. 24.

7. This redemption was achieved by the "blood" of "Christ Jesus," who is "a propitiation," and *εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, for a demonstration of his righteousness.* Verses 25, 26.

8. And that through this "propitiation" men are "justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Ver. 28.

9. That the blessings of justification are extended equally to "the Jews" and to "the Gentiles"—to "the circumcision" and to "the uncircumcision." Verses 29, 30.

10. And, finally, that though men are to expect justification by faith alone, without the deeds of the law, still the law is not made "void." Ver. 31.

The position taken in verse 31, that we do not "make void," but really do "establish the law, through faith," is one of great importance. It is a negative to the most weighty and most natural objection of the legalist to the apostle's doctrine of justification by faith alone. And of so much importance does the apostle think it to refute the slander, that the system of justification which he maintained was of a licentious tendency, that he resumes it from time to time, and sustains the opposite position by arguments strong and numerous. Indeed, the great truth which the apostle labors

through the subsequent part of this epistle to establish is, that the tendency of the gospel is to holiness of life.

The apostle next proceeds (chap. iv) to an illustration of his doctrine of justification by faith alone, by the case of *Abraham*. He had discarded "the works of the law" (chap. iii, 20) as a condition of justification; and he now proceeds to show that Abraham was justified by "*faith*" without "*works*." "For if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not before God." For, "to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt." So that if we could claim perfect obedience to the law, our salvation would be a matter of sheer justice—a debt that would be due to us, and no affair of *grace* at all. But he urges, in carrying out this argument, that, instead of offering pardon, "the law worketh wrath." As all have become involved in sin, as he had previously proved, and the office of the law is only to prescribe the rule, and to condemn those who fail of its requirements, it lays no rational ground of hope for any fallen son or daughter of Adam, but thunders against all its just penalties.

In the *fifth* chapter we have a further statement and illustration of the doctrine of justification by faith; and in the *sixth* a discussion, or rather the opening of a discussion, of the doctrine of sanctification, or holiness of heart and life. The apostle introduces this latter topic by calling up the objection which he had previously noticed, namely, that the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith, without the works of the law, makes void the law, and makes Christ the minister of sin. He even proves his doctrine, of the holy tendency of the gospel, from the very fact that the legalist would make the ground of the opposite conclusion, namely, deliverance from the law. "For," says he, "sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace. What then? shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid." Verses 14, 15. As much as to say,—If you were under the law, having failed to keep it, and having lost your power perfectly to meet its requirements, you would then, indeed, be under the "dominion" of "sin;" but being "under grace," you are delivered from its power. By this argument the apostle dexterously turns the objection of the legalist against himself. The law provides no remedy for sin; but the gospel does provide such a remedy: therefore it is the legal system which "genders to bondage," while the gospel, or the gracious economy, tends to spiritual liberty and holiness. Having pursued this argument to its legitimate results,

the apostle next proceeds (chap. vii) to a further illustration and enforcement of his position against the efficacy of the law as the instrument or the condition of life; and, at the same time, giving it its true office and work. We will quote and analyze his language:—

"1. Know ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the law,) how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth? 2. For the woman which hath a husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. 3. So then if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress: but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law; so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man. 4. Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God. 5. For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death: 6. But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter. 7. What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. 8. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. 9. For I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. 10. And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death. 11. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me. 12. Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. 13. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful. 14. For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin." Rom. vii.

The apostle's position here is, that we "are become dead to the law by the body of Christ." He had prepared the way for this distinct proposition by an illustration taken from the law of marriage. The death of one of the parties puts a period to the conditions of the union; so that the survivor is at liberty to contract another matrimonial engagement. "Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God." Here we have the application of his illustration, showing the effects of the atonement—"the body of Christ"—upon the condition and prospects of true believers. The believer has become dead to the law as a

condition of life, and is affianced to Christ; not that he may live after the flesh, and remain under the dominion of sin, but that he may "bring forth fruit unto God."

Next the apostle proceeds to show, from facts and experience, the inefficacy of the law as an instrument of life. "For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, *which were by the law*, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death." Verse 5. Being "in the flesh" here means, being in a carnal or unrenewed state. (See chap. viii, 8.) When they were in their unregenerate state "the motions"—*παθηματα passions*—"of sins, *which were by the law*"—which were awakened and irritated by the law—"did work in their members to bring forth fruit unto death." So far, then, was the law from sanctifying and saving those who were under its power, that it only aroused their inward corruptions to fiercer opposition to its claims.

After this statement, the apostle very naturally and advantageously resumes his position upon the superior advantages of the gospel as a means of sanctification, and shows the strong contrast there is between those who are "delivered from the law," that they may "serve God in newness of the spirit," and those who are under its power, striving for sanctification "in the oldness of the letter." Ver. 6.

Naturally anticipating an objection to what he had said (ver. 5) of the operations of the law upon an unrenewed mind, that if the law were the means of arousing the corruptions of the human heart, it must be an instrument of sin, he now proceeds to vindicate it from such a charge, and to show its true nature, design, and use, under the gospel dispensation.

1. As to the nature of the law, it is *holy*, *just*, *good*, and *spiritual*. Verses 12, 14. So far then is the apostle from depreciating the law, that he confers upon it epithets expressive of the highest sense of its true dignity and divine origin.

2. The original design of the law was to preserve the subjects of it in a state of spiritual life. "The commandment which [*was ordained*—or intended] for life I found [*to be*] unto death." Ver. 10. "Doubtless," says Mr. Wesley, "it was originally intended by God as a grand means of preserving and increasing spiritual life, and leading to life everlasting."—*Notes.*

3. The application and uses of the law. And,

First. It gives the knowledge of sin. "I had not known sin but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." Verses 7, 8.

Secondly. It shows the strength of sin. "For without the law

sin was dead." Ver. 8. The strength of the current is not felt until we attempt to stem it. So the power of our corruptions is not appreciated until the law brings us to a discovery of their deadly nature, and, alarmed by its denunciations, we begin to struggle against them.

Thirdly. It shows us our utter helplessness and ruin, and induces despair of relief on the ground of our own merit or works. "For I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." Ver. 9. When God's law, in all its breadth, is applied to the sinner's heart and life, he feels himself helpless within the coils of sin, and hope expires.

Fourthly. The law shows the monstrous evil of sin. "That sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful." Ver. 13. Sin takes its character or magnitude from the holiness of the law it violates. And when the sinner sees that the law is *holy, just, good,* and *spiritual*—that sin is a violation of such a law—that it is a wide departure from the straight line therein drawn, he sees its *exceeding sinfulness.*

Such, then, according to St. Paul, are the offices of the law. To prove that we are right in supposing that the law referred to by the apostle, in the passage under consideration, is the unchangeable rule of moral obligation—in other words, the *moral* law, properly so called—it is only necessary to direct attention to its attributes and offices. What law is it that is *holy, just,* and *good—spiritual*—ordained to life—which gives the knowledge of sin—shows its strength—our utter helplessness and ruin—and displays the exceeding sinfulness of sin? Can it be any other than that great moral rule which prescribes the duties which man owes to God—or, in other words, the *moral law?* Again: it may be observed that the apostle refers, in his account of the offices of the law, to a specific precept of the decalogue. Says he, "I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust, except *the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.*" This surely is no part of the ceremonial law, or any other law wholly, and in every sense, abrogated. It is a portion of the ten commandments, "written and engraven on stone," and which, though not the condition of life under the gospel, are of universal and perpetual obligation, and will always be necessary to convict sinners of sin, and show them their need of a Saviour.

Now is there any inconsistency between these views of the offices and uses of the law, and what the apostle had said before of our being "dead to the law by the body of Christ?" The two positions taken by the apostle will appear perfectly consistent with

each other when we advert to what we have seen to be the scope of his argument. His object is to explode the law *as an instrument or a condition of justification or sanctification.* Of course we must take what he says as extending no further than the limits of the proposition which he argues. In attempting to prove that the law cannot justify or sanctify, he says we are dead to the law by the body of Christ. Now we can understand no more by this, taken in its connections, than that the law has ceased to be the rule or condition of justification, or the instrument or condition of sanctification. We cannot make him mean more without perverting his sense and making him contradict himself. To cut off all such constructions of his language as would imply that the law is wholly abrogated, the apostle proceeds immediately to exalt it, and to show its perpetual necessity as an exhibition of God's holiness, and the instrument of the sinner's conviction of the evil of sin. The result from the whole is, that though the law is still in full force as an exhibition of our duty as the creatures of God, it is "*dead*," and "we are delivered from" it, as *a covenant of works* or *a condition of life.*

A fallacy is sometimes practiced by the use of the qualifying word *moral* in connection with the law. As this term is not found in the Bible, but has been used merely for the sake of distinction, men take the liberty to affix to it their own signification; some using it with a greater, others with a less latitude of meaning. Some apply it to the decalogue; others, to all the moral rules of the Bible, embracing both Testaments; and others use it in a general sense *for the great rule of the divine government which binds all moral agents to love and obey God to the extent of their powers.* We do not say that the ten commandments are not moral laws, nor that the law of love, given by our Saviour, is not moral; on the other hand, we would explicitly concede that these are particular formularies which express, in a comprehensive form, the requirements of the moral law. And, moreover, we equally maintain that there are a multitude of particular precepts scattered through the Scriptures which are of a purely moral character. Restricting the origin of the moral law to the Mosaic code seems to us unauthorized and little less than absurd. For then it would have had no existence before Moses. Our first parents in paradise, and the long line of patriarchs from Adam to Moses, would have been without it, which would be too absurd a supposition to be entertained for a moment. Again: St. Paul evidently supposes the moral law to be known, to some extent, where the Mosaic code was not known. "For," says he,

"when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." Romans ii, 14, 15. According to this view, the great moral code is not confined to the Biblical formularies, but is, in its spirit at least, inscribed upon the conscience of dark and degraded heathen, "accusing or else excusing" them, according as their conduct is conformed or not conformed to its claims. The light of the heathen, we know, is exceedingly dim; but still if St. Paul is right, they have at least enough to make them responsible.

And in this view we have the sanction of Mr. Wesley. His sermon on the Law, already quoted, is founded upon a portion of the section now under discussion, (Rom. vii, 12;) and in relation to the law spoken of, he says,—

"The nature of that law which was originally given to angels in heaven and man in paradise, and which God has so mercifully promised to write afresh in the hearts of all true believers, was the second thing I proposed to show. In order to which I would first observe, that although the 'law' and the 'commandment' are sometimes differently taken, (the commandment meaning but a part of the law,) yet, in the text, they are used as equivalent terms, implying one and the same thing. But we cannot understand here, either by one or the other, the ceremonial law. . . . It remains, that the law, eminently so termed, is no other than the moral law."

By ὁ νομος *the law*—and which we take the liberty to call *the moral law*—we mean the great rule of moral obligation binding all dependent intelligences to perfect obedience. Mr. Wesley says, —"The law, eminently so termed, *is no other than the moral law:*" and then proceeds to give us a most graphic view of its character. "Now," says he, "this law is an incorruptible picture of the high and holy ONE that inhabiteth eternity. It is he, whom, in his essence, no man hath seen or can see, made visible to men and angels. It is the face of God unveiled; God manifested to his creatures as they are able to bear it; manifested to give, and not to destroy, life—that they may see God and live. It is the heart of God disclosed to man. Yea, in some sense, we may apply to this law what the apostle says of his Son, it is *απαυγασμα της δοξης, και χαρακτηρ της υποστασεως αυτου—the streaming forth* [or *out-beaming*] *of his glory, the express image of his person.*"—*Sermon on the Original, Nature, Properties, and Use of the Law.*

As to the origin of this law, this great divine tells us it "is not, as some may have possibly imagined, of so late an institution as the time of Moses. Noah declared it to men long before that time, and Enoch before him. But we may trace its original higher still, even beyond the foundation of the world, to that period, unknown indeed to men, but doubtless enrolled in the annals of eternity, when 'the morning stars [first] sang together,' being newly called into existence."—*Ibid.* And that this is the law—the law which we, with the sanction of our venerable founder, call "the moral law"—of which the apostle speaks in the passage under discussion, we have already given sufficient reasons abundantly and beyond all controversy to prove. As we shall have occasion to call up this point again, we wish the reader to bear in mind the explicit language of Mr. Wesley in relation to it, and the incontrovertible reasons by which his views are supported.

Having exhibited the ineffectual struggles of a convicted sinner under the law, in the latter verses of the seventh chapter of Romans, the apostle proceeds, on the opening of the eighth, to another declaration of the true source of deliverance.

"1. There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. 2. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death. 3. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh: 4. That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Rom. viii.

Here is a strong contrast drawn between the weakness and inefficacy of the law for the purposes of sanctification, and the strength and efficiency of the gospel system.

1. "There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus"—those who are "married" or united to Christ by faith are *justified*. The law, as we have seen, cannot justify, but the gospel can.

2. "For the law of the Spirit of life"—the gospel—"hath made me free from the law of sin and death"—hath taken me from under the power and bondage of the law, which, as it gives the sinner no relief, but leaves him under the power of sin, and condemns him to death on account of it, is called "the law of sin and death."

3. "For what the law could not do"—toward justifying and sanctifying the sinner—"in that it was weak through the flesh,

God" hath done,—"sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for"—a sacrifice for—"sin condemned sin in the flesh:"—showing its evil, and providing for its destruction—"that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Through the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, made known by the gospel, God has achieved the complete emancipation, from the condemnation and the power of sin, of all those who so believe and receive the atonement as to bring forth the fruits of holiness—a thing which the law, in its weakness, "could not do."

It is a question of some importance to determine in what sense "the righteousness of the law" is "fulfilled in us who walk," &c. There are two classes of views upon this point, between which commentators are divided. One class refers the fulfillment of the righteousness of the law to Christ—condemning sin in the flesh; and the other, to the practical obedience of the sanctified. Those who take the latter view, suppose a *qualified* fulfillment of the righteousness of the law to be intended; such as is implied in loving God with all the heart—the same sense in which "love is the fulfilling of the law." Among these we rank many of the Arminian commentators, and some of the Calvinistic. But several of these—such as Locke, Benson, Turner, Pyle, and others—take special care to guard against the supposition that a perfect satisfaction of the claims of the law is to be understood; asserting that only the degree of obedience which a fallen being in a sanctified state is able to render, and which God, through Christ, will graciously condescend to accept, instead of such perfect righteousness as the law requires, is intended. This is a safe construction, and there seems some reason for it; but it has its difficulties: *δικαίωμα τον νομον, the righteousness of the law*, in the proper sense, must imply a *perfect righteousness*. Nothing less than this could possibly meet the claims of the law, and no one who has ever sinned can attain such righteousness. For the law requires sinless perfection,—making no allowance for the smallest departure from its high and holy requirements, and extending no mercy to past failures. Who, then, can ever, in himself and by his own works, practically meet the claims of God's holy law? "The righteousness of the law" not only requires that we should not sin in future, but that we *should never have sinned in days past*—it must imply Adamic perfection, and nothing less. But it may be said that the atonement of Christ meets the demands of the law, so far as the past is concerned, pardoning our trespasses and washing away our stains; and it is only for the future—subsequent to our entire sanc-

tification—that we are expected to fulfill the righteousness of the law. To this it may be answered, that it does not agree with the position maintained. That position is, that the righteousness of the law is fulfilled *by us*,—as they render *εν ημίν*,—who walk, &c.; making the fulfilment of the righteousness of the law *personal—the result of our own works*. If the righteousness of the law is in a proper sense fulfilled *by us*, there is nothing left to be done by Christ. The difficulty of this interpretation is, that, while it makes the atonement of Christ in some unexplained, and, to us, inconceivable, way, to render it possible that we should fulfill the righteousness of the law, it gives the atonement no part in the work of fulfilling that righteousness. Now, we learn from the Scriptures that CHRIST "magnified the law and made it honorable," and "brought in everlasting righteousness;" that he is "the Lord our righteousness,"—that he is "our wisdom, *righteousness*, sanctification, and redemption." But that the righteousness of the law can, in any proper sense, be fulfilled *by* a fallen being, is what we must, at least for the present, hold as doubtful.

We have no doubt but that obedience to the requirements of the gospel, and a perfect fulfillment of its conditions, are practicable. But then the question is, whether this is the meaning of the text under consideration. Nor have we any doubt but that the righteousness of the law is fulfilled, or completely vindicated, in the final salvation of the believer; but then we suppose this is done by the divine atonement, and not by his *perfect* obedience to its requirements.

Could we suppose a man at any time in a condition to fulfill the righteousness of the law, we would scarcely suppose him any longer to stand in need of the atonement. For what though the atonement put him in the condition—pardoned his sins and renovated his nature—if he meets the entire claims of the law for ever after, though he may have cause of gratitude and praise for his being raised to his present elevated position, what need will he have for a constant application of the blood of Christ? While perfectly meeting the highest claims of the divine law, he could scarcely

> "Every moment, Lord, I need
> The merit of thy death."

From these considerations we are not prepared to adopt the construction of the passage under consideration, which attributes the fulfillment of the righteousness of the law to men who "have sinned and come short of the glory of God." The reader will not understand us as objecting to the *orthodoxy* of those commentators and divines who adopt the construction of the text from which we dissent.

We are aware that men have adopted this construction whose shoe-latchets we are not worthy to loose. But we cannot follow commentators implicitly in their criticisms and paraphrases. We must see with our own eyes that the sense they give the divine Word is sustained oy the language and scope of the sacred penmen, or we cannot follow any of them. At the same time we wish it distinctly understood, that with the *doctrinal views* which some of our own commentators suppose to be involved in the text in question, we most perfectly harmonize. Our only question is, whether these views can be legitimately deduced from the text. A doubtful argument never should be relied upon in proof of a doctrine—a text never should be employed *as a proof-text* which fairly admits of a construction which would render it wholly inapplicable to our purpose. And above all, should we avoid a construction of a text of Scripture given for the proof of a disputed doctrine, which, if it can be made to bear at all, will make it prove *too much*,—and so by a dexterous opponent can be run into the grossest absurdity. By such ill-advised methods of defending the truth, a decided advantage is often given to its adversaries.

In the latter part of the *ninth* chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the apostle concludes from the premises which he had previously laid down, that the Gentiles had attained to the law of righteousness, even the righteousness of faith: "But Israel hath not attained to the law of righteousness, because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law." The converted Gentiles had obtained justification because they sought it by faith alone; but the unbelieving Jews had not obtained justification, because they sought it by the impracticable method of legal obedience.

Naturally concluding that this position would be supposed by the Jews to imply some want of regard for his brethren of the house of Israel, he opens the *tenth* chapter with a strong declaration of his steady attachment to his "brethren," his "kinsmen according to the flesh." He thus proceeds:—

"2. For I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. 3. For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteouness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God. 4. For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. 5. For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, That the man which doeth those things shall live by them. 6. But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above:) 7. Or, Who shall descend into the deep?

(that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) 8. But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith which we preach: 9. That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. 10. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. 11. For the Scripture saith, Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed." Rom. x.

Here he first declares that their great error was, that "being ignorant of God's righteousness"—God's method of justification and sanctification—"and going about to establish their own righteousness"—their own plan of salvation by the law—they had "not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." Their *doctrinal* error had become *practical*, and so they were still unsaved. He next proceeds to another statement and illustration of "God's righteousness,"—or the gospel method of salvation.

"For," saith he, "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." Ver. 4. Two points of inquiry naturally arise upon this position. *First*, what law does the apostle refer to? And *secondly*, in what sense is Christ the end of that law? Mr. Wesley is so explicit upon these points, that we shall introduce his language as the best exposition of the whole subject which we have to offer.

"Quest. 1. How is 'Christ the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth?' Rom. x, 4.

"Ans. In order to understand this, you must understand what law is here spoken of; and this, I apprehend, is, 1. The Mosaic law, the whole Mosaic dispensation; which St. Paul continually speaks of as one, though containing three parts, the political, moral, and ceremonial. 2. The Adamic law, that given to Adam in innocence, properly called 'the law of works.' This is in substance the same with the angelic law, being common to angels and men. It required that man should use, to the glory of God, all the powers with which he was created. Now, he was created free from any defect, either in his understanding or his affections. His body was then no clog to the mind; it did not hinder his apprehending all things clearly, judging truly concerning them, and reasoning justly, if he reasoned at all. I say, *if he reasoned;* for possibly he did not. Perhaps he had no need of reasoning, till his corruptible body pressed down the mind, and impaired its native faculties. Perhaps, till then, the mind saw every truth that offered, as directly as the eye now sees the light.

"Consequently, this law, proportioned to his original powers, required that he should always think, always speak, and always act

precisely right, in every point whatever. He was well able so to do: and God could not but require the service he was able to pay.

"But Adam fell, and his incorruptible body became corruptible; and ever since, it is a clog to the soul, and hinders its operations. Hence, at present, no child of man can at all times apprehend clearly, or judge truly. And where either the judgment or apprehension is wrong, it is impossible to reason justly. Therefore it is as natural for a man to mistake as to breathe; and he can no more live without the one than without the other: consequently no man is able to perform the service which the Adamic law requires.

"And no man is obliged to perform it; God does not require it of any man: for Christ is the end of the Adamic, as well as the Mosaic, law. By his death he hath put an end to both; he hath abolished both the one and the other, with regard to man; and the obligation to observe either the one or the other is vanished away. Nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic, more than the Mosaic, law. (I mean it is not the condition either of present or future salvation.)

"In the room of this, Christ hath established another, viz., the law of faith. Not every one that doeth, but every one that believeth, now receiveth righteousness, in the full sense of the word; that is, he is justified, sanctified, and glorified."—*Plain Account.*

Now, if it should be questioned whether Mr. Wesley intends to embrace *the moral law* in his statements, it is very easy to prove the fact beyond the possibility of a rational doubt. Under his first head he embraces "the Mosaic law," which, he says, "St. Paul continually speaks of as one, though containing three parts, the political, *moral*, and ceremonial." Here he explicitly embraces *the moral law* as combined in the "Mosaic dispensation." And under the second head he embraces "the Adamic law—that given to Adam in innocence, properly called the law of works—in substance the same with the angelic law, being common to angels and men." Compare this language with a passage we have already quoted from Mr. Wesley, and the fact that he refers to the moral law is clearly made out.

"I shall endeavor to show the original of the moral law, often called 'the law,' by way of eminence. Now this is not, as some may have possibly imagined, of so late an institution as the time of Moses. Noah declared it to men long before that time, and Enoch before him. But we may trace its original higher still, even beyond the foundation of the world, to that period, unknown indeed to men, but doubtless enrolled in the annals of eternity, when 'the

morning stars [first] sang together,' being newly called into existence."—*Wesley's Sermons*, vol. i, p. 307.

Who does not see that what he calls "the Adamic law" in the Plain Account, he calls "the moral law" in the sermon? In one instance he says it is the law which is "common to angels and men;" and in the other he traces "its original" to the period when the morning stars sang together, being early "called into being;" and explicitly calls it "the moral law." There is no confusion here. *The moral law* generically embraces both the Adamic and the *moral* part of the Mosaic law. By the Adamic law, he means one specific form and manifestation of the moral law; and by the part of the "Mosaic law" which partakes of the nature of *moral law*, he refers to another; and when speaking generally, he embraces the law which is not only common to Jews and Gentiles—the patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian dispensation—but, also, "common to angels and men."

Let us next look at what this great divine says of the *abolition* of this law. He says, "Christ is the end of the Adamic, as well as the Mosaic, law. . . . Nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic more than the Mosaic law. (I mean, it is not the condition either of present or future salvation.") This is precisely what we understand to be the doctrine of Paul, and to be aimed at directly throughout his whole argument upon the law in his Epistle to the Romans. *The law*, in any form, in all forms, is "abolished" "as a condition of present or future salvation. . . . In the room of this, Christ hath established another, namely, the law of faith."

St. Paul proceeds immediately from the position upon which we have presented the commentary of Mr. Wesley, to draw a contrast between the way of salvation by the law, and that of salvation by faith. He says, "Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doeth those things shall live by them. But the righteousness of faith speaketh on this wise." Or, as Mr. Wesley says, "Not every one that *doeth*, but every one that *believeth*, now receiveth righteousness, in the full sense of the word; that is, he is justified, sanctified, and glorified." *The law of faith*, as "the condition either of present or future salvation," is directly opposed to the *law of works*, both by St. Paul and Mr. Wesley; and, according to them, while the one is perfectly practicable, the other is so far above or below us that we cannot attain unto it, and we are not to direct our attention toward it for a moment. "Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? or who shall descend into the deep? the word is nigh

thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith which we preach—for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." Salvation upon the condition of law is fairly beyond our reach, but on the condition of faith it is near—brought down to our helplessness and ruin.

A similar train of reasoning upon the law is pursued by the apostle in his Epistle to the Galatians; a few passages from which we shall next proceed to quote and expound:—

"16. Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified. 17. But if, while we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the minister of sin? God forbid. 18. For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor. 19. For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God. 20. I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me. 21. I do not frustrate the grace of God: for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain." Gal. ii.

1. The apostle first states the doctrine of justification by faith, and the utter *impossibility* of justification by the works of the law. Ver. 16.

2. That if the Galatians, seeking justification by faith, were found deficient in their moral and religious character, the gospel would not be to blame, but the fault would lie upon them. Verses 17, 18.

3. That through the application of the law to his life he had been brought to so full a conviction of the impracticability of salvation upon the ground of legal obedience, that he had wholly renounced it as the condition of present or future salvation, and had embraced Christ as his only remedy. "For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God." Ver. 19.

4. He is so effectually united with Christ that he is "crucified with" him, and he so holds his connection with him as to derive from him spiritual "life," only "by the faith of the Son of God." Ver. 20. Observe here, that the apostle himself, though justified and sanctified, does not consider it practicable for him to stand in this grace on the condition of perfect obedience to the law. But he says, "I *am* dead to the law—I *am* crucified with Christ—and *the life which I now live*—I live by the faith of the Son of God." So that his *continued* justification, and the *perpetuity* of his spiritual life, were by *faith*, and not by *legal obedience*.

5. Lastly, he affirms that if righteousness could come by the law, the death of Christ would be in vain, and he would "frustrate," or make void, "the grace of God."

In the opening of the *third* chapter, the Galatians are charged with having foolishly left Christ and gone back to the law. And after demanding of them (ver. 2) whether they had "received the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith," and offered some illustrations, he proceeds:—

"10. For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them. 11. But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, The just shall live by faith. 12. And the law is not of faith: but, The man that doeth them shall live in them." Gal. iii.

1. He asserts that those who depend upon the law for salvation are under its curse—and this he proves by a quotation from Moses, (Deut. xxvii, 26,) which will as effectually cut off from the hope of salvation those who are now justified as those who are not, unless they can hope never to offend against *any* of "the things which are written in the book of the law." For if they trespass in the smallest matter they come under the curse.

2. He next proves, by another scripture, that present and continued justification is by faith. His proof is, "The just shall live by faith." Hab. ii, 4. He cannot mean here, only to say that sinners are at first justified by faith. This is a doctrine which he had repeatedly asserted, as we have seen elsewhere. But now he evidently speaks more especially of continued justification: for his proof would not be applicable to any other view, nor would it well agree with the scope of his argument. He is chiding the Galatians for going back from faith to the law, and laboring to show that there is no point where they can safely put themselves upon the condition of law: "for," says he, "the just shall live by faith. And the law is not of faith: but, The man that doeth them shall live in them." Verses 11, 12. You cannot expect to retain your justification on the condition of law, for the just enjoy their spiritual life by faith. "That is," says Mr. Wesley, "the man who is accounted just or righteous before God, shall continue in a state of acceptance, life, and salvation, *by faith.*"—*Notes.*

"The interpretation of Macknight and others, 'The just by faith shall live'—[i. e., those who are justified by faith shall live]—is very properly rejected by Bishop Middleton, who observes that thus we should have had *ὁδίκαιος εκ πίστεως*, or else *ὁἐκ πίστεος δίκαιος*. Besides, continues he, to say that he who is just,

or justified by faith, shall live, amounts to very little; but to affirm that the good man, he whose obedience, though imperfect, is sincere, shall reap life everlasting from faith, (as opposed to a law of works,) and from faith alone, is a most important declaration; and it agrees exactly with the context: that no man, says the apostle, is justified under the law, is evident; for one of the prophets hath said, 'The just shall live by faith.'"—*Bloomfield's Critical Digest.*

Our apostle next proceeds to anticipate and answer an objection:—

"21. Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. 22. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe. 23. But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterward be revealed. 24. Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. 25. But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster. 26. For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." Gal. iii.

1. First, he says "the law" is not "against the promise of God." They perform wholly different offices. The promise gives "life," which could the law have done, it would supersede the promise, and then "verily righteousness should have been by the law."

2. All are "under sin," and consequently under the condemnation of the law, and can only be saved by "faith."

3. "Before faith came"—that is, before the promise of a Saviour—"we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith," &c. —held in duress by the law until faith brought relief.

4. But the law is not hence to be considered useless. For "the law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith." Ver. 24. The law teaches the need of justification, but does not confer it. It can only be received "by faith."

5. But after we have passed through the law-work—the law has awakened and convicted us, and thus shown us our utter helplessness, and we have been brought to Christ for justification —we are no longer either under the bondage of this "schoolmaster," nor under the necessity for those offices which are superseded by a faith that works by love and purifies the heart.

Having passed through the particular examination of the principal passages upon the subject of *the law*, found in the two

epistles in which St. Paul treats the subject of set purpose, we shall now proceed to draw several conclusions which seem to us to result from his positions.

1. We have seen that *the law*, of which the apostle treats, is *the moral law*—the great rule of human duty given, in various forms and at various periods, by God to man. It is not exclusively the Adamic law nor the Mosaic law, but it embraces the former, and portions of the latter, and even includes the law written upon the hearts of heathen.

But it must be remembered that in all this the law is to be understood separately from the mediatorial system. It was by the law without the atonement, that the Jews sought to be justified, and this was the system which it was the special object of the apostle to show was utterly impracticable. "The law," says *Flavel*, "in Scripture is taken strictly for the moral law only, considered abstractedly from the promises of grace, as the legal justiciaries understood it. These are two different senses and acceptations of the law." After quoting these words, *Mr. Fletcher* adds:—"Apply this excellent distinction to the refinements with which the doctrine of the law has been perplexed; and you will easily answer the objections of those who, availing themselves of St. Paul's laconic style, lay their own farrago at his door. For instance, when he says, 'As many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things,' &c., he means (to use Flavel's words) the law 'considered abstractedly from the promises of grace;' for, in that case, the law immediately becomes the Adamic covenant of works, which knows nothing of justification by faith in a merciful God, through an atoning Mediator; and, in this point of view, the apostle says with great truth, 'The law is not of faith, but the man that doeth these things shall live in them,' without being under any obligation to a Saviour."—*Equal Check.*

2. We have found that this law *no longer exists* AS A COVENANT OF WORKS—that it *is not the condition of justification or sanctification.* No truth, it seems to us, is taught more explicitly than this. It was important to the apostle's argument, in the epistles above named, fully to show this truth. He is urging the perfect fitness and the exclusive claims of the gospel; and when he meets the objections of those who set up the claims of *the law* in opposition to those of *the gospel*, it seems necessary that he should show, in a clear light, the utter inefficacy of the law for the purposes of human salvation. It was necessary to show not only that we cannot obtain justification and sanctification by the law, but that it

would be equally impossible for us to *retain* these blessings by perfect obedience to its claims. Hence his argument is addressed not merely to unconverted sinners, but to justified and sanctified believers. He consequently quotes with emphasis the words of the prophet: "The just shall live by faith." The same doctrine is most explicitly taught in a passage not yet quoted. "Therefore," says he, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ: by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God." Rom. v, 1, 2. Here we are taught that "we have access into this grace"—the grace of justification—"wherein we stand," "by faith." Justification is a *state* as well as a *change*. And we have constant "access into this grace *wherein we stand*," "through our Lord Jesus Christ," and "by faith" in him. Faith in Christ is as really the condition of our continued justification as it is of the commencement of this blessed state; in other words, as much the condition of the *state* as of the *change*. But there is this difference between the faith by which the sinner is justified and that by which the justified *stand in this grace:* the first instance of faith is that which produces submission to Christ, and reliance upon him for the pardon of all past sins; and the faith which follows adds to these, *practical obedience to the precepts of the gospel. Good works* follow, and evince the existence of *justifying faith.*

It has been erroneously supposed by some that because we are required to do God's commandments—to be doers of the word, &c. —we are therefore, subsequently to our justification, put upon the condition of obedience to the moral law. The precepts of the moral law are obligatory upon all Christians; but then it must be borne in mind that they are incorporated into the mediatorial system. *First*, that this system furnishes them with many helps to aid them in their duties; and, *secondly*, that it supplies them with an atoning sacrifice to make amends for their involuntary shortcomings. Without these, who could stand for a moment upon the ground of obedience to the law? The law requires unsinning obedience—it can accept nothing short of *perfect conformity* to all its claims. If we have no atonement to rely upon we must fail of heaven. For who can, in all things, meet the claims of God's holy law? Our errors in judgment and involuntary mistakes, as we are taught by our venerated fathers to believe, need the atoning blood of Christ. But how do they need an atonement if they are not offenses in the eyes of the law still in force as a rule of duty? If the law even makes allowance for

these infirmities, and requires no more than our enfeebled powers are adequate perfectly to perform, why then it is possible for us to live in such strict conformity to its demands as not constantly to need the blood of atonement. For if a man perfectly meets the high claims of the law for any given period, he will stand, for that period, legally, and upon the ground of justice, clear from all charge, and cannot be supposed dependent upon atoning merit for his continued justification.

Should it be urged that, upon the ground that the moral law is now impracticable, it is unjust to require perfect conformity to its claims, and that the enforcement, even in the gospel, is wholly useless, if not absurd; it may be answered, that the constant exhibition and enforcement of the law show to all, even to the most perfect Christian—for even such must be conscious of many shortcomings—the constant necessity of the atoning merit of the Lord Jesus. For, as has been urged, if the law were wholly abrogated, or should bring down its claims to a level with our present fallen condition, we should have no standing monument before us of the inflexible and unchangeable holiness of God; nor do we see how we could feel the present constant need of the merits of Jesus Christ to sustain our hopes, and finally to grant us eternal life.

But before we leave this branch of the subject we would say that *the good works*, commandments, &c., of the gospel, embrace and principally refer to the exercise and fruits of *faith*. As St. John says, "And this is his commandment: that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another." 1 John iii, 23. It is "a loving, obedient faith" which constitutes the condition of our continued acceptance and final salvation—a faith that begets love to God and man, and which, when *perfected*, is accompanied by that "*perfect* love" which "casteth out fear." This is the position of our standards, as, had we space, we might abundantly prove. Though they go strongly against *solifidianism* —from *sola fide*, sole faith—they still hold faith as the basis of all the Christian graces, and hold to obedience and holiness of life in a way not to be implicated in *legalism*. It is the Antinomian doctrine of continued justification and final salvation by a dead, inoperative faith that they make the butt of their most decided assaults. But when they, against the Antinomians of the day, plead for the practicability of the evangelical law, the necessity of obedience, and of good works, &c., we are not to suppose that they maintain that *perfect* obedience to the moral law is the condition of continued justification, or that it is at all practicable to a fallen being.

Mr. Wesley says, "Faith working, or animated by love, is all that God now requires of man [that is, as "the condition of present or future salvation;"] he has substituted (not sincerity, but) love in the room of angelic perfection."—*Plain Account.*

Mr. Fletcher says, "Nor yet under a Christless law with Adam, but under a law to Christ, that is, under the law of our royal Priest, the evangelical law of liberty: a more gracious law this, which allows of sincere repentance, and is fulfilled by loving faith."—*Last Check.*

"And that Christians shall be eternally saved or damned according to their keeping or breaking this mediatorial law of Christian perfection; this law of Christ, this royal law of Jesus the king of the Jews, we prove," &c.—*Ib.*

So that, according to these great divines, it is not the law, properly so called, but the Mediator's law—the evangelical law, or law of liberty—which contains the conditions of both present and future salvation, and is practicable by fallen humanity.

In this view is embraced the provision for "sincere repentance" through a Mediator. The "mediatorial law of Christian perfection" includes all the redeeming merit and all the restoring influences of the new and better covenant. Consequently, the term *law*, when used by our divines, as above, means something more than *a mere rule of duty enforced by penal and promissory sanctions.* It embraces *a plan of salvation*—something which the moral law proper does not embrace or contemplate.

We do not deny but these authors frequently urge the claims of *the law*, and the necessity of obedience to it, without applying to it the qualifying epithets above referred to. But it is an "*evangelically* sinless" obedience which they mean. This we are warranted in inferring from two facts. *First*, they most generally qualify their meaning as above—especially when pressed with the objection that man, in his fallen state, cannot perfectly keep God's holy law; and, *secondly*, because they can in no other way be at all consistent with themselves. For they constantly declare that the most perfect Christians sin against "the perfect law," and consequently have need, every moment, of the atoning blood of Christ. We will here give a clear and most decisive paragraph from Mr. Wesley. Speaking of those who "love God with all their hearts," he says,—"Yet as, even in this case, there is not a full conformity to the perfect law, so the most perfect do, on this very account, need the blood of atonement, and may properly for themselves, as well as for their brethren, say, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'"—*Plain Account.* This is entirely conclusive. The

fact, or the possibility of perfect obedience to "the perfect law," cannot be inferred from anything he has said elsewhere without making him contradict himself.

But here it may be inquired whether Messrs. Wesley and Fletcher do not embrace the whole moral law in their views of the gospel? Certainly they do. But they give to the law a distinct work to perform. It convicts men of sin, and shows them their need of Christ —it is "our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ." The law proper, and the gospel proper, have each their distinctive work to perform; though they perfectly harmonize, the latter only doing what the former cannot do. They do not conflict with each other, nor should they be confounded together. The following extract, from *Dr. Fisk's* sermon on "the properties of the law and the gospel distinguished," sets the subject in a clear light.

"*The gospel implies the law, and acknowledges its claims—they harmonize together in their general design, but are altogether distinct in their character and offices.*

"That the gospel presupposes the law, is evident from the fact already established—that it is an expedient to meet both its penal and preceptive claims. But for the law, therefore, there would have been no gospel. Hence, when the gospel comes proclaiming salvation, it always directs the sinner to the purity and rigor of the law; it clears his spiritual vision, that he may see his danger, and quickens his moral sensibilities, that he may feel his guilt. The gospel detracts nothing from the extent of these claims, and pleads nothing in extenuation of the sinner's criminality. But while it gives full credit to the demands of the law, it spreads open its own appropriate provisions to meet these demands. It points the sinner, first to his poverty, and then to the 'riches of grace, in Christ Jesus;' first to his moral defilement, and then to the blood that 'cleanseth from all sin.' Both, therefore, have the same object in view, viz., holiness of heart and life. The difference is in the manner of accomplishing this object. And this grows out of the different conditions of man. The law is suited not only as a rule of conduct, but as a condition of life for the holy; but the gospel is designed, as we have seen, as a provision of life for the unholy. While the law, therefore, curses sinners, the gospel blesses them. If the law could bless sinners, there would be no need of the gospel; and if the gospel could curse sinners, then indeed we might dispense with the law. But as the law preceded the gospel, and contains in itself all that was necessary as a rule of life, and all the penalty necessary to punish the transgressor; and, as has been shown, is unrepealed and unrepealable, there was no need of ad-

ditional penalties and new moral codes in the gospel. Therefore the gospel, strictly speaking, is not law. It may indeed be objected to this, that the gospel is sometimes called law in the Scriptures. Our text calls it 'the law of the spirit of life.' St. James speaks of 'the perfect law of liberty.' St. Paul calls it 'the law of faith'—and declares, (Rom. ii, 12, 16,) that 'as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men, according to my gospel,' and that 'the Lord Jesus shall be revealed in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that *obey not the gospel* of our Lord Jesus Christ.' 1 Thess. i, 8. In reference to these and similar passages, it may be remarked, that so far as the gospel is used as a term to convey the idea of the whole divine administration under the new covenant, it may very properly be said to include both the precepts and sanctions of law. And so the Scriptures sometimes use the term. But this is a mode of speech in which a part is put for the whole: the whole system is spoken of under the name of one of its prominent features. So the biography of Christ, and all the incidents recorded by the evangelists, go under the general name of *gospel*, because their leading object is to proclaim the '*good news* of great joy, which shall be unto all people,' viz.; that 'unto them is born a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord.' It should also be recollected that the gospel, as has been already shown, implies the law; and to preach it, therefore, with effect, it is necessary to proclaim the law in all its terrors, and describe it in all its claims. Hence, the apostolic commission runs thus,—'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; he that believeth not, shall be damned.' The gospel is as active in pressing the sinner's danger upon him as it is in holding up its own provisions. Because, by this, the sinner is convinced of the nature of his wants and of his need of the gospel. But this no more proves that the gospel curses the sinner, and will finally damn him if he continues impenitent, than the representation which the physician makes to the sick man of his disease and danger, is the cause of that danger. If, in this case, the physician should say,—'Unless you submit yourself to my care and receive my medicine, you must die;' would any man of a sound mind say it was the remedy which sentenced him to death? So neither is it the gospel that condemns the sinner, though it proclaims, 'he that believeth not shall be damned,'—and though it makes known most explicitly, that 'God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ.' And indeed in this passage, (chap. ii, 16,) where the apostle states, that 'God shall judge the secrets of men

according to the gospel,' he is careful to tell us that this judgment is by the law, ver. 12; and it was according to his preaching, when he exhibited to them the necessity and advantages of embracing the gospel. This view of the subject will show what St. James means by the 'perfect law of liberty.' He is speaking of the word preached, embracing, doubtless, the whole range of truth implied in the gospel scheme. Now, whosoever looketh into this exhibition of divine truth and giveth heed thereto, &c., that man shall be blessed in his deed. There is not even an intimation in the text or context, that the 'perfect law of liberty,' here spoken of, is the gospel, properly so called. The gospel is, doubtless, implied in it, because all the word preached is implied in it. As it respects the clause in our text, in which the gospel is called 'the law of the spirit of life,' this no more means that the gospel is law, properly so called, than the phrase, *law* of *sin* and *death*, in the other clause of the sentence, means law, properly so called. In both cases, probably, the term, law, is used in an accommodated sense, to represent a *strong controlling influence*. Such are the habits of sin when once formed, and such the energetic operations of the gospel upon the heart. This accommodated use of the term, law, in the text, may, in a good degree, explain other passages where the gospel is called law. For that it is not used for the divine law, in a proper definition of the term, is evident from the fact, that it is set in contrast with the law, and performs a distinct work, which the law cannot do. And it is here contrasted with the very law, too, under which man is placed, the guilt of which he feels when convicted of sin, and from which the gospel alone frees him when he is *justified* and born again. If, therefore, the law of the spirit of life in the text means the gospel, (as who can doubt but it does?) then, indeed, is the gospel distinguished from the law by all those strong marks of difference and striking traits of contrast hinted at in the preceding discourse."

3. The next deduction which we make from St. Paul's language is, that the law which is superseded as a condition of justification and sanctification, is still in being as a rule of action.

Let the reader here revert to the language of the apostle in the *seventh* of *Romans*. Here he declares we "are become dead to the law by the body of Christ." And after proceeding to show the workings of the law upon the unrenewed, and making out that "the motions of sin were by the law," that is, the law excited evil *passions* without curing them, he brings in an objector, asking, "What shall we say then? Is the law sin?" And in answer to this he proceeds to eulogize *this very law*, and to attribute to it

attributes absolutely inconsistent, as we have already seen, with the idea that it is wholly abrogated. He clearly asserts its divine origin and perpetual utility. Now there is no harmony or truth in the apostle's reasoning in all this upon the hypothesis that he here speaks of two different laws. Upon the supposition that he, in the first instance, declared that we are dead to the *ceremonial* law or any other law that has been wholly done away, and, in answer to an objection made to his positions, proceeded to assert the continued existence and great practical utility of the moral law, or some other law that is not abrogated, would he reason logically? Would he not stand convicted of playing upon an equivocal term? We can never concur in a construction of St. Paul's language which will make him play the part of a sophist. We must believe that he prosecutes his argument logically, and that he meets all objections fairly, and can never consent to the construction which makes him answer the objection that he depreciates one law by showing that he honors another.

If, then, the apostle here speaks of the same law in both instances, the only consistent conclusion is, that he views it in the two instances in two different respects. In the *first* he finds the law ineffectual, and superseded as a covenant of works—as a condition of salvation; and in the *second*, he recognizes in it an indestructible principle of righteousness—a rule of moral conduct to moral beings.

If it should be urged here, that man, having lost his ability to keep the law, God cannot now hold him under obligation to do so without gross injustice; we answer, that obligation does not always imply an ability to perform. A debtor may not be able to pay a just debt, but this want of ability does not cancel the obligation, nor would it be proper to say in such a case that the debtor does not owe the creditor. The account, or his bond, stands against him as an evidence of indebtedness, though he may never be able to make payment. But should the creditor offer to compound the matter, or to discharge the debt on certain conditions, he would be morally bound to make such conditions as he considered within the limits of the debtor's means. So that, though the gospel, which is a restoring system, must be presumed to make no conditions not within the scope of our assisted powers, the same cannot be inferred of the law. The gospel is a covenant of grace—proffers pardon to ignorant and guilty sinners upon terms which it furnishes them with the means to understand and strength to perform. If Christ, as a great restorer, had not adapted the plan of salvation to our fallen condition, but required of us, as

the condition of acceptance, the performance of works which could only be performed by unfallen beings, the offer of salvation, upon such terms, would be characterized by a want of sincerity and moral justice. Upon this principle man could not justly be condemned finally for the want of what the gospel requires. The result of this reasoning is, that *although obligation does not in all cases imply an ability to perform, yet a covenant of promise does imply such an ability.*

Some suppose the law changes and relaxes its claims as moral agents lose their power to obey—that as men pervert their moral nature and become morally enfeebled, the law abates its demands. Now we object wholly to this view, for the following reasons:—

(1.) It frees the sinner from all obligations to the law the moment he shall have proceeded in the way of sin beyond the possibility of recovery.

(2.) It does away with the necessity of an atonement in all possible or supposable cases. For if, after transgression, the law immediately brings down its claims to a level with the sinner's fallen nature, all that it requires is such future obedience as he can render. The law making no claims that the sinner cannot meet by future obedience, where the necessity of the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ? This may be Deism or Socinianism, but it is not Christianity.

(3.) This view destroys the force of the law as an instrument of conviction. It has no claims upon the sinner for his past transgressions—only demanding what he is now able to do—and fully releasing him from all its former demands and the consequences of all his failures. There is, upon this system, no thunder, or lightning, or wrath in the law. It comes to the sinner at every step he takes in his downward course, with claims diminished in the exact ratio of his loss of moral power, saying, *Do this*—that is, *just as much as you can now do of what I originally required*, for I now demand no more—*and you shall live.*

(4.) This notion would bring the law into contempt, and indeed turn it into a solemn farce. What respect or attention could a law command which has no claim upon the transgressor for his buried talent—for the obedience which he once had power to render, but which, by his own fault, he has lost the power to perform? Such a law would be unworthy of the name of a law—it would be a universal license to sin. The following paragraph from *Mr. Fletcher's Appeal* is a clear and indubitable expression of his views upon this subject:—

"Some indeed flatter themselves that 'the law, since the gospel

dispensation, abates much of its demands of perfect love.' But their hope is equally unsupported by reason and Scripture. The law is the eternal rule of right, the moral picture of the God of holiness and love. It can no more vary than its eternal, unchangeable Original. The Lord 'will not alter the thing that is gone out of his mouth.' He must cease to be what he is, before his law can lose its power to bind either men or angels; and all creatures shall break sooner than it shall bend; for if it commands us only to 'love God with all our heart, and our neighbor as ourselves,' what just abatement can be made in so equitable a precept? Therefore man, who breaks the righteous law of God as naturally as he breathes, is, and must continue, under its fearful curse, till he has secured the pardon and help offered him in the gospel."

I must now hasten to my last conclusion from the apostle's teaching upon the law.

4. I infer, from all the foregoing, that the standard of Christian perfection is not the law, but the gospel of God our Saviour.

We understand *perfect* obedience to the law to amount to *Adamic perfection*. It is not material whether we suppose man never to have sinned and fallen from original purity, or that he has been raised up to that state by the restoring power of the new covenant. If he, by any means, reaches the *perfect obedience* of the law, he is, of course, as perfectly exempt from all kinds of offenses and short comings as Adam was before his fall. This state we say, with our fathers, is not attainable in this world. The law makes no allowance for infirmities and short comings, either voluntary or *involuntary*. But we may not expect to be exempt from infirmities while we tabernacle in clay. Consequently, we never can stand perfectly acquitted in the eyes of the law.

We call the perfection which the law requires—that is, the present practical fulfillment of all its requirements—*legal perfection*. Others may not use the epithet *legal* in the same sense. Let them take their course, and we will take ours. We do not wish, if we can possibly avoid it, to contend about words. If others, by *legal perfection*, mean the perfection of beings who have never sinned—perfect obedience to the law from the beginning—we have no quarrel with them. But we still claim the right to call that perfection which implies perfect obedience to the law, no matter how attained, or how short its duration, *legal perfection*. We so denominate it in opposition to *evangelical perfection*, which implies, loving God with all the heart—understanding by this simply, rendering to God our little all—*just what we, with all our infirmities, are capable of doing, and no more.*

And this is what we understand the apostle to urge in the *sixth* of *Romans*. The whole is embraced in these few words: "Reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom. vi, 11. It is the death of sin, and the life and freedom of faith and holiness, according to the gospel, that are held up as our privilege by the great apostle. And all this is within the reach of the poorest and the feeblest child of God.

The following propositions I have received from a worthy correspondent whose name I am not permitted to use. They will constitute a very appropriate conclusion to this article, although they were not originally designed by the author for publication.

"1. God never has had but one moral law, and that law is necessarily immutable.

"2. Anything less than *perfect obedience* to that law, upon the part of man, is necessarily a *moral failure*, which, without the atonement, brings upon him its condemnation.

"3. This perfect obedience has become impracticable by the fall; hence salvation, without the application of the atonement, is impossible.

"4. The atonement has made no provisions to *supersede* or *dispense with any part of the law*, but to *pardon offenders*, and purify the depraved by faith in Christ.

"5. The unconditional demands of the gospel cover *exactly* the grounds of man's *gracious ability*, which is less than his legal or natural ability would have been. (See prop. 3.) Violations of these demands are *conditionally* pardoned.

"6. The moral failures which grow out of man's fallen state necessarily, and which are unavoidable, are provided for in the atonement, and thus lose their power to condemn.

"7. Man's gracious ability is the true standard of Christian perfection. Conformity to this standard makes a *perfect Christian;* whereas, perfect conformity to the moral law, according to man's original natural ability, would make a *perfect man*. In the absence of this natural ability there are no *perfect men*. In the presence of this gracious ability there are many *perfect Christians*."

ART. VIII.—(*Authorized*) *Abstract of the Proceedings and Final Resolutions of the Conference, held in Freemasons' Hall, London, on August* 19, 1846, *and following Days.*

THE London Conference is now matter of history; and whatever may be its final results, no movement since the great Reformation has called forth so much interest, and been matter of so much commentary. That an alliance of evangelical Christians should be formed, without serious difficulties, no rational mind could ever have imagined; and that, when formed, it would meet with opposition from many quarters, must have been anticipated by the most sanguine of its friends. The difficulties with which the conference was beset were not small, but were overcome by patience, perseverance, charity, and prayer.

The above tract is the first "authorized" publication of the doings of the conference, and the only one which has as yet reached us. We took full notes of the acts of the conference, and of many of the speeches, but shall make little public use of them at present. When we shall receive the full account of the proceedings and speeches, we may resume the subject. For the present our readers must be satisfied with a meagre sketch. The "authorized abstract" commences thus:—

"The conference for the formation of THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE was opened in Freemasons' Hall, London, on Wednesday morning, August 19, 1846, at ten o'clock, and continued its sittings till the evening of Wednesday, September 2.

"The conference consisted of nine hundred and twenty persons, of whom about seven hundred and eighty-six came from Great Britain and Ireland; eighty-seven from the American continent and islands; and forty-seven from the continent of Europe and other parts of the world.

"Each sitting was commenced with devotional exercises, over which the following members of the conference presided."

Here follow nineteen names, which we shall not copy. We next have the names of *seventy* members who "took part in the devotional exercises."

"Sir Culling Eardly Smith, Bart., was requested to preside over the deliberations of the conference. During the brief seasons of his unavoidable absence, the chair was occupied successively by the Hon. Justice Crampton, Sir T. W. Bloomfield, Bart., Thomas Farmer, Esq., James S. Blackwood, Esq., LL. D., R. C. L. Bevan, Esq., Frederick Wills, Esq., John Henderson, Esq., J. M. Strachan, Esq."

At the first session the standing committees were appointed, namely, "the general arrangement committee—the business com-

mittee—the public meeting committee—the finance committee —and the nomination committee." The business committee matured and proposed the order of business for each day. And the whole organization assumed a truly business character.

The history of the proceedings of the conference is marked by three crises. The first was when the act of formation was passed. The great problem had been before the world for more than a year, and had been differently regarded. Even the friends of the measure had many doubts with regard to its feasibility. Committees had labored with much painful anxiety, and the elements of which the Alliance was to be composed had come together. Animated discussions had taken place in the aggregate committee, and it was perceived that there would be great difficulties to surmount. But in view of all that had passed, and all that might occur, "the Evangelical Alliance" was formed without any one dissenting. All now felt that they were committed for everything within the bounds of reason and Christian consistency that might be necessary to the complete accomplishment of the work for which they had assembled. They had *dared to do the deed* which must be succeeded by much more that would require concession, forbearance, and mutual toleration in matters about which perfect agreement in judgment could not be anticipated. We call this a *crisis:* and such it was, because it was a bold and manly entrance upon the first of a series of new and advance positions, all of which had their uncertainties and their perils; and it was also a development of moral courage to proceed and grapple with them in the true Christian spirit. Light seemed then to break in upon the future. All could see that such a body of men would be likely to accomplish what they felt a desire and purpose to do. The moment was an interesting one, and the scene which followed was inspiring and heavenly. The members shook hands, sung praise to God, and united in prayer; and none who were present could feel the least restraint or reserve. All seemed to be brethren. Pure Christian sympathy pervaded the body, and every eye sparkled with hope. The members now seemed to be more sensible than ever of the sublimity of the object, and more confident that it was truly of God. A deep religious feeling pervaded the assembly—tears flowed—prayers ascended—praises were uttered in tremulous and subdued tones—and all felt truly that it was good for them to be there. These remarks refer to the passage of the first section of the "authorized abstract," which is as follows:—

"I.—*The Formation of the Evangelical Alliance.*

"*Resolved*, I. That this conference, composed of professing Christians of many different denominations, all exercising the right of private judgment, and, through common infirmity, differing among themselves in the views they severally entertain on some points, both of Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical polity, and gathered together from many and remote parts of the world, for the purpose of promoting Christian union, rejoice in making their unanimous avowal of the glorious truth that the church of the living God, while it admits of growth, is one church, never having lost, and being incapable of losing, its essential unity. Not, therefore, to create that unity, but to confess it, is the design of their assembling together. One in reality, they desire also, as far as they may be able to attain it, to be visibly one; and thus, both to realize in themselves, and to exhibit to others, that a living and everlasting union binds all true believers together in the fellowship of the church of Christ, 'which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all.'

"II. That this conference, while recognizing the essential unity of the Christian church, feel constrained to deplore its existing divisions, and to express their deep sense of the sinfulness involved in the alienation of affection by which they have been attended, and of the manifold evils which have resulted therefrom; and to avow their solemn conviction of the necessity and duty of taking measures, in humble dependence on the divine blessing, toward attaining a state of mind and feeling more in accordance with the word and spirit of Christ Jesus.

"III. That, therefore, the members of this conference are deeply convinced of the desirableness of forming a confederation on the basis of great evangelical principles held in common by them, which may afford opportunity to members of the church of Christ of cultivating brotherly love, enjoying Christian intercourse, and promoting such other objects as they may hereafter agree to prosecute together; and they hereby proceed to form such a confederation, under the name of 'The Evangelical Alliance.'"

The next *crisis* which was attended with much anxiety was the passing of "the basis." Upon this there were several classes of opinions. Some thought there should be no basis but the naked word of God, every man being left to his own construction of it. Others wished one article, namely, that of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. Others were in favor of several of the proposed articles, but opposed to the rest. Others were pleased with the eight articles which were proposed, and wanted no more; while there were others who proposed a ninth (now the eighth) article. How all these discordant opinions were to be harmonized was with many a problem of difficult solution. But a temperate and kind discussion of all the articles of the basis resulted finally in their unanimous adoption. The eighth article, which was moved by Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, and seconded by the

venerable Dr. Beecher, of Cincinnati, occasioned more discussion than all the rest; but was finally concurred in with only one exception, and the dissentient, we believe, left the convention, no more to return, and has since published his reasons for doing so.

After the explanations which follow the basis were fully discussed, the whole came up for action in the gross. *Rev. Edward Bickersteth*, a pious clergyman of the Church of England, moved that the conference now adopt the basis, with the explanations which follow. The manner of this devoted man at this moment, and a few sentiments to which he gave utterance, were remarkable. He arose with a smiling countenance, though with moist eyes, and, after a moment's hesitation, exclaimed, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!" and then continued: "I am happy that the whole basis has been so thoroughly and patiently considered. I thought the original articles were enough, and needed no alterations; but I approve of all the amendments—we owe much to our American brethren for the aid they have afforded us in this interesting and critical discussion. Well, then, now we are about to pass this part of our plan, and after so free an interchange of sentiments, and so harmonious an action on the several articles, I hope we shall have grace to pass the whole in the gross unanimously."

Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, arose, and seconded the motion, after which he remarked, "We are about to pass the basis of this *holy Alliance*—I say *holy Alliance*. There has been one *un*-holy Alliance in Europe; when this passes—and I hope it will unanimously, by rising—there will be a *holy* Alliance, and we shall prove to the world that Protestantism has a *unity*—that there is one community which has a unity deep and high"—and closed with some Latin poetry. The motion passed *nem. con.*

The president gave out, and the conference devoutly sung,—

"All hail the power of Jesus' name."

Now, for the second time, the members indulged in mutual congratulations and warm expressions of gratitude to God; hoping that all perils were now passed, and that they had before them a clear sea. The following is the doctrinal basis and explanations, of the history of which we have above given an imperfect sketch:—

"II.—*The Basis of the Evangelical Alliance.*

"*Resolved*, I. That the parties composing the Alliance shall be such persons only as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be evangelical views, in regard to the matters of doctrine understood, namely,—

"1. The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.

"2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

"3. The unity of the Godhead, and the trinity of persons therein.

"4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.

"5. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign.

"6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.

"7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.

"8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.

"9. The divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper.

"It being, however, distinctly declared: first, that this brief summary is not to be regarded, in any formal or ecclesiastical sense, as a creed or confession, nor the adoption of it as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance; secondly, that the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important truth, or that the latter are unimportant.

"II. That this Alliance is not to be considered as an alliance of denominations, or branches of the church, but of individual Christians, each acting on his own responsibility.

"III. That in this Alliance, it is also distinctly declared, that no compromise of the views of any member, or sanction of those of others, on the points wherein they differ, is either required or expected; but that all are held as free as before to maintain and advocate their religious conviction with due forbearance and brotherly love.

"IV. That it is not contemplated that this Alliance should assume or aim at the character of a new ecclesiastical organization, claiming and exercising the functions of a Christian church. Its simple and comprehensive object, it is strongly felt, may be successfully promoted without interfering with, or disturbing the order of, any branch of the Christian church to which its members may respectively belong.

"V. That while the formation of this Alliance is regarded as an important step toward the increase of Christian union, it is acknowledged as a duty incumbent on all its members carefully to abstain from pronouncing any uncharitable judgment upon those who do not feel themselves in a condition to give it their sanction."

But the conference was destined to pass another *crisis* still more perplexing and dangerous than any which had preceded. The question of *slavery* was introduced by an English member. It was proposed to make non-slaveholding a term of membership in the Alliance. After a somewhat earnest discussion, the subject was

referred to a large committee. This committee deliberated upon it nearly the whole day, while the brethren of the convention were engaged in prayer for the blessing of God upon their labors. A compromise article was agreed upon and adopted by the conference, which did not in reality suit either party. The question was raised again the next day, and another committee appointed. After anxious deliberation for several hours, it was agreed to dismiss the subject, and to do everything necessary to the completion of the organization, except making arrangements for another general conference, which was to be left to the several branches, after they should be fully organized. The plan proposed by the committee was adopted, and there terminated the final difficulty. The following is the plan of organization adopted:—

"III.—*The Organization of the Evangelical Alliance.*

"*Resolved*, I. That whereas brethren from the continents of Europe and America, as well as in this country, are unable, without consultation with their countrymen, to settle all the arrangements for their respective countries, it is expedient to defer the final and complete arrangement of the details of the Evangelical Alliance, of which the foundation has now been laid, till another general conference.

"II. That the Alliance consist of all such members of this conference, and members and corresponding members of the divisions of the provisional committee, as shall adhere to the principles and objects of the Alliance. Persons may be admitted to membership of the Alliance by consent of all the district organizations, or by a vote of a general conference, and to membership of any district organization by such mode as each district organization may determine.

"III. That the members of the Alliance be recommended to form district organizations in such manner as shall be most in accordance with the peculiar circumstances of each district. Provided, however, first, that neither the Alliance, nor the respective district organization, shall be held responsible for the proceedings of any district organization; secondly, that no member of any district organization shall, as such, be a member of the Alliance; and, thirdly, that whenever a district organization shall be formed, the members of the Alliance, within that district, shall act collectively in its formation. That, in furtherance of the above plan, it be recommended, for the present, that a district organization be formed in each of the following districts, viz.:—1. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. 2. The United States of America. 3. France, Belgium, and French Switzerland. 4. The North of Germany. 5. The South of Germany, and German Switzerland. 6. British North America. 7. The West Indies.

"IV. And that additional district organizations be from time to time recognized as such by the concurrence of any three previously existing organizations.

"V. That an official correspondence be maintained between the several district organizations, and that reports of their proceedings be

interchanged, with a view to co-operation and encouragement in their common object.

"VI. That a general conference be held at such time and place, and consist of such members of the Alliance, as, by correspondence between the district organizations and under the guidance of divine Providence, shall hereafter be determined by their unanimous concurrence. Provided, first, that any member of the Alliance who was entitled to attend this conference, and shall retain his membership, shall be entitled to attend the next also; and, secondly, that all questions relating to the convening of it shall be determined by such members only of the district organizations as shall also be members of the Alliance. A conference of any two or more of the district organizations may be held by mutual agreement."

We have no space for further commentaries and explanations. We now give the fourth division of the official report.

"IV.—*The Objects of the Evangelical Alliance.*

"*Resolved*, I. That inasmuch as this proposal for union originated, in a great degree, in the sense very generally entertained among Christians of their grievous practical neglect of our Lord's 'new commandment' to his disciples, to 'love one another,' in which offense the members of the Alliance desire, with godly sorrow, to acknowledge their full participation; it ought to form one chief object of the Alliance to deepen in the minds of its own members, and, through their influence, to extend among the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ generally, that conviction of sin and short-coming in this respect, which the blessed Spirit of God seems to be awakening throughout his church; in order that, humbling themselves more and more before the Lord, they may be stirred up to make full confession of their guilt at all suitable times, and to implore, through the merits and intercession of their merciful Head and Saviour, forgiveness of their past offenses, and divine grace to lead them to the better cultivation of that brotherly affection which is enjoined upon all who, loving the Lord Jesus Christ, are bound also to love one another, for the truth's sake which dwelleth in them.

"II. That the great object of the Evangelical Alliance be, to aid in manifesting, as far as practicable, the unity which exists among the true disciples of Christ; to promote their union by fraternal and devotional intercourse; to discourage all envyings, strifes, and divisions; to impress upon Christians a deeper sense of the great duty of obeying their Lord's command, to 'love one another;' and to seek the full accomplishment of his prayer: 'That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.'

"III. That, in furtherance of this object, the Alliance shall receive such information respecting the progress of vital religion in all parts of the world as Christian brethren may be disposed to communicate; and that a correspondence be opened and maintained with Christian brethren in different parts of the world, especially with those who may be engaged, amidst peculiar difficulties and opposition, in the cause of

the gospel, in order to afford them all suitable encouragement and sympathy, and to diffuse an interest in their welfare.

"IV. That, in subserviency to the same great object, the Alliance will endeavor to exert a beneficial influence on the advancement of evangelical Protestantism, and on the counteraction of infidelity, of Romanism, and of such other forms of superstition, error, and profaneness, as are most prominently opposed to it, especially the desecration of the Lord's day; it being understood that the different organizations of the Alliance be left to adopt such methods of prosecuting these great ends, as may to them appear most in accordance with their respective circumstances, all at the same time pursuing them in the spirit of tender compassion and love.

"V. In promoting these and similar objects, the Alliance contemplates chiefly the stimulating of Christians to such efforts as the exigencies of the case may demand, by publishing its views in regard to them, rather than acccomplishing these views by any general organization of its own.

"VI. That reports, minutes, and other documents in promotion of the above objects be published by the Alliance at the time of its meetings, or by its order afterward; and that similar documents may be issued from time to time by its various organizations, on their own responsibility."

The conference also adopted sundry General Resolutions. For want of space we can give the reader but two of them.

"IV. That, when required by conscience to assert or defend any views or principles wherein they differ from Christian brethren who agree with them in vital truths, the members of this Alliance will aim earnestly, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to avoid all rash and groundless insinuations, personal imputations, or irritating allusions, and to maintain the meekness and gentleness of Christ, by speaking the truth only in love.

"VI. That the members of this Alliance would therefore invite, humbly and earnestly, all ministers of the gospel, all conductors of religious publications, and others who have influence in various bodies of Christians, to watch more than ever against sins of the heart, or the tongue, or the pen, toward Christians of other denominations; and to promote more zealously than hitherto a spirit of peace, unity, and godly love, among all true believers in the Lord Jesus Christ."

A few remarks upon the importance of the movement, in a practical point of view, shall close what we have to say upon the subject at present. The objections to the Alliance we cannot now undertake to meet or even state. Some of our reasons for favoring it are the following:—

1. It affords an opportunity to evangelical Christians to show to the world that they agree in essentials. The articles of the basis are not framed in the language of Scripture, but are so worded as clearly to embrace the great doctrines of Christianity in the light

in which evangelical Christians hold them in common. The article upon the atonement, as stated, is held both by Arminians and Calvinists. It was not designed so to construct that article as to exclude those who believe in a limited atonement. This, as all will see, would preclude any union between the two classes. This being understood, neither party give up their peculiar theory. Still by the words, "sinners of mankind," both mean the same thing, and that is simply, *fallen men.* Here we all pause. Neither could proceed further to a definition of the *extent* of the atonement without separating from the other. The Calvinist still holds that Christ died *only for the elect,* while the Arminian and new School Presbyterian hold that he died for *all men;* but we agree to waive the point of difference as not essential to Christianity, and, consequently, as something upon which we may differ in opinion, and still love and hold fellowship with each other.

2. It furnishes an opportunity for evangelical Christians to become acquainted with each other. We have hitherto been too much estranged—have had too few opportunities for Christian intercourse, and for realizing that our differences of opinion are consistent with a high state of religious enjoyment. By religious intercourse we see—we *feel*—that our agreements are more numerous and important than our differences, and that we have hitherto made too little of one and too much of the other.

3. It will have a tendency to increase our love for each other. And as the bad feeling which is engendered by our controversies is what constitutes their greatest evil, it will greatly meliorate, if not entirely cure, the evils of religious controversies. Brotherly love and mutual confidence will change the character of all our discussions. As a learned Scotch divine observed in a speech at one of the public meetings in Exeter Hall, speaking of the influence which the intercourse of Christians with each other would be likely to exert,—"I am sure, if I should find it necessary to oppose any of the doctrines of the Wesleyan Methodists, I should have my beloved and venerated friend, Dr. Bunting, always before me. And I could not have it in my heart to write a sentence which would give him just occasion of offense." When Christian men become well acquainted, and love one another as they should, they will not employ language calculated to wound each other's feelings. Men who are angry at each other, and wish to remain so, keep as far apart as possible.

4. It will silence the objections of infidels and of the world to Christianity—and will equally meet one of the strongest objections of Romanists to Protestantism.

5. The sacrifice of our sectarianism will, we most seriously believe, be acceptable to God, and will bring down the blessings of Heaven upon the evangelical churches of Christendom.

6. By a cessation of our mutual hostilities, we shall have more time and more moral power to employ in the common cause of our holy Christianity.

7. By the cultivation of brotherly love, we shall really come more nearly together in our doctrinal views. For it is not to be doubted that many of our differences are mere matters of feeling, or sectarian pride, or exist more in appearance than in reality. Charity will annihilate all such differences for ever—yea, "for ever and ever."

8. It will be a means of mutual instruction. By this means we shall learn much from each other; and, without doubt, shall find, in many instances, that in the matters in which our brethren differ from us, they may be right, or, at least, they may have some rays of light which we can advantageously borrow from them.

9. It will increase our religious zeal—the power and consistency of our piety—and, by consequence, our religious enjoyment, and our meetness for heaven.

10. It is carrying out the true spirit of catholicity, taught us both by the precepts and examples of our sainted fathers, the Wesleys, Mr. Fletcher, and a host of their coadjutors.*

For these reasons, and many others, each of which would admit of great enlargement and numerous illustrations, we are most heartily in favor of the Evangelical Alliance.

* "And I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that we be in nowise divided among ourselves. Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thine? I ask no further question. If it be, give me thy hand. For opinions, or terms, let us not destroy the work of God. Dost thou love and serve God? It is enough. I give thee the right hand of fellowship. If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies; let us strive together for the faith of the gospel; walking worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called; with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; remembering, there is one body, and one Spirit, even as we are called with one hope of our calling; 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.'"—*Character of a Methodist*, *Wesley's Works*, vol. v, p. 245. See also a sermon by the same author, on a "Catholic Spirit." *Works*, vol. i, p. 346; and published as a tract, (No. 116,) at the Methodist Book Room. See also *Fletcher's Works*, vol. ii, pp. 352, 353.

Art. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *A Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language, adapted to the Use of Schools and Colleges in the United States.* By John Pickering. Third edition, greatly enlarged and improved, pp. 1468. Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co. 1846.

This is a new and greatly improved edition of the Greek and English Lexicon published at Boston in 1826. Since that time the course of Greek studies in our colleges has been enlarged, and we have been supplied by our own scholars with critical editions of the comedies of Aristophanes, the tragedies of Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the dialogues of Plato; most of which were once considered beyond the range of an ordinary classical education.

Such an advanced state of Greek studies called for a lexicon more copious in its vocabulary, and philosophical in its arrangement, than those heretofore in use. For the preparation of such a work we had no American scholar more competent than the late Mr. Pickering.

The basis of the first edition was the Greek and Latin Lexicon of Schrevelius, which had been in use for a long time both in England and in this country. In the preparation of the present edition Schrevelius has been almost entirely laid aside. Constant reference has been had to the larger lexicon of Liddell and Scott, as well as to the original German of Passow's own masterly work, and to the new and enlarged edition of it by Professors Rost and Palm, the publication of which is, we believe, now going on in Germany. Use has also been made of other Greek and German lexicons, and of that immense repository of Greek literature, Stephens's Thesaurus, which is now in course of publication at Paris.

From Mr. Pickering's reputation as a Greek scholar and general philologist, we should have been disappointed had he produced an inferior work. So far as we have been able to examine this volume, it has added to our high estimate of the sound scholarship of its author. We will refer to a few particulars. It has been said in reference to the Greek particles, that "the whole connection of a writer's thoughts, the method of his logic, and the force of his argument, depend upon the manner in which they are rendered." Mr. Pickering has shown that he had a clear discernment of their nicer shades of meaning; and to decide upon the merits of the work, it is only necessary to examine his full explication of the different particles.

Though not designed as a lexicon of the New Testament dialect, still this work will be found serviceable to the student of theology, as it contains the Hebrew and Syriac words which are used in the New Testament, and in the Septuagint version of the Old. Reference has also been had to the writings of Josephus and the early Christian fathers.

We think this work deserves the attention of the lovers of classical literature, and we believe its merits will be appreciated by them. It does honor to American scholarship, and will remain a monument of the industry and sound learning of its lamented author, who devoted the last days of his life to its completion.

2. *A Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language; to which are added, Walker's Key to the Pronunciation of Classical and Scripture Proper Names; much enlarged and improved: and a Pronouncing Vocabulary of Modern Geographical Names.* By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER. 8vo., pp. 1032. Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co. 1846.

THERE are so many English dictionaries of different degrees of merit now in use, that it does not seem desirable to increase the number, unless we could be furnished with very marked improvements. The most important work on English lexicography that has appeared since Johnson is unquestionably Dr. Webster's large dictionary; a work of great learning and research, and possessing a more complete vocabulary of the language than Johnson's. "But the taste and judgment of the author were not generally esteemed equal to his industry and erudition."

Mr. Worcester has had more than ordinary advantages for the prosecution and accomplishment of his object; and we are glad to find, upon examination of his work, that it has been carried out so successfully.

This volume contains not only a complete vocabulary of the language, but also, in the "Introduction, may be found remarks on orthoepy or pronunciation, orthography, etymology, or the derivation of words, grammar, archaisms, provincialisms, Americanisms, and on various other points of philology and lexicography." These preliminary dissertations add much to the value of the work. Besides, Walker's Key, without which an English dictionary would seem incomplete, Mr. Worcester has added, as the result of his own labors, a pronouncing vocabulary of modern geographical names, which will prove very serviceable to scholars.

The limits of the work are not such as to allow the discussion of every doubtful point, or of much verbal criticism; but the design has been to give the greatest amount of useful matter in the most condensed form.

We are glad to learn that the work has been so well received, for though published but a few months since, the third edition has been called for.

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3. *Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar.* Fourteenth edition, as revised by Dr. E. RÖDIGER. Translated by T. J. CONANT, Professor of Hebrew in Madison University, Hamilton, N. Y. 8vo., pp. 400. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

WE have given this large and elegant volume as thorough an examination as our time has permitted, and we are prepared to speak of it in the highest terms, as decidedly the best Hebrew grammer now before the public. This opinion is based on two grounds, the one material, and, of consequence, the other secondary, and comparatively unimportant, yet well deserving attention.

First, then, as to the matter of the book. We have here the con-

centrated labors of two of the best Hebraists and oriental scholars which modern times have produced. Gesenius stands at the head; and though tinged with neological views, and therefore not always safe where interpretation is brought in question, is still the most profound laborer in the mine of Hebrew learning to which that profound nation of scholars, the German, has given birth. And as for Rödiger, he is a worthy successor of a great master. These two men, eminently qualified, have spent years and years in making and improving, by constant revision, a grammar of the noble Hebrew tongue—that tongue which patriarchs and prophets spake and wrote, and which contains some of the most sublime poetry which is to be found in any language. By almost universal confession they have succeeded in accomplishing all that they undertook; and their grammar is just what such a book should be, clear, concise, exact, and copious,—neither so full as to be prolix, nor so brief as to become ambiguous and unsatisfactory.

It is precisely on this latter ground, namely, the peculiar skill shown in the arrangement of the grammar, that we are disposed to praise Gesenius's volume above all others in our language. There are many learned men in the world of letters who could no more write such a book as this than they could compose Paradise Lost; not that they do not thoroughly understand the language, but simply because they have not the peculiar qualifications needful to make a good writer on grammar; they have not the power of condensation, the happy tact of seizing upon the points necessary for the learner to know first of all, and then leading him on step by step to an exact acquaintance with the language of the Old Testament Scriptures. Learning alone is not sufficient to make a good instructor; while no man *without* learning can be a competent teacher, it is by no means every one *with* learning who can impart knowledge to others. And this, by the way, is a reason why many an erudite professor makes but a sorry teacher: aptness to teach does not always accompany profound scholarship. Where the two are united in one man he is the perfection of his class, and his influence is proportionably wide and powerful.

The other ground on which we commend this volume is not so important, yet is by no means to be underrated. It is on account of the superior style in which it is got up, the clearness of type, the goodness of the paper, and the accuracy with which it is printed. Now, though these are not in themselves competent to make a good book out of an indifferent one, yet still they add most materially to the value of one which, like the present, is renowned for the skill and acumen displayed in its arrangement and execution. To those who remember the early state of Hebrew learning, and the books published at that time in the United States on this branch of literature, the bare mention of the fact is sufficient; though we doubt if we could impress the present race of students with the full conviction of the marvelous change which time and enterprise have produced.

We must not forget to call attention to another valuable feature of the present volume; we mean the addition of a Chrestomathy and Hebrew Reading-Book, which makes it suited in all respects to the wants as well of beginners as of more advanced students.

4. *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise; with Notes of a Sojourn on the Island of Zanzibar: to which is added a brief History of the Whale Fishery, its past and present Condition.* By J. Ross Browne. Illustrated by numerous Engravings on Steel and Wood. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This is an imposing volume, handsomely printed and admirably embellished by engravings on steel and wood. The main purport of the writer appears to have been to exhibit in strong colors the abuses which exist in our whaling service, of which, indeed, he presents some appalling pictures; and which, for the honor of humanity, we should hope are to some extent at least exaggerated. Doubtless, there needs some reform in this department of our commerce, and we, therefore, are the more disposed to commend this *exposè* by Mr. Browne; although we cannot but regret that a more correct taste had not governed the *manner* in which it has been executed. We refer to the use of expletives which we know, alas! are but too commonly in use with sailors, but which we think it would have been better to omit in the book. With this exception, the work is an exceedingly interesting and attractive one; it supplies us with a large amount of really novel and important information respecting countries and coasts of which we are comparatively ignorant; besides which, it reveals the very eventful and remarkable career of the author during his voyages. As a book of mere entertainment, therefore, it may take rank with Dana's "Two Years before the Mast," and that is praise enough to render it a general favorite with those who read merely for amusement. The aim of the author, however, reaches beyond this, and we, therefore, commend its perusal to all who wish to know anything respecting life on board a whaler.

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5. *The Life of John Wicliff, D. D. Compiled from Authentic Sources.* By Daniel Curry. 18mo., pp. 326.

This is a timely and exceedingly interesting volume. The materials have been mostly drawn from the great work of *Dr. Vaughan*, which is the only complete history of the *John the Baptist* of the Reformation. Mr. Curry has performed a good work for the church, and we hope it will be highly appreciated and amply rewarded. Let this Life of Wicliff be found in all our families.

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6. *Recollections of the Past.* By Rev. Abner Chase. Of the Genesee Conference. 18mo., pp. 147.

The great fault of this small volume is, that there is *too little* of it. The author is an old friend of ours—a leading member of the Genesee Conference at the time we were admitted into that body. We have devoured his Recollections with great eagerness, and were only sorry that he had not greatly enlarged them from the ample store which we are certain still remains. We earnestly recommend the work to all who wish to know how our fathers labored, and suffered, and succeeded. God bless those of them who still linger upon the shores of time!

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7. *Observations on Congregationalism and Methodism: or, a Review of Rev. Z. K. Hawley's Work on that Subject.* By Rev. Wm. C. Hoyt. 18mo., pp. 194.

We regret exceedingly that such a work should be called for at this time. This is not the period when Christians and Christian ministers may do battle with each other without good and substantial reasons. But, as it is, we are happy that the work has fallen into so able hands. Mr. Hoyt shows himself master of his subject, and has treated it ably, The work abounds in irony, but its spirit is, upon the whole, as kind as the nature of the case seems to admit. We hope the work may contribute to a better understanding of Methodist economy.

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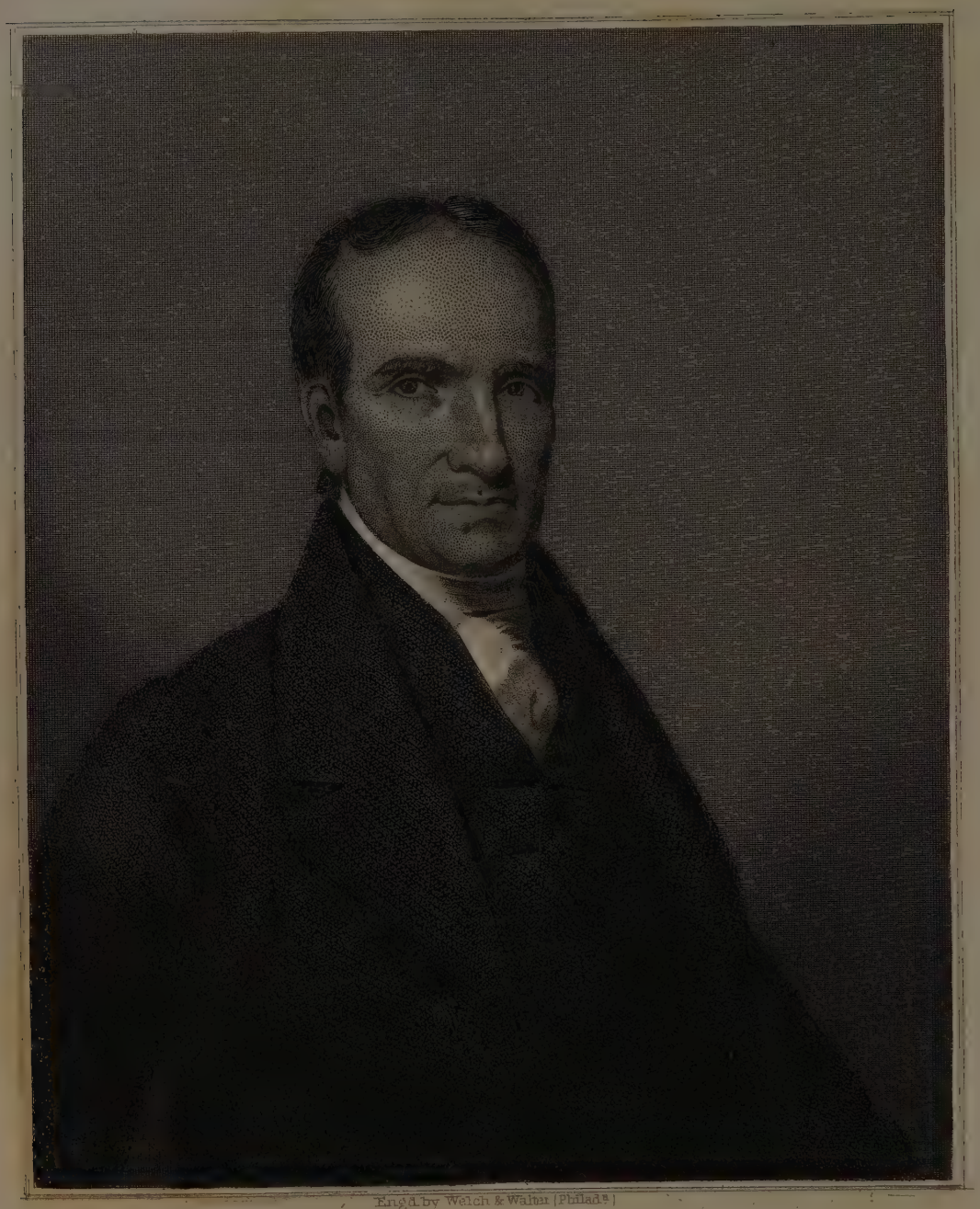
8. *A Treatise on Algebra: containing the latest Improvements. Adapted to the Use of Schools and Colleges.* By Charles W. Hackley, S. T. D., Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in Columbia College, N. Y. 8vo., pp. 504. Harper & Brothers. 1846.

This work is received, and will be reviewed in our next number.



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REV. SILAS MATTISON

LATE OF THE GENESEE CONFERENCE.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1847.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Religion; Natural and Revealed: or, the Natural Theology and Moral Bearings of Phrenology and Physiology; including the Doctrines taught, and the Duties inculcated, thereby, compared with those enjoined in the Scriptures. Together with the Phrenological Exposition of the Doctrines of a Future State, Materialism, Holiness, Sin, Rewards, Punishments, Depravity, a Change of Heart, Will, Foreordination, Fatalism, &c., &c.* By O. S. FOWLER, Practical Phrenologist, &c., &c. 1846.

SKEPTICISM and infidelity have become very pious now-a-days. Their mode of warfare against religion has materially changed. Strategy and covert movements have taken the place of open hostility. Christianity, as a matter of science, is firmly established in the legitimate convictions of the understanding. Its beneficial, social, and moral influence has become a matter of recorded and unquestioned history. To skepticism and infidelity, then, no other avenue of access to the public mind is left except through the gateways of religion. Hence those, who aim most malignant blows at Christianity, do it by stealth. They put on the livery of heaven to serve the devil in. They insinuate the deadly virus through a thousand insidious avenues—all the while professing the most unbounded veneration for *true* religion, and the most expansive love to mankind. In the open field, infidelity has suffered a signal discomfiture. What shall be the result of its present mode of attack, the future must determine. But we have faith in the controlling providence of God, and firmly believe that he will make even the wrath of man praise him.

Before us lies "Fowler on Religion." The above reflections have been started in our mind by a perusal of its pages. We will not say that those grave charges, either in part or in whole, lie

against this work. We shall content ourselves with a dissection of the work; and when the carcass has been threaded, the observer may draw his own conclusions. Let us premise, however, that we wage no war against Phrenology—none against the science proper, kept within its legitimate bounds. We may even assent to many of its general principles—many of the results to which the experiments and researches of scientific men seem to have led them. But our author must pardon us if our credulity fails when we attempt to follow him through some of the varied applications he has sought to give to it. We may believe that Brandreth's pills—when eaten in sufficient quantities—will do a good service as a purgative; but when their author attempts to palm them off upon us as a universal curative, what shall hinder our contempt of his charlatanism? So, when Phrenology is presented as the sovereign antidote of our bane, as the real moral solvent, the genuine philosopher's stone, how can we do less than inquire of him who knocks at the door of our reason for admittance, "Sayest thou this of thyself, or has science revealed it unto thee?" We repeat, however, that we do not condemn the work before us, *in toto*. It contains much that is good—many sound principles are laid down and elucidated with clearness and precision—many practical truths of great moment are forcibly illustrated—and many specific duties are enforced with an earnestness that is highly commendable. But often, in the admission of a partial truth, its counterpart is rudely thrust aside; and, throughout the whole work, there is a strange blending of truth with error, of fact with fable. Victor Cousin has somewhere said, that "every system is composed of part truth; and lives because of the element of truth it contains, and without which it could not have existed." We will not undertake to define the exact proportions of truth and error in the mixture before us; such a process would require an extended analysis—tedious in its details, if not fruitless of good in its results. We will, however, endeavor to point out some of the gross absurdities involved in our author's theory of the relations existing between Phrenology and Revelation; and also to show that that theory is illegitimate, even if the truth of Phrenology, as a science, were admitted.

We must not, however, fail to notice the spirit and style with which our author's task has been executed. He is evidently an amateur in the science of Phrenology. He writes *con amore*. Phrenology is with him the *one idea*—the centre around which his whole intellectual being revolves. From this port he takes his departure, and for this port he sails. Creation aside, furnishes not a speck that can attract his vision. In his style there is a hearti-

ness, an enthusiasm, almost amounting to rhapsody. He writes in earnest, as though he would say,—

"Give me vent, or I burst, my lord."

This is well. The thing is in him, and it must come out. The internal space cannot contain the ever-swelling flood, and it must have vent. It is difficult to determine in which the author has the highest confidence, *himself*, or his *science*. He omits no occasion, on which he may lug in his oft-repeated avowals of perfect recklessness with regard to public opinion. Indeed, this is so often made the theme of declamation, that our author seems to us like some cowardly braggadocio puffing and swelling at the distant danger, and we are half inclined to suspect his moral bravery and independence. *Audendo magnus tegitur timor.* His dogmatism and arrogance are intolerable. He opens his mouth as an oracle, whose sayings are to be received without scruple, and whose authority is the standard of ultimate appeal. He may possess "true science," but he is wofully deficient in what Dr. Chalmers denominates its "modesty." "Here is the truth, and nowhere else; and unless you receive it, you are a fool," is the spirit of the discourse. And that, too, on points still in dispute among eminent Phrenologists—points absolutely discarded, as being without sufficient proof, by men of an intellectual and moral worth, such as our author might justly be proud of. But having ascended the mole-hill of Phrenology, his "brother" seems to be the only intellectual being discoverable within the circumference that bounds his view. They are the two witnesses, by which every Phrenological word is to be established. Hence, the *quod erat demonstrandum*—"I and my brother"—with which the work perpetually abounds.

The object of the treatise before us, is, "a comparison of the religion of Phrenology with the religion of the Bible"—"to place the natural theology and moral bearings of Phrenology, and the theology of the Scriptures, side by side, to see wherein they harmonize, and wherein they differ."—P. 8. This is a work, great and arduous, requiring a vast amount of research, a critical collation and comparison of facts, and a nice discrimination of deep and far-reaching principles. But our author would have us understand, at the very outset, that he is adequate to the task, that there will be no failure from any inability on his part. As to the scientific, the Phrenological qualifications necessary, he says,—

"He [referring to himself] is thoroughly versed in Phrenology, and especially in that practical department of it which gives him just that very knowledge of the workings, or the manifestations of the moral

faculties, in all their phases and combinations, that is required. That no other man, his brother excepted, is equally well qualified in this respect, is a matter of fact, and not of egotism."—P. 10.

As to the religious part, he must not be suspected of any deficiency there. He comes forth, a champion greaved and helmeted, to his work.

"He [speaking of himself] is not ignorant, either theoretically or experimentally, of what is considered genuine religion. . . . He brings to the discussion of this subject, not only an intimate knowledge of that science in which his deductions are based, but also a minute acquaintance with the commonly received religious notions and practices of the day."—P. 10.

And still our author dreads to enter upon his task. His "pen falters!" He exclaims, "Must I proceed! I feel utterly inadequate to the task." But, why, some one will inquire, why does he, who has just shown himself to be *adequate*, complain of *in*adequacy? Why "falter," when, girt about with strength, he has just entered the lists with the presage of victory already upon his brow? In the first place, he seems to have a benevolent concern lest "the religion of the Bible" should be found *not* to harmonize with "the religion of Phrenology," and then the former *must die!* The hopes of patriarchs, and prophets, and holy men of old, will all be demonstrated to have perished. And even the revelation from God, freighted with the hopes of a dying world, should it strike against the rock—Phrenology—would be split, and founder.

"Phrenology *must*, it *will*, prevail. It is *demonstrable* science. So great is its moral power, that it will prostrate and ride over *whatever* religious doctrines, forms, or practices conflict with it. If even the Bible could be found to clash therewith, then would the Bible *go by the board. Nothing could save it;* for it would war with truth, and must suffer defeat. But if it be found to *harmonize* with Phrenology, then is it based on the rock of truth, and defended and supported by those immutable laws of nature, which the all-wise Creator has instituted for its government; so that neither can infidelity scale its walls, nor atheism find the least support for its monstrosities; both being overthrown by this science."—P. 8.

Who can now wonder that he dreads to break the seal? How awful, if he should actually annihilate "the religion of the Bible!" But, then, on the other hand, how courteous, how really kind that Phrenology should condescend not only to let "the religion of the Bible" live, *if* it will "harmonize" with itself, and come under its wing for protection; but also to overthrow those formidable antago-

nists, which might otherwise destroy it. Thenceforward shall its protection be—not God—but Phrenology. Its truth, too, is to be tested, not by the fact that it came from God, but that it "harmonizes with Phrenology." Fear not, young man. Spare not thy blows. The oak has withstood the fury of a thousand gales. Its roots are deep, its trunk is mighty, its branches are green and flourishing. It shall not fall for thee. Thou needst not fear. We well remember that the science of geology once proudly said to revealed truth, "You must conform to my facts, or I will crush you." But when its arrogant fictions were exploded, and its facts defined, lo! they "harmonize" with "the religion of the Bible!" So, we opine, it will ever be with any and every science, whose facts and principles are known. We confess that we have no misgiving, but that if Phrenology, and even Mesmerism, shall be well authenticated, they will not only accord with, but attest, revealed truth.

Another cause of the perturbation of our author, he would have us distinctly understand, is, the moral hardihood required to enter upon the development of principles, "not only new, but also directly in the teeth of all the religious prejudices of mankind." He is afraid that men will not keep still, and let him tear away from them their religion—the faith in which their fathers have died, and which lies at the foundation of all their hopes. No one before him, he seems to think, has had the hardihood to venture upon the subject.

> "It has been studiously, if not improperly avoided. No one has stood in the breach. . . . I know full well that no other task requires more moral courage than this. I know that men will cling with more tenacity to their religion than to all else besides. What enmity is as strong, what prejudices are as inveterate, as those awakened by having one's religion taken from him? Like Micah, he exclaims, 'Ye have taken away my GODS, and what have I more?"—Pp. 8, 9.

What religion, we naturally inquire, is to be taken away, and what restored? what is to be destroyed, and what built up? Our author gives us a most unequivocal clew to the determination of these questions. That religion, which is based upon revelation, is to be uprooted, and the God of the Bible is to be "taken away;" while that which is based upon human nature, and whose God is the fickle reason of man, is to be established. Let us see:—

> "It will force men to abandon their religious errors, and to plant themselves upon the broad platform of the *nature of man.* That nature Phrenology unfolds. Sooner or later must the religion of Phrenology become the religion of man."—P. 9.

Aside from Phrenology, he avers that men "have no data, no *starting point*, no *base line*, no fixed and settled *first principles*—at which to commence, and with which to compare."—P. 10. Alas for those who lived in that earlier and darker age of the world, before Gall and Spurzheim laid the abiding foundations of a pure religious faith! What avail was it that pious Enoch "walked with God," that Abraham attained to the distinguished honor of ever being known as the "father of the faithful," that Paul abounded in toils, sacrifices, and sufferings for the cause of Christ! Alas! they were destitute of the "first principles" of this refined Phrenological religion! Of what avail was it that Jesus Christ sojourned and suffered among us, when he failed, however pure and useful might have been his teachings, to furnish mankind with the necessary "data" to a religious life? Of what avail, even, is revelation itself without the Phrenological standard by which it may be measured and tested? We had supposed that infinite Wisdom had immutably fixed our "starting point"—laid our "base line"—and settled our "first principles" in religion. We fear, we greatly fear, for the accomplishment of this work, if it be left to Phrenology to settle the "first principles" of our religious faith, when its own principles are so unsettled.

The work of Phrenology, then, appears to be radical. It is to go to the very bottom of things. Old things are to pass away, and all things are to become new. And when the Phrenological millennium shall be ushered in, "unrestrained religious liberty will pervade our happy earth; and all men will see eye to eye and face to face."—P. 9. Our author seems to warm with enthusiastic fervor as he contemplates the near approach of this millennial glory. "The next ten years will witness a moral and religious revolution greater than all past ages put together have ever done before."—P. 10. Then, we suppose, when our race have witnessed this revolution, Sinai and Calvary will be forgotten. The story of redeeming love will cease to be told, and a thousand tongues chant the praises of Phrenology. The ministers of Jesus Christ will have been supplanted by Phrenological lecturers and Mesmeric manipulators; the Bible, antiquated and obsolete, will have been succeeded by the Phrenological chart and the lectures of Fowler. Men will no longer seek doctrine or precept in its pages; but theology, instruction—in fact, "everything that it is necessary for a man to know," may be *seen* and *felt* upon the exterior surface of the skull. Every man will have his Bible always with him—its doctrines and precepts, written, not upon the

fleshly tables of the *heart*, but the bony tablets of the *head*. Our author hails the approach of this day of glory.

"Light is breaking in upon the darkness of all past ages. Ho, ye that would return from your wanderings, or be delivered from your thraldoms and your errors, follow the beacon light hoisted by Phrenology. It will clear up all difficulties. It will solve all moral problems. It will point out that religion which harmonizes with the nature of man, and is most conducive to personal happiness and general moral purity." —P. 18.

In this moral and religious revolution—which is to produce such portentous results within the space of "ten years"—revelation is to play but a subordinate part, if, indeed, it is to be reckoned of any importance at all. It is to be the work and the triumph, not of "the religion of the Bible," but of "the religion of Phrenology."

How far, then, is this religion divergent from that of the Bible? To what extent can they consist together? Our author strikes deep when he says,—

"The chapter on the nature of right and wrong, and the origin or foundation of moral obligation, (or on the constitutional elements of the sinfulness of sin and the virtue of holiness,) as well as on the causes and cure of human depravity, will be not only new, but also directly in the teeth of all prevailing notions on that subject."—P. 13.

All this, however, may be well. Perhaps "all prevailing notions" on those subjects may be founded on a misinterpretation of the Bible, and do not imply any deficiency in revelation itself. Will this solution satisfy our author? Not at all. He professedly strikes at "existing creeds"—at "antiquated errors;" but the contrivance is too shallow to hide from us the fact, that the blow is so directed that, through "the creeds," it falls upon the Bible. Indeed, finding this play upon "the creeds" and "the errors" of men insufficient for his purpose, he advances boldly to the onset, and attempts to prove that the Bible is insufficient as a moral guide, and imperfect as a standard of religious faith and practice.

"Now if the Bible, 'without note or comment,' be an all-sufficient guide in matters of religious faith and practice, why this religious diversity and contention? Why does it not *compel* all to adopt the *same* doctrines and practices, and these the only correct ones? If experiment continued for four thousand years, and tried in all ages, and by a vast majority of Christendom, can prove *any* thing, that experiment, or, rather, its total *failure*, and that, too, under all circumstances, has proved incontestibly that, taking man as he is, and the Bible as it is,

the latter is *not*, and can *never* be, the all-sufficient religious guide and standard of the former."—Pp. 19, 20.

The revelation of God a failure—a "total failure!" And this, too, the revelation "given by God," "that the man of God may be" thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work!" That experiment a "total failure," by which innumerable multitudes have already been enabled to

> "Navigate
> The sea of life, and gain the coast of bliss
> Securely!"

A "total failure!" Ye mighty dead, was it in vain that ye believed?

> "Piety has found friends in the friends of science."

Bacon, Newton, and Locke have reverently bowed before the altars of religion, rejoiced in its hopes, and been sustained by its faith. There is no clime, no country, that has not been blessed by its influence. At its magic touch, barren wastes have been transformed into fruitful fields; industry and the arts have sprung up to beautify the face of the earth. It has cheered the abode of poverty, sustained in the midst of trials, soothed and comforted in sickness, and enabled the dying saint to exclaim, "My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is my strength and my portion for ever." Its influence is everywhere felt—all-pervading as the air we breathe. Childhood rejoices in its light; old age is cheered by its love.

And yet "the experiment" is a "total failure!" If this be not an *ex-cathedra pronunciamento*, we are at a loss where to find one. And on what is this bold assumption based? Why, simply, the fact that Christians who profess to take the Bible as their guide, differ in points of faith and doctrine.

> "If it be objected, that the Bible is already an unerring moral guide, and a perfect standard of religious faith and practice, I answer, Then why does every religious denomination in Christendom, and every member of every religious sect, besides multitudes of private individuals, all claim to draw their peculiar doctrines and practices from the Bible, and even quote Scripture therefor, and that though their difference be heaven wide."—P. 19.

The fact that Christians differ in their views upon doctrinal points, we have no disposition to deny or conceal. But what are the legitimate inferences that may be drawn from this fact? And what do these differences of opinion and practice indicate? We

reply, Nothing more, than that investigations, by different persons, have been carried on under the influence of different prejudices and different intellectual biases. It is not that the truth may not be reached, but that we do not reach it. We rest satisfied with superficial investigations, with a partial observance of facts, without sufficiently weighing and measuring, by the gospel standards, our hasty inferences. The fault is *not* in the Bible, if it be a fault even, to differ in opinion, but in us. We build our theories, perhaps necessarily, upon a partial observance of phenomena; one person has observed one class of phenomena, a second has observed another class, hence *two theories* are formed, different, perhaps contradictory. The phenomena were right, but the inspection of them was partial, and the knowledge of them imperfect. But who does not at once perceive that the argument used by our author to demonstrate the insufficiency of the Bible, would also demonstrate the insufficiency of human reason—nay, of his boasted Phrenology itself, as the same fact lies against each? How endless the contradictory vagaries into which philosophers have been led! How contradictory are the views entertained by some of the soundest Phrenologists on some of the fundamental elements of the science! Is our author willing to have his favorite science subjected to the same ordeal, and tried by the same standard, as that to which he has sought to subject the Bible? By his own showing, the guide he would offer is equally unsafe with the one we have chosen to follow.

Nothing is more obvious than the fact, that scarcely any two Phrenologists—we mean those of eminence—agree even on fundamental points; and yet each professes to give the teachings of Phrenology. A few, from among the many instances that might be quoted, will serve to show in what a labyrinth of incongruities, inconsistencies, and contradictions, these professed lights of the world have fallen. And yet each one, for himself, speaks with oracular positiveness. By Mr. Spurzheim the natural laws of the universe are made to originate with God, and to be dependent on him,—"Natural laws are evidently effects of the will of the Creator, or God."* Mr. Fowler, on the other hand, makes these laws originate in the "eternal and essential fitness of things," and makes even God himself subject to their dominion,—"The whole universe, God himself included, is governed by immutable, unalterable laws."—P. 103. Mr. Combe, guided by Phrenology, arrives at the conclusion, that the system of nature "does not appear to be one of optimism," but "that the world, including

* Phil. Cat. Nat. Laws of Man, p. 8.

both the physical and moral departments, has been constituted on the principle of a progressive system, like the acorn with reference to the oak."—P. 103. He also scouts the doctrine of the original perfection of the world, and its subsequent derangement, as an hypothesis hardly worthy of notice. On the other hand, Mr. Fowler asserts the original perfection of nature, and especially of man,—"Nothing can be more plain or unequivocal, than that man was made *perfect* at first. He *was* created perfect. His original constitution was perfection itself."—P. 25. Again, Mr. Combe, indirectly at least, admits the insufficiency of human reason, including Phrenology, of course,—"I do not intend to predicate anything concerning the perfectibility of man by obedience to the laws of nature."* Contrariwise Mr. Fowler says,—"That [that is, 'the nature of man'] obeyed, we are as perfect in conduct as we are by creation."—P. 43. Mr. Combe says,—"I do not intend to teach that the natural laws, discoverable by the unassisted reason, are sufficient for the *salvation* of men without revelation. . . . And I distinctly declare that I do not teach that obedience to the natural laws is sufficient for salvation in a future state."† But Mr. Fowler says, that such an expositor of our moral nature as is Phrenology, "once found, is our talisman, our philosopher's stone, in all matters of religious belief and practice. That found, we need nothing else."—P. 43. And in another place, he says, that obeyed, "the fall, and all its effects, will pass by him. He will need no Saviour, for he will commit no sin."—P. 25. But this is only a tithe of the discrepancy and contradiction that exists among Phrenologists on the very fundamental elements of morality and religion. If, then, we reject the Bible because men, who profess to take it as their moral and religious guide, differ on some points of doctrine and practice; on the same principle must we reject Phrenology as an insufficient guide—especially as its great expounders, who have penetrated all its depths, and unraveled all its mysteries, have reached conclusions wholly irreconcilable with each other.

But our author stops not here. He pushes the onset a little further, and makes still another effort to bring down the Bible from its high position, as to authority in matters of faith:—

"Modern Christianity makes too much of her Bible, by ascribing to it more than it claims, or was ever designed to accomplish. Christianity, or the doctrines of the Bible, are only the *supplement* of religion, while *natural* theology, or the existence of a God, or the funda-

* Constitution of Man, p. 5. † Ibid., p. 6.

mental principles of religion to be presented in this essay, are the foundation."—P. 21.

It seems to us not a little queer, that the "supplement" should have preceded the book; that Christianity should so long have existed without any "foundation:" in fine, that Moses, and David, and the prophets—that Jesus Christ and the apostles, should have preceded O. S. Fowler. "Modern Christianity" has reason to think "much of her Bible." She has witnessed the impotent strugglings of the human reason, when unenlightened by its beams, unguided by its counsel. She has seen how wretched man may become, and the anarchy into which society may be thrown, when the restraining influences of "her Bible" are discarded. *She has reason to think much of her Bible!* It is the foundation of her faith; it is the light of her eye; the guide of her reason; the pillar of her support, and the arm of her strength. Tear away "modern Christianity" from her moorings to the Word of life, and a useless hulk, worm-eaten, rotten, and tempest-tossed, she would drift down the tide of time, till her leaden weight could no longer be upborne by its waters.

Still another thrust at the Bible:—

"The human mind requires somewhat more of *proof* than it finds in the Bible. The Bible gives us its *ipse dixit* simply; but the human mind requires *evidence*—requires to understand the *why* and the *wherefore*, and the *philosophy* of that which it receives. That philosophy the Bible does not give—does not even *pretend* to give. It requires belief on the ground of a 'Thus saith the Lord,' and then leaves it. As man is endowed with reason, it is proper, it is imperative, that his reason be satisfied."

"We have religious teaching enough, but not of the *right kind*. Enough of sabbath schools, and Bible classes, and preaching, and revivals, but not of the *right character*. We require more *philosophy*, in which to base it, and with which to enforce it."—Pp. 22, 23.

We cannot but regard the above as a blow aimed at the very root of revealed religion. The reason of Sir Isaac Newton, and of John Locke, could be satisfied with this message from God. The former accounted "the Scriptures the sublimest philosophy." The latter, after his wide survey of the human mind, and of the principles and conduct of reason, affirms,—"In the Bible are contained the words of life; it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter." We said it was a blow aimed at revealed religion, but it is an insidious blow. There is no open dealing upon this point by the author. The Bible is true, if it harmonize with Phrenology, and because

it harmonizes with Phrenology—not because it came from God. On the other hand, if it harmonizes not with Phrenology, then is it not true, and it must be swept away. Such is the course of our author. He makes no bold, manly attack upon the authenticity, genuineness, inspiration, or authority, of the Holy Scriptures. But then, he insinuates the discrepancy between them and the human reason, in such a manner as to beget distrust in them, and to weaken their authority and influence. We will not say that this is willfully and knowingly done; we are inclined to the more charitable opinion, that it may result from that over confidence in his speculations, which blinds him as to their ultimate consequences.

We may, however, take a little comfort in the idea, that should the dreaded catastrophe really take place, and Phrenology break down revelation and the Bible, still it cannot destroy *religion*. This will stick to man as close, and, in fact, is as essential to his being as the bumps on his head. Nay—more and better—he will not only remain religious, but he will grow more and more religious. Listen to our author:—

"Nor is there any danger, or even possibility, that man will ever become *less* religious than he now is, and always has been, any more than there is danger of his ceasing to become hungry, or to breathe; for religion is engrafted upon his very nature, or, rather, forms no inconsiderable portion thereof. This fact, established by the whole history of man, is demonstrated by Phrenology, in showing that a larger proportion of the brain is appropriated to the development of the moral and religious organs. Till, then, the nature of man is essentially remodeled, that nature will *compel* him to have a religion of *some* kind.—Pp. 15, 16.

In another place, our author says of man:—

"He cannot be otherwise than moral and religious. As well live without air, or food, or life, as live without moral sentiments of some kind, and religious practices of some sort; because they are just as much a part of his constitution as reason, or appetite, or affection, or breathing. Nor can he live without them any more than without a stomach or a brain."—P. 29.

This, we confess, is driving the nail in a sure place. Certain it is, that to attempt to live "without a stomach or a brain" would be a rather precarious experiment. Hence, then, we have a necessity for the existence of "moral sentiments of *some* kind, and religious practices of *some* sort." But the natural inquiry arises, To what kind of moral sentiments, and to what sort of religious practices, does Phrenology give preference? Does it enshrine that of the "conceited Chinese"—that of the "benighted Hindoo"—that of the "degraded Ethiopian"—that of the "noble son of the forest"

—or that of "the Bible?" The author leaves us sadly at fault upon this point, though occasionally he seems to huddle them together into one incongruous group, and place them all in the same category. Our author seems unwilling to descend to particulars, and define or point out the elect religion. We suppose, however, great obstacles lay in his way. Should he give the preference to "the religion of the Bible," offense would be given to the "conceited Chinese." Should he give it to Buddhism, what a hue and cry would ring through Christendom? We can appreciate the delicacies of our author upon this point. Again, he gives us pretty clearly to understand that extensive modifications must take place in every kind of religion, before they can harmonize with the nature of man—with Phrenology.

But then it may be urged also, that, if our author has not given us his own opinions on these knotty and delicate points, he has given us what is of more value—a key by which we may unfold the labyrinth of every religion; and that is Phrenology.

"We here have a moral touch-stone, by which to try and test every creed and every practice."

"How shall we know what is right, and what is wrong? By what *standard* shall we try all our creeds, all our practices? By the standard of the nature of man. That nature is all right—is perfection itself—as perfect as God could make it. Hence, to follow that nature in belief, in practice, is to believe *right*—to do *right*."—Pp. 19, 43.

But Phrenology is not only a test of the rottenness or soundness of "the various creeds;" it is, also, the grand illuminator of our race—the all-sufficient teacher of man, than which "we need nothing else." It unfolds his whole nature, manifests all his relations, and all his duties.

"But where can we find an unerring expositor of the moral nature of man? Such an expositor, once found, is our talisman, our philosopher's stone, in all matters of religious belief and practice. That found, we need nothing else. That obeyed, we are as perfect in conduct as we are in creation. Where, then, can that stone be found? In heaven? No, for we cannot get at it there. In the Decalogue? No, it is too short. In the Bible? No, not all of it. But in the *pages of Phrenology*. That dissects, it lays man's moral nature completely open, and reveals every thread and fibre of it. Every law, every requirement, every doctrine, every action required by the nature of man, will be found in this book of man's moral and religious nature."—P. 43.

"Phrenology can tell us of all that man can know as to what is right and wrong, good and bad, sinful and holy. All that can be known of duty, of penitence, and of pardon. . . . . All that is (at least all that is to us) concerning the worship of a God. All that can be known of

times, places, and modes of this worship. All that can be known, all that is, concerning its frequency, its character, and its effects."—P. 32.

What need, then, have we of a revelation from God? None, absolutely none. Man has only to put his hand upon his head, and he may instantly know "all that can be known" concerning religion and religious duty. Why have religious teachers been sent to address the ear and impress the heart, when every nook and cranny of the head is thronged with teachers on every topic of human interest—teachers, infallible, all-sufficient? Behold, the very skull is distended with the dormitories where they sleep, the workshops where they labor! What man needed then, was not a revelation, but a bust,—ornamented with Phrenological delineations. How happy we, on whom this glorious science sheds its superheavenly rays!

But then, this necessity of being religious—this being *compelled* by nature to *worship*, just as she compels us to *eat*, and *drink*, and *sleep!*

"So of veneration. It so *is*, that man worships, just as it so is, that he eats and sleeps. He worships a supreme Being. He is so constituted. He cannot do otherwise, any more than he can do otherwise than eat, or sleep, or die."—P. 32.

And, indeed, how is it possible for him to do otherwise? With that bump of "veneration" upon his head, the central crown of presiding divinities, how can he be otherwise than devout? This system, at one fell swoop, strips human actions of all moral attributes. It is just as pious to eat, at the bidding of the stomach, as it is to worship—God, or something else—at the bidding of "veneration." The existence of veneration we do not question. But—granting to Phrenology all that our author claims for it as a mere science—his exposition of the function of veneration is unsound, untenable. Veneration prompts us to worship, just as hunger prompts us to eat. But hunger simply requires food; it does not determine what that food shall be—whether flesh or vegetable—whether animal or human flesh. It says nothing of "times, places, and modes." So of veneration: it says, worship; it prompts to worship. But the perception of a God to worship, is the function and office of other faculties—so, also, the determination of "times, places, and modes." Hence, veneration worships whatever these faculties place before it, as the object of worship,—be it an idol, a vegetable, a serpent, the sun, or the great God of heaven and earth. Hunger is appeased, whether the man eat a chicken or a child; so veneration, considered merely with reference to its ori

ginal function, is satisfied, whether the homage is paid to God or to the devil. This is the true interpretation which the science of Phrenology gives to this primitive faculty. All else that concerns worship, all that concerns the object of homage, all that concerns the time, place, and mode of this homage, comes within the range of revelation. Phrenology trenches not a single step upon the province of revelation. Organize man—give completion to his moral faculties even, and leave him without instruction as to the manner, extent, and limitation of their use, and he would still be but a blind creature of impulse. Accordingly, God has never left him—not even in the period of his innocence—without a revelation with regard to his duty.

To turn to another point, it is urged that Phrenology demonstrates religion; that it applies science to its doctrines, and places all upon a scientific basis.

"This science puts all these doctrines, all these requirements, on a *scientific* basis,—on that same basis of positive, actual *fact*, on which the science of mathematics places every mathematical truth; or of astronomy, any astronomical truth; or of chemistry, any chemical truth; or of induction, any matter of inductive philosophy. It is *all* put upon this basis. Nothing is left at loose ends. It is *all exact*, all *demonstrable*, all certain. And all plain, too. No mist envelops any point of it. No dark spot remains upon its horizon. Every fact is as light as the noonday's sun of eternal truth and unquestionable science can make it."—P. 43.

These are large promises. Let us look to the *redemption* of them; and see what the science of Phrenology is actually adding to our stock of demonstration on this point. "The existence of a faculty proves the existence of its counterpart." Good. But this is an axiom of philosophy, as old as philosophy itself. On this very principle Socrates argues the immortality of the soul:—"Man is born to know the truth; but he can never attain to a knowledge of it in this life,—hence the life to come." Surely Phrenology will not have the presumption to lay claim to its discovery. We very much doubt whether it has even discovered, or made any new application of it. Let us observe how our author reasons from this starting point:—

"As the existence of the eye, and its adaptation to light, presuppose and necessarily imply the existence of that light to which it is adapted; as the existence of the stomach, and its adaptation to food, presuppose and necessarily imply the existence of food adapted to it; the adaptation of the lungs to the air, and the air to the lungs; of causality to the laws of causation, and laws of causation to causality; and so of illustrations innumerable scattered throughout nature, and constituting

a great portion of nature; so the existence of veneration, and its adaptation to divine worship, presuppose and necessarily imply the existence of a Deity to be worshiped."

"If to this it be objected that 'most men adopt those religious views and practices in which they were educated,' and that therefore religion is *taught*, I answer, that before any one *can* be *taught* anything, he must have some *original*, *primary quality* capable of *being* taught. Can you teach a dog to be solemn in church, or a swine to pray? But *why* not? For the same reason that you cannot teach a blind man to see, or a deaf man to hear, or a man without limbs to use them; viz., because he has no original, primitive *faculty* capable of *being* taught. And the very fact that men *can* be *taught* to pray and to worship God, proves that they have that very primitive faculty contended for."—Pp. 47, 51.

All this may be good, very good—true, scientifically true. But what light does Phrenology shed upon the subject, beyond what the reflecting world possessed before? The existence of a primitive faculty in man adapted to the worship of God was not a discovery of Phrenology. Its existence was known long before Phrenology had being, as a science. It was not the existence of *veneration*, but of the *organ* through which it acts, to the discovery of which Phrenology lays claim. It shows the *location*, and not the *existence*, of the principle. That was known before. Now, the argument for the being of God rests upon the existence of the principle in the mind, and not upon the existence of its corporeal organ; hence, so far as scientific demonstration is concerned, Phrenology advances us not a step.

There is, however, one discovery, to the credit of which our author is fairly entitled; and for which the religious world must certainly feel greatly indebted to him. The discovery is this:—

"Each modern religious sect has its own peculiar set of Phrenological developments, which harmonizes perfectly with the peculiarities of its creed."—P. 56.

Now, we appeal to our author, whether—applying the principle above discussed—the fact that "each modern religious sect has its own peculiar set of Phrenological developments," does not demonstrate the necessity of the existence of those several sects? "Your *organs* differ, and this diversifies and distracts your religious views and feelings."—P. 55. Why, then, complain of the existence of different sects in religion? Is there not the same necessity for their existence that there is for the existence of religion itself? If "veneration" makes man, from necessity, a religionist—a worshiper, then will "large veneration, with predominant self-esteem

and firmness, and large conscientiousness," of necessity, constitute an "old-fashioned Calvinist:" while "large veneration, combined with predominant benevolence and adhesiveness, and moderate destructiveness," constitute a Universalist: and "large veneration, with predominant benevolence and large ideality, firmness, self-esteem, and social faculties, conscientiousness" middling, constitute an Episcopalian. Alas, for the poor Quakers; we cannot discover, phrenologically speaking, any necessity for their existence as a sect. They "have no characteristic moral developments, and accordingly allow their members to hold any and every belief, provided they *do* thus and so." These are to us new and rare developments. We had before heard of theft, murder, and the like, discoverable in the villainous bumps upon the poor wight's head. But that the Phrenological developments presented a complete guage of not only one's piety, but also of his speculative views in theology and his sectarian preferences, is to us a new and surprising revelation. How many are the practical and useful purposes to which this discovery may be applied! To mention but one. It should, at once, put an end to all proselytism. Let all candidates for church membership undergo a Phrenological examination, and let their "organs" decide the point. In fine, would it not be well to have the entire community classified, and distributed "scientifically" to the several sects, according to their respective Phrenological developments? This is a rich vein, but we cannot pursue it further.

We have heretofore discussed the essay of our author, in its relations to some of the fundamental principles of religion. We will now view it in its conclusions, with reference to some of the cardinal doctrines taught by revelation, and some of the fundamental duties it enjoins.

The section on "the true religion and the false," is an interesting medley. It seems to be a concoction of all things, good and bad, sound and heretical, grave and ludicrous, solemn and farcical, sublime and ridiculous. Bigoted sectarianism, exclusive religionism, ascetic religionists, rich, proud, fashionable Christians,—all receive merited castigation. But the gist of the whole is, that "the religion of human nature"—of Phrenology—is too little esteemed; churches are not opened for the propagation of its doctrines, ministers refuse to preach it, and hence our author pours out the vials of his wrath upon them.

But to specify particular doctrines of revealed religion;—what says Phrenology about "the fall" and its consequences? Our author seems to admit the fact of the fall, or rather he speaks of it

as the "alledged fall." Of the immediate effects of that "alledged fall," he speaks negatively:—

"No one supposes that his alledged fall *took away* any original moral element, or *added* any new element or faculty of depravity. This fall could only have *perverted* his nature. It could not possibly add or destroy one jot or tittle of nature. It took away no limb, no muscle, no physical organ. It added no Phrenological, or other mental or moral faculty or power. As far as his *original constitution* was concerned, it left him just where it found him."—P. 24.

To show why Phrenology is silent upon the doctrine of the fall, or makes no special provision to meet the emergency occasioned by it, our author further remarks:—

"The fall was *subsequent* to the nature of man. So was the plan of salvation by Christ. So the whole paraphernalia of accompanying doctrines—all the doctrines connected with that salvation, or growing out of it. They are *extraneous* to the nature of man. They are added to it, as far as they are connected with it."—P. 25.

Our author here, at one bound, leaps over a logical chasm of such width and depth, as would have frightened from the attempt any man laden with the weight of more than "one idea."

"And if man will but fulfill all the precepts, and obey all the requirements of his original nature—of Phrenology—the fall, and all its effects, will pass by him. He will need no Saviour, for he will commit no sin."—P. 25.

We should certainly have reasoned in another direction. If "the religion of Phrenology" was antecedent to "the fall," and regards man as a being with faculties *un*perverted, it must be inapplicable to him as a fallen being—with *faculties perverted.* As a system of religion of saving efficacy, Phrenology, reasoning from its own premises, must fall to the ground. We need not stop to point out the glaring contravention of this exposition of the fall and its consequences, with that contained in the Word of God. Our author, indeed, in another place, admits that "few, if any, live up to their original natures;" but he makes no admission of their inability to do it. He admits that their faculties are perverted by the fall, and yet claims that they are able to live as they should have lived with faculties unperverted. The watch is out of order—its parts are perverted; but yet it must keep time. Grant to man this ability in his fallen state, and you belie the Scriptures, you take away the necessity of redemption by Jesus Christ, and charge Heaven with folly. "The plan of salvation by Christ," "extraneous to the nature of man!" It is founded in the very wants of that nature, it was

sent to meet the necessities of that nature, to supply its lack, and heal its deformity.

Let us instance the sabbath;—what says Phrenology about the sabbath? Does it require any sabbath? Does it even require man to set apart any portion of time for religious worship? Our author distinctly propounds these questions; and a few quotations will serve to give the response he makes to them.

"Phrenology answers this question thus:—Man, worship thy God, worship *daily*, worship *habitually*. Exercise thy religious feeling not by fits and starts, not at given times and seasons, but *continually*. Make this worship a part and parcel of thy daily avocations, or, rather, pleasures."

"Phrenology says, Thou mayest go to church if thou pleasest, or not go if thou objectest. It says that *place* and *mode* are nothing; that the *worship* is the *main* thing. . . . . At least it is lawful to walk abroad in the fields on the sabbath, enjoy the fresh breezes, and pick and eat fruit, and what we like. This shutting ourselves up in doors is positively wrong."

"If the day is too holy in which to take exercise, it is, of course, too holy in which to eat, or breathe, or live. Why does not the heart stop its wonted pulsations the moment Sunday begins, and resume them the instant it terminates? For, if it be right to eat or breathe on the sabbath, it is equally, for precisely the same reason, right that we exercise, recreate, pick flowers and fruits, enjoy nature, enjoy life."

"'O but,' says one, 'let us at least have a sabbath as a day of rest from the toils and burdens of the week. As a civil institution, it has no parallel in value. Our horses and servants need rest. We all require one day to clean up, refresh our weary bodies, banish the cares and vexations of business, and place our distracted minds on heaven and heavenly things.' I know, indeed, that *if* men will work too hard one day, they will require rest the next. Not so if they do not *overdo*. Indeed, perfect health requires a given equal amount of labor *daily*. So if a man will eat too much, he will be benefited by fasting. Not, however, when he has eaten just enough. If you do not work your beasts too hard week-days, they will need no rest Sundays. If you do not follow the world too closely six days in the week, you will not feel the necessity of resting from it on the seventh; but will be the better for not resting. So if you will exercise veneration sufficiently during the week, you will need no sabbath to increase its energies. Live just as you ought during the week, and you will require to live just the same on the sabbath."—Pp. 77, 78.

Now, it will not, we presume, be argued that the sabbath was designed for man as a *fallen* being, inasmuch as it was instituted before the fall—was considered needful for man in his state of original perfection. How much more needful now that he has fallen! Do away the sabbath, or what is the same thing, observe

it according to the teachings of our author, and you will eventually do away with the Christian religion. Let it not be said, however, that Phrenology, as a science, is opposed to the institution and observance of the Christian sabbath. On that subject it is silent—it lies without its true province as a science. We must not confound the vagaries of the priest with the sayings of the oracle.

Again,—*what says Phrenology about prayer?* "Veneration says *pray*." Mr. Scott gives us the following legitimate and pertinent exposition of the true teachings of Phrenology on the subject of prayer:—"The true Phrenological view of prayer would seem to be the following: three faculties have been bestowed on man, which prompt him to worship a supreme Being; *veneration* and *wonder* directly dispose us to this, while *hope* leads us to the expectation and belief that our prayers will not be altogether ineffectual; but that if they are put up in a manner agreeable to the divine will, they may be favorably *heard* and *answered*. That these are the legitimate promptings of the feelings now mentioned, seems evident from this; that the higher and more perfect the character becomes, the more intense is the desire of the individual to engage in such acts of worship, and to *pour out his petitions to God in prayer*. It thus appears that this disposition to pray, and to expect an answer to prayer, is 'not a factitious feeling,' (as Mr. Combe expresses it in reference to another subject,) 'or a mere exuberance of an idle and luxuriant imagination; but it is the result of certain primitive faculties of the mind, which owe at once their existence and their functions to the Creator.'"*—*Scott's Harmony of Phrenology with Scripture*. Pp. 324, 325.

The above is unquestionably what Phrenology teaches us concerning prayer, and is *all* it teaches us concerning it. This view, so far as it goes, too, perfectly accords with the teachings of revelation on the same subject. The Bible tells us to *pray to God:* "veneration and wonder directly dispose us" to pray: the Bible says, "Ask, and ye shall receive;" while "hope leads us to the expectation and belief that our prayers will be heard and answered."

Another class of Phrenologists, however, take, in common with our author, a different view of the subject. They consider the benefit derived from the exercise of prayer to consist, not in the fact that God hears and answers it, but in its tendency to cultivate certain emotions of soul, and also to stimulate us to exertion to secure the object prayed for. The doctrine boldly advocated by Mr. Combe is, that prayer has no effect except by its reflex influ-

* Combe's System of Phrenology.

ence on the mind of the suppliant; and that its true efficacy consists not in the mere asking, but in its being a means of producing that frame of mind that qualifies us to receive.* Much in accordance with the above is the exposition of our author:—

"Veneration prays. Prayer is, then, our duty, as it certainly is our pleasure. This has been already shown. But it remains to answer the question: Does praying for any given thing have a tendency to bring about the end desired? Does it alter the course of the Deity? Does it change the immutable laws of the Almighty? Does it set aside the laws of cause and effect? No, neither."—P. 90.

No one, we presume, will contend that prayer will "change the *immutable* laws of Deity," or "set aside the laws of cause and effect." One of the immutable laws of the Deity is, that he will hear and answer prayer. So we understand it. The laws of cause and effect are by no means abrogated. For prayer is one of the causes ordained by Heaven to produce both moral and physical effects. Let us follow the exposition of our author still further:—

"I have my doubts whether the spirit of prayer is fully understood —whether its true analysis has yet been given. The general impression is, that its main object should be to *bring about* something—to supplicate some blessing, to obtain some gift from God. This interpretation cannot be sanctioned by Phrenology. This science shows—all nature shows—that the whole universe, God himself included, is governed by immutable, unalterable laws—that causes and effects reign supreme, and allow not the least chance for prayer to effect the least change in effects, because it cannot change their causes. And to suppose that human entreaties can change the mind, the will, the eternal purpose of the Almighty, is utter folly—is downright blasphemy. These notions are revolting to correct notions of the universe."—P. 103.

Here we have the universe—God, heaven, earth, hell—bound in chains of the most absolute fatalism. The idea of an answer to prayer, of obtaining *anything*, is utterly discarded. Next, our author defines what, in his view, "is the true function of prayer, and what its effect." Its function is the exercise of the spiritual feelings. Its object is twofold: first, its influence on the mind of him who prays; second, the diffusive influence it exerts over others. It affects the creature only; has no direct or indirect influence in the court of Heaven. Now we object to this whole theory of prayer:—

1. It is an incorrect interpretation of even the teachings of Phrenolgy upon the subject. We have already seen what is the true exposition of Phrenology on this subject, and there can be no

* See Constitution of Man.

question as to its harmony with the true theory of prayer as drawn from the sacred Scriptures.

2. It resolves prayer into a mere Mesmeric influence. In its influence upon the individual, our author represents it as inducing a spiritual state "which foreknows the future, and perceives the truth, as by magic." He says,—

"When particularly anxious to perceive and enforce truth, I feel like praying, perhaps not audibly, but like throwing myself into this spiritual state, in which truth flows into my own soul, from which it radiates into the souls of all who hear me."

3 If the above theory be true, it matters not to whom or what men pray—God, the devil, or the Grand Lama—provided the man has confidence in the object to which he prays. The devil worship of Africa may be rendered as effectual as prayer offered to our almighty Father in heaven.

4. Another objection to the above theory is, that prayer made to the God of heaven by Christians who believe it, can be looked upon only as acts of solemn mockery.

5. This theory makes void—nay, absolutely worthless and hypocritical, that solemn prayer offered by our Saviour for his disciples, and for all that should believe on his name in the world. According to this theory, that prayer could do nothing for the world—nothing for his disciples. And as to its reflex influence upon himself, he needed no such stimulus to his piety and zeal. For instances of the Saviour's praying, see Matt. xix, 13; xxvi, 36, 39, 42, 44; Luke v, 16; vi, 12; ix, 18, 28; xi, 1; John xv, 16; xvii; Heb. vii, 25, &c.

6. Another objection to this theory is, it is contradictory to the whole teaching of the sacred Scriptures on the subject of prayer. In both the Old and New Testament we are taught to expect *answers* to prayer—taught to expect that prayer will *avail* with God. "The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry. The righteous cry, and the Lord *heareth* them, and *delivereth* them out of all their troubles." Psa. xxxiv, 15, 17. "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee." Psa. l, 15. "He will be very gracious unto thee, at the voice of thy cry; when he shall hear it, he will answer thee." Isa. xxx, 19. "Call unto me, and I will answer thee, and show thee great and mighty things, which thou knowest not." Jer. xxxiii, 3.* The same doctrine is taught by our Saviour and throughout the New Testament.

* See also in the Old Testament, Psa. cii, 13, 16; cxlviii, 18; xxxvii, 4; xci, 15; xxx, 2; xxxiv, 2; Joel ii, 32; Isa. xlviii, 19; lxv, 24; lxvi, 8; Zech. xiii, 9; Job xxii, 27; 2 Chron. xv, 2, &c.

Indeed, prayer is enforced by the very consideration that it will be *heard* and *answered*. "Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Matt. vii, 7, &c. "Draw nigh unto God and he will draw nigh unto you." James iv, 8. "We have not a High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us, therefore, come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." Heb. iv, 15.* Nothing can be more certain than that, if our author has given the true exposition of Phrenology on the theory of prayer, it is totally irreconcilable and contradictory to that of the sacred Scriptures.

7. A final objection to the above Phrenologico-Mesmeric theory of prayer, is, that prayer *has prevailed* with God. How oft did the prayer of Moses prevail with God! When Israel had been led into idolatry, his intercession turns away the fierce anger of the Almighty, Exod. xxxii, 1–14; when the consuming fire of heaven was devouring the complaining and rebellious people, "Moses prayed unto the Lord, and the fire was quenched," Num. xi, 2; and when he pleads that the great iniquity of his people may be forgiven, "the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word." Num. xiv, 20. "Thunder and rain" descend in answer to the prayer of Samuel, 1 Sam. xii, 18; in answer to Elijah's prayer, "the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice," and licked up the very water that filled the trench around the altar, 1 Kings xviii, 30, &c.; in answer to the prayer of Elisha, the Syrian host are smitten with blindness. 2 Kings vi, 18. It would be absolutely impossible to present the multitudinous instances in which prayer has prevailed with God.† Such instances are not only recorded on the pages of inspiration; they enter into the experience of the people of God; they come within the range of their observation; they stimulate and ennoble their faith.

How absolutely puerile and contemptible is this theory of prayer, compared with the sublime aspects in which it is presented in the Word of life! Who that credits this theory could ever pray? He might work himself up into an enthusiasm, a frensy; but the essential element of prayer he could not possess. This blind theory of prayer, by one fell stroke sunders the most endearing relations that exist between God and man. It is astonishing how far men

* See also James v, 15; Luke xviii, 7; 1 Pet. iii, 12; Rom. x, 13; Heb. xi, 6; Matt. xviii, 19, 20; John xv, 7.

† See Gen. xxxii, 28; xviii, 32; 1 Sam. i, 27; 1 Kings xvii, 22; 2 Kings xix, 20; xx, 5–11; Acts xii, 5; James v, 16, &c.

can depart from all that is true and sound in religion, and yet profess to be Christians—nay, the only men of sound and elevated piety!

In close connection with the above views, our author proceeds to show that neither our righteousness nor our sin can in any way affect the Almighty; the doctrine of a special providence is denied; conversions and revivals are denounced;* and even the mysterious and incomprehensible doctrine of a divine trinity is unraveled and exploded by one touch of our author's wand. We should be glad to follow these and kindred topics out into detail; but such an extended analysis would be burdensome to our readers. The analysis on the specific doctrines above given may suffice as an example of the whole.

And yet our author invites us to receive his misty, fragmentary, and incongruous râvings, as the only true exposition of the Christian system. All before him have been but dolts and idiots. He first has unfolded the pages of true wisdom, unsealed the fountains of true piety. He invites men—all the world to come—to receive the gospel as delivered by him, to drink from its fountains till their largest desire is satisfied. He exhorts them not to fear their influence, but to drink without stint, without measure. As if he would say,—"See how pious they have made me; drink your fill, and they shall make you equally pious."† With Phrenology, as a science, we have nothing to do. We have neither attempted to prove, nor disprove it. What we object to, is the application of its principles to uses for which they were never designed,—never adapted. This, however, has been the fate of almost every science

* Rather, perhaps, we should say "perverted," for our author says, "All may be converted, be holy, be happy. Nor should they wait to be operated upon. They must operate upon themselves—must pray—must *spiritualize* themselves. And so we must spiritualize, convert, one another; for all the organs are capable of being excited."—P. 111.

† "Those who accuse Phrenology of leading to infidelity and skepticism, either practically or theoretically, have either but a smattering of this sublime, this religious science, or else are incapable of comprehending it. Its influence on my own mind has been to *deepen* my religious feelings, and enlarge their boundaries, not to enfeeble them. True, it has enfeebled my narrow-minded sectarian notions. I thank God that it has. Much that was bigoted, intolerant, contracted, and erroneous, it has abolished. But the gold of Ophir, the wealth of India, the treasures of the whole earth, could be but a drop in the bucket, compared with the value of those religious doctrines and feelings it has *added* to my former religious stock. Nothing could tempt me to return back to that state of semi-darkness from which Phrenology has delivered me. I consider that true religious feeling has been multiplied within me a hundredfold by this science."—P. 125.

in its incipient stages. The science of astronomy was used by its first cultivators for the purposes of astrology; and voluminous were the works, and complicated the calculations, that were made to arrive at the means of ascertaining future events by observing the stars. In fact, astronomy had been studied for three thousand years before its true uses were discovered; before it was applied to the uses of navigation, and the determination of the geography of the globe. The uses of the science of chemistry were equally misunderstood through many and long ages. The same was true of the science of geology. The examples which the history of these and other sciences afford, should lead the cultivators of any and every science to guard against rash and premature speculation, confident and empty declamation. They would do well to heed the reproof given by that master-mind in philosophy, Lord Bacon, to those who "disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read, in the volume of God's works, and who, contrariwise, by continual meditation and agitation of wit, do urge, and, as it were, invocate their own spirits to divine and give oracles unto them, whereby they are universally deluded."

The remarks of Mr. Scott, in his reply to Combe, are so just, and so clear, with reference to the true relations between Phrenology and revelation, and so forcibly illustrate the light which the former may be expected to shed upon the latter, that we cannot forbear a brief extract.

"In regard to all points connected with revelation, I may now remark, once for all, that there is nothing whatever in Phrenology, more than in any other system of the human faculties, that either affords an objection to any of the conclusions to which we arrive on the ordinary principles of reasoning, or which furnishes us any great additional light to guide us to a right conclusion respecting them. It is perfect delusion to suppose, as Mr. Combe seems to do, that this new science is to produce a total revolution in our theological creeds, and place the Bible and its doctrines in an entirely new light. There is no truth or feasibility in such a supposition. Those parts of Scripture which were before clear and indisputable, remain clear and indisputable still, and derive no additional clearness from Phrenological illustration; and, on the other hand, there is no fact revealed by Phrenology which is at all at variance with any of these points."—*Scott's Harmony of Phrenology with Scripture*, p. 328.

It would be as consistent to apply the doctrines of the calculus to the determination of the authenticity of the Bible, and the truth of its doctrines, as it would the science of Phrenology. We can-

not but suspect the sanity of him who would substitute the teachings of Phrenology for the moral and religious instructions of the Bible. The doctrines of the most eminent Phrenologists are often contradictory, even with regard to fundamental principles—and, we may say, always vague and unsatisfactory. Accordingly, we find Spurzheim and Combe at variance in their attempts to fix the fundamental rule of moral conduct. The former says: "He who possesses the faculties proper to man in the highest perfection, and in whose actions they predominate—*he who can challenge the world to convict him of sin*—has a right to determine moral principles, and to fix rules for moral conduct." But where shall the man be found? who shall decide that he is *the* man? and how shall his authority be enforced? These are questions of great moment. On the contrary, Mr. Combe says: "The dictates of the moral and intellectual powers, which constitute rules of conduct, are the collective dicta of the highest minds, illuminated with the greatest knowledge." But who shall gather and imbody these dicta? who shall determine which are "the highest minds, illuminated with the greatest knowledge?" How are these decisions of "the highest minds" to be expressed?

The fact is universally admitted, that every system of morals, devised by man, is imperfect. This is as true of modern as of ancient systems. Volney and Diderot have succeeded no better than Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno. Our author would contend that they failed, because they were destitute of the key to the philosophy of human nature, which the science of Phrenology affords. But, then, how happens it that Spurzheim and Combe, with this identical "key" in their hands, differ at the very first step—differ on the very principles they would establish for the determination of the rules of moral conduct? "The one says a rule can only be given by an absolutely perfect being; the other says it is to be obtained by the collective wisdom of all the highest minds." To whom, then, shall we appeal? To Mr. Fowler? How shall we know that Mr. Fowler is endowed with supreme authority for the determination of these questions? How shall we convince the world that he has become the depository of the only true wisdom, and persuade them to obey his "dicta?" We will not say that the writings of Spurzheim, Combe, and Fowler, contain no exalted moral principles and precepts. They are scattered in fragments throughout their works, glittering like specks of gold in a heap of rubbish. They are often arranged in such a form, and presented in such a light, as to lead the casual beholder to think that the whole heap is gold. But where have they obtained these

principles? They have all—without exception—been stolen from the Bible. There is not, we are bold to say, there is not a high moral principle or duty set forth with distinctness and force, that has not its origin in revelation. And it is a literal fact that when these sage philosophers—the great lights of the world, as they would have us believe—attempt to settle principles without the aid of revelation, they become misty, vague, often absolutely puerile. The rules they prescribe contain nothing definite or certain; nothing, in fine, on which we can place the least reliance. If we take Spurzheim, Combe, and Fowler, as men of "the highest minds, illuminated with the greatest knowledge"—their "dicta" are in many respects contradictory, irreconcilable: who, then, shall arbitrate and decide?

There is another point on which we would offer a passing remark. Mr. Fowler utters the severest anathemas against churches and ministers, because they defer so little to human reason. He would have science, philosophy, anatomy, physiology, and especially Phrenology and Mesmerism, taught from the pulpit.

> "I insist upon it, that science should be taught *along with* religion. . . . At all events, I consider clergymen almost culpable for not preaching more physiology and Phrenology. I would have them carry their manikin into the desk in one hand, and their anatomical and physiological preparations in the other—to be followed by herbariums, specimens of animals of all kinds—birds, beasts, insects, fish, and the whole range of nature, animate and inanimate, and preach on astronomy, on electricity, on chemistry, natural history, &c.—on all the works of God—his noblest work, of course, the most."—P. 67.

A tolerably wide range of topics, one would think. And then the resources for illustration. Every church must have its collection. And the minister, (alas for him!) when he gets his manikin, his anatomical and physiological preparations, his herbariums, into the pulpit, it is only the beginning of sorrows. A place must yet be had where the unwieldy elephant may plant his ponderous feet, and where the huge leviathan of the deep may stretch along his ample length! Alas, what shall we say for the apostles, who made Jesus and him crucified the one theme of their ministry!

But to be serious: these notions are as contrary to reason and science as they are abhorrent to revealed religion. In matters of mere science no one expects to become proficient in all departments—no one undertakes to teach in all. Each professor has his distinct department of science. But our author would have the minister become not only a universal professor of science, but would superadd the teaching of the doctrines and duties of religion.

His work would be the exposition of all science and all Scripture. Let us place Lord Bacon opposite to Fowler. He says: "The prejudice hath been infinite, that both divine and human knowledge have received by the *intermingling* and *tempering* of the one with the other; as that which hath filled the one full of heresies, and the other full of speculative factions and vanities." Let us also place St. Paul opposite to Fowler: "The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified; unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God. . . . I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified." In reference to the insinuation of our author, however, that religion does not foster science, but stands in opposition to it, we can only denounce it as utterly false in assumption, and wholly unwarranted by fact. On this point, we need only appeal to the history of science and literature, of human learning generally, to show the utter recklessness of such an assertion.

We are never more convinced of the impotence of human reason to fathom, unaided, the mysterious and awful doctrines and duties of religion, than when perusing the speculations of men who place a higher estimate on philosophy than religion, and, as a standard of truth and of duty, place reason before the Bible. This is one of the wrong tendencies—one of the cardinal errors of the age—an undue tendency to place too much reliance upon mere philosophical speculation. How inconceivable is the folly of making our meager philosophical data, our partial and limited knowledge, the balance in which to weigh revealed truth! This folly is only equaled by the arrogance and oracular positiveness with which those pseudo-philosophers assume to speak. They seem to imagine that reason has slumbered from the foundation of the world, and has awoke only with them. They are the great lights of the world. They, and they only, are the possessors of the true philosophy; they, and they only, hold in their hands the keys of true wisdom. The failure, utter and hopeless failure, of earlier speculators, we should imagine, would lead them to be slow, cautious, hesitating, in the propagation of their new theories. But the failure of others, who have passed over the same ground, seems only to imbolden present travelers. Unfeigned modesty and presumptuous confidence are no mean marks of distinction between the true philosopher and the vain speculator.

There is, however, one thing consoling to the pious mind in all this; and that is, however far the human mind may be borne away

from the oracles of truth by vain and idle speculations; however bold may be its assumptions, or arrogant its spirit, time, experience, will bring it back again to the acknowledgment of the truth; or, if the truth be not within its reach, at least to a sense of its impotence and dependence. Here, in the oracles of truth, may be found a system of religion and duty that has stood the test of ages—a living fountain, overflowing with its fullness, and surrounded with perennial verdure, in the midst of the barren wastes of mere human philosophy. Men, it is true, have often deserted this fountain, have wandered far upon the arid deserts, have hewn out to themselves cisterns; but when they have found that they were broken and would hold no water, weary, care-worn, and contrite, they have returned to the forsaken fountain of the divine Word. Human philosophy—systems of morals and religion, based upon man's appreciation of his own nature, and built up by his own reason, fail in their application. They may be apparently faultless in theory, perfect in structure; but when brought to that infallible test, human experience, they must inevitably fail. This is the rock on which all mere human systems have ever split; and it is precisely here that Christianity, the religion of the Bible, has ever triumphed. Aside from its divinity, one great element of its perpetuity is its perfect adaptation to the condition and wants of man. It can never become obsolete, because never inapplicable. The systems of human philosophy, like quicksands on the bottom of the ocean, may fluctuate with the ebbing and flowing of the tide. Every system and every science may go through their various phases of revolution and change. But the word of the Lord is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever"—durable as the throne of almighty Power, changeless as the essential attributes of his being. Through all ages, and to all generations, it gives utterance to the same eternal truths; and so long as there are immortal spirits to be redeemed, sanctified, and saved, they can never lose their applicability, nor spend their force.

ART. II.—*Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the Times.* By an AMERICAN CITIZEN. *With an Introductory Essay.* By CALVIN E. STOWE, D. D. Salem: John P. Jewett & Co. Cincinnati: George L. Weed. 1845.

"PHILOSOPHY," says Dr. Webster, "is a general term denoting an explanation of the reasons of things; or, an investigation of all phenomena both of mind and matter. When applied to any particular department of knowledge, it denotes the collection of general laws under which all subordinate phenomena, or facts, relating to that subject, are comprehended." With this definition of the term before him, the enlightened Christian looks with jealousy upon all attempts to philosophize upon religious subjects. Many of the facts or phenomena of religion lie beyond the range of philosophy, and depend for their credibility and authority entirely on revelation. God was under no obligation to give man the reasons for his determinations in the plan of salvation, and he has not always done it. His first act of legislation was distinct and authoritative, both as to the duty it imposed, and the consequence of disobedience; but the reasons for the act were not disclosed, nor was it in the power of human philosophy to detect them with any degree of certainty. And thus, through every dispensation, while he has graciously revealed the reasons for parts of his administration, he has for wise purposes, no doubt, withholden them in relation to other parts; but has in no case excused man from believing and obeying him on this account. Upon this rock many "*vain*" philosophers have split. Attempting too much, they have encountered insuperable difficulties, and often discarded what they were unable to comprehend, instead of modestly abating their pretensions, and admitting that omniscience may range beyond the ken of mortal man, without reporting its discoveries. Where it has been practicable to explain religious phenomena, however poorly, without bringing divine agency into the account, it has been done; while in other cases, where such agency could not be questioned, it has been made as *remote* and *indirect* as possible. Thus have such philosophists said in the studied language of hypothesis, that they would have a religion *without* God, or, at least, one which has as little connection with him as possible. Their investigations, and the results of them, have given much occasion for the graphic description of the labors of philosophy furnished by Cowper:—

"From age to age she toiled;
Shed from her eyes the mist that dimmed them still;

Looked forth on man; explored the wild and tame,
The savage and polite, the sea and land,
And starry heavens; and then retired far back
To meditation's silent, shady seat;
And there sat pale, and thoughtfully, and weighed
With wary, most exact, and scrupulous care,
Man's nature, passions, hopes, propensities,
Relations and pursuits, in reason's scale;
And searched and weighed, and weighed and searched again,
And many a fair and goodly volume wrote,
That seemed well worded too, wherein were found
Uncountable receipts, pretending each,
If carefully attended to, to cure
Mankind of folly;—to root out the briers,
And thorns, and weeds, that choked the growth of joy;—
And showing too, in plain and decent phrase
Which sounded much like wisdom's, how to plant,
To shelter, water, culture, prune, and rear
The tree of happiness; and oft their plans
Were tried; but still their fruit was *green* and *sour*."

There is another point of danger connected with this subject. One extreme often begets another. The wreck of so many unskillful navigators upon the rock we have just noticed has led to the repudiation of all philosophy in connection with this subject. Regarding religion and philosophy as antipodal to each other, many dare not venture beyond the alphabet of thought, or admit any exposition of divine things which does not strictly tally with the grossest literalism. Now, it is believed the channel of truth lies between these two extremes; and that whoever will content himself to keep it, will secure all the advantages of reason and revelation, without running the dreadful hazards of more daring adventurers. The remarks of the late Rev. Richard Watson upon this point are very apposite. He says:—"Within proper guards, and in strict connection with the whole Christian system, what is called moral philosophy is not to be undervalued; and from many of the writers above alluded to, much instruction may be collected, which, though of but little efficacy in itself, may be invigorated by uniting it with the vital and energetic doctrines of religion, and may thus become directive to the conduct of the serious Christian. Understanding, then, by moral philosophy, not that pride of science which borrows the discoveries of the Scriptures and then exhibits itself as their rival, or affects to supply their deficiencies, but as a modest scrutiny into the reasons on which the moral precepts of revelation may be grounded, and a wise and honest application of its moral

principles to particular cases, it is a branch of science which may be usefully cultivated in connection with Christianity.

"With respect to the *reasons* on which moral precepts rest, we may make a remark similar to that offered in a former part of this work, on the doctrines of revelation. Some of those doctrines rest wholly on the authority of the revealer; others are accompanied with a manifest rational evidence; and a third class may partially disclose their *rationale* to the patient and pious inquirer. Yet the authority of each class, as the subject of faith, is the same; it rests upon the character of God and his relations to us, and that doctrine is equally binding which is enjoined on our faith without other rational evidence than that which proves it to be a part of a revelation from heaven, as that which exercises and delights our rational faculties, by a disclosure of the internal evidence of its truth. When God has permitted us to 'turn aside' to see some 'great sight' of manifested wisdom, we are to obey the invitation; but still we are always to remember that the authority of revealed truth stands on infinitely higher ground than our perception of its reasonableness."—*Institutes*, vol. ii, p. 475.

With these general remarks upon philosophy in its application to religion, we will come directly to the work before us. Of its author, the reviewer knows nothing except what appears in the work itself. The preface announces that in the first part of his active life he was a skeptic. The common evidences of Christianity with which he was conversant did not convince him. A train of circumstances led him to examine the Bible, and the result was a firm conviction of its truth. Having discovered his error, by a process of reasoning altogther new, he addressed a series of letters to a legal friend and former companion in unbelief, embracing the arguments by which he had been brought to a knowledge of the truth. These letters have been remodeled and published, as stated at the head of this paper, for the special benefit of skeptics. The work contains a series of independent propositions, many of which are discussed with great strength and originality. The design of each is to tear away some one or more of the feeble props upon which infidelity depends for support, and bring out the everlasting pillars of Christianity in bold relief. In some of them the author is remarkably successful. His facts and arguments are well arranged and forcibly expressed. Taken as a whole, it is calculated to show the folly of skepticism, and induce confidence in the Scriptures as a revelation from God. The light it throws upon the Jewish dispensation at once demolishes the objections of infidels, based upon some of its arrangements, and clearly illustrates the wisdom

and the power of God therein. And the experimental and practical effects of religion he so well describes, as matters of fact, demonstrate that the system from which they spring, as effect from its appropriate cause, is divine.

But while we cheerfully give the work this general commendation, we cannot conceal the opinion that it is highly exceptionable in some points. In attempting to accommodate certain duties, and their gracious results, to the philosophic taste of his old companion, the author has forced philosophy out of its legitimate orbit, and attributed to its operations what the Scriptures attribute directly to God. And in doing this, he has left several of the brightest features of the gospel system in the back-ground, where they are scarcely seen, if, indeed, they are seen at all, without a full view of which, the "Plan" described, though beautiful in some of its parts, and as a whole, infinitely to be preferred to no religion, is most capitally defective. This we shall endeavor to show in the proper place.

The first chapter is devoted to the elucidation of three propositions. The *first* is, that man is a "religious being,"—that there is something in him, constitutionally or otherwise, in whatever condition he may be found, which leads him to recognize and worship a superior being. *Secondly*, "that by worshiping, he becomes assimilated to the moral character of the object he worships." This is illustrated by numerous facts connected with idolatry, which exhibit its corrupting tendencies. The *third* proposition is, that when he had lost the knowledge of the true God and fallen into idolatry, "there were no means within the reach of human power or wisdom by which man could extricate himself, either by an immediate or a progressive series of efforts." Idolatry had gradually increased, both in its extent and the corruption of its gods and their votaries. The golden days of Greece and Rome—the days of their highest intellectual elevation—were characterized by the most degrading idolatry among the mass of the people, and every attempt at reform only proved the imbecility of all human inventions. The impossibility of recovery by human device or energy, and what was necessary to its accomplishment, are stated thus:—

"The only way, then, in which relief was possible for man, was that an object of worship should be placed before the mind, directly opposite in moral character to those he had before adored. If his heart was ever purified, it must be by tearing his affections from his gods, and fixing them upon a righteous and holy being, as the proper object of homage. But for man to form such an object was plainly impossible. He could not transfer a better character to his gods than he himself possessed. He could not bring a pure thing out of an impure.

The thought of the eloquent and philosophic Cicero expresses all that man could do. He could transfer his own imperfect attributes to the gods, and, by worshiping a being characterized by these imperfections, he would receive in himself the reaction of his own depravity."

"The first thing necessary to be accomplished was, that a *pure object of worship should be placed before the eye of the soul.* Purity of heart and conscience would be necessary in the object of worship, otherwise the heart and conscience of the worshiper would not be purified. But if an object were presented whose nature was infinitely opposed to sin—to all defilement, both physical and spiritual—and who revealed, in his example and by his precepts, a perfect standard to govern the life of man under the circumstances in which he was placed, then man's mind *would be enlightened, his conscience rectified, and the hard and corrupt feelings of his heart softened and purified*, by assimilation to the object of his worship:—as, according to the nature of things, an unholy object of worship would necessarily degrade and corrupt the human soul, so, on the contrary, a holy object worshiped would necessarily elevate and purify the nature of man.

"The second necessary thing in order to man's redemption was, that *when a holy object of worship was revealed, the revelation should be accompanied with sufficient power to influence men to forsake their former worship, and to worship the holy object made known to them.* The presentation of a pure and holy object would not cause men to turn from their former opinions and practices, and become directly opposed in heart to what they had formerly loved. A display of power would be necessary, sufficient to overcome their former faith and their present fears, and to detach their affections from idols and fix them upon the proper object of human homage."

But what is that "*power*" which is necessary to "accompany the revelation of a pure object of worship?" Whatever form it may assume, it must be sufficient to command faith in the object revealed as supreme, and therefore entitled to obedience. As faith is governed by evidence, so conscience is governed by faith, and moral action by conscience. Demonstrate the existence and authority of the Being revealed, and his law will take hold upon the conscience, and probably modify the life. But how could this be done, except by *miracles?* The following extracts not only show the necessity of this kind of demonstration, but that this is the "power" referred to in the foregoing:—

"*Man cannot, in the present constitution of his mind, believe that religion has a divine origin, unless it be accompanied by miracles.* The necessary inference of the mind is, that if an Infinite Being acts, his acts will be superhuman in their character; because the effect, reason dictates, will be characterized by the nature of its cause. Man has the same reason to expect that God will perform acts above human power and knowledge, that he has to suppose the inferior orders of animals will, in their actions, sink below the power and wisdom which

characterize human nature. For, as it is *natural* for man to perform acts superior to the power and knowledge of the animals beneath him, so reason affirms, that it is *natural* for God to develop his power by means, and in ways, above the skill and ability of mortals. Hence, if God manifest himself at all—unless in accommodation to the capacities of men, he should constrain his manifestations within the compass of human ability—every act of God's immediate power would, to human capacity, be a miracle. But if God were to constrain all his acts within the limits of human means and agencies, it would be impossible for man to discriminate between the acts of the Godhead and the acts of the manhood. And man, if he considered acts of a divine origin, which were plainly within the compass of human ability, would violate his own reason.

"This demand of the mind for miracles, as testimony of the divine presence and power, is intuitive with all men; and those very individuals who have doubted the existence or necessity of miracles, should they examine their own convictions on this subject, would see that by an absolute necessity, if they desired to give the world a system of religion, whether truth or imposture, in order to make men receive it as of divine authority, they must work miracles to test its truth, or make men believe that they do so."

"Such, then, is the constitution which the Maker has given to the mind. Whether the conviction be an intuition, or an induction of reason, God is the primary cause of its existence; and its existence puts it out of the power of man to receive a revelation from God himself, unless accompanied by miraculous manifestations. If, therefore, God ever gave a revelation to man, it was necessarily accompanied with miracles; and with miracles of such a nature, as would clearly distinguish the divine character and the divine authority of the dispensation,"—Pp. 39–43.

Fully and effectually, therefore, to reveal himself to the Israelites, it was necessary for the divine Being not only to work miracles, but such ones as were obviously superior to the jugglery of the magicians of Egypt, and such as would manifest the utter imbecility of their gods. Nothing short of this would answer the purpose, and nothing more could reasonably be required. Our author clearly shows that the miracles of Moses were of this character—that they not only demonstrated the power of Israel's God, but the utter helplessness of the idols of Egypt, upon which they were a direct attack. The following may serve as an illustration of this remark:—

"The first miracle, while it authenticated the mission of Moses, destroyed the *serpents*, which among the Egyptians were objects of worship; thus evincing in the outset, that their gods could neither help the people nor save themselves."

"The sixth miracle, which destroyed the cattle, excepting those of the Israelites, was aimed at the destruction of the entire system of

brute-worship. This system, degrading and bestial as it was, had become a monster of many heads in Egypt. They had their sacred bull, and ram, and heifer, and goat, and many others,—all of which were destroyed by the agency of the God of Moses."—P. 46.

The Israelites, having been thus assured of the being and power of God, and of his goodness in delivering them from their enemies, were prepared to receive his will as their proper rule of action, which was communicated in the Ten Commandments. To obey these they were now urged by poweful influences, viz., fear on the one hand, arising from the terrible exhibitions of power they had witnessed, and gratitude on the other, for their deliverance from a painful bondage. These, if anything extraneous to themselves could do it, accompanied as they were by the most alarming denunciations against the transgressor, were sufficient to command their faith and obedience.

But as yet the ideas of this people concerning the holiness of God, and the moral nature of his law and of human actions, were gross and indefinite. They had been occupied chiefly with his power and goodness, and saw not the impropriety of offering him the worship which was paid to idols. To correct their notions, recourse must be had to external objects, as the only means of communicating spiritual ideas. Hence the classification of animals into clean and unclean, and the selection of one from the clean without spot or blemish for sacrifice; and also the purification of the camp, the people, and everything which pertained to divine worship, by a specified process. These Levitical ceremonies, so nicely adjusted to the condition of their minds, convinced the worshipers that God was too pure to look upon iniquity.

Deeply impressed with the adaptation of the Mosaic arrangements to the ends contemplated in their adoption, the reader is led along in the series of divine manifestations, till he sees these arrangements superseded by the introduction of the living "Teacher sent from God," who consummates the plan, and suits it to the necessities of all nations; and after illustrating its meaning and designs by exemplifying its principles, dies on the cross in attestation of the love of God, and the justness of his claim to the confidence and esteem of men. The necessity of Christ's being what he was, appearing when, where, and as he did, and the difficulties which must have attended any different manifestation of himself, and the philosophical appropriateness of his whole course to illustrate and extend the knowledge of the plan of salvation, and make it efficient, are all ably discussed and verified. Also, the necessity of faith as the intermediate link between truth and duty. It is

obvious that truth can affect our action, only as it commands our faith. Religious truth, believed as divinely obligatory, is the standard of conscience and of duty. What faith says we ought to do, conscience prompts us to perform, and condemns us in the neglect of doing. Where faith embraces the whole truth, the decisions of conscience will harmonize with the will of God, and if scrupulously followed, will lead to holiness, happiness, and heaven. But if on the other hand faith embraces idols, and attributes to them the corruptions of the human heart, or embraces false notions of the true God and his government, the effect, of necessity, will be to pervert the conscience, and so far as it is heeded, to corrupt the heart and life. The demonstration of this is found in the history of idolatry as compared with that of Christianity. The *sincerity* of idolaters has never saved them from a single sin, but has plunged them deeper and deeper in corruption and wretchedness; while the conscientious belief and practice of revealed *truth* never failed of producing both purity and peace.

We have referred to these particulars, partly to give a view of the character of the work before us, preparatory to our remarks, and partly because we could not pass some of them without recording a note of commendation.

There are other topics relevant to the subject, upon which the author has said many excellent things, but our limits do not allow us to give them particular attention.

We hasten now to glance at some defects in the work, which we have dared to pronounce radical. We do this reluctantly, as we believe the author is a great and good man, and as his work has the sanction of distinguished names of different denominations. But if we mistake not, he has left out of the "Plan" certain features of the divine economy, without which it must for ever prove a failure. The power he has attempted to provide for philosophically, is utterly inadequate to the result contemplated. And if it were not so in the case of the better class of people, he has left an infinite difficulty in the sinner's way, for which no definite provision is made. A brief review of the "Plan" will set this matter in its true light.

1. It is assumed that "man is a *religious being*—that he will worship."

2. That by worshiping, he philosophically "becomes assimilated to the moral character of the object he worships."

3. That falling into the worship of idols, to which he attributed the greatest impurity of character, he became corrupt, and had no power to extricate himself.

4. To effect his deliverance, it was necessary that "a pure object of worship should be placed before the eye of the soul."

5. When this is done, it "should be accompanied with sufficient power to influence men to forsake their former worship, and to worship the holy object made known to them."

6. But man cannot believe a revelation to be from God, unless it be verified by the "power" of miracles; and no worship or obedience can be happy, or acceptable, which does not spring from "affection."

7. But "the affections never move,—in familiar words, the heart never loves, unless love be produced by *seeing*, or by believing that we see, some lovely and excellent qualities in the object."

8. "When the circumstances of an individual are such, that he is exposed to constant suffering and great danger; the more afflictive his situation, the more grateful love will he feel for affection and benevolence received under such circumstances;" and the degree of kindness and self-denial in his benefactor graduates the degree of affection awakened for him.

9. "Under the Old Testament the *affections* of the Israelites were educed and fixed upon God, in accordance with this law of the soul. They were placed in circumstances of abject need, and from this condition of suffering and sorrow God delivered them, [by miraculous interposition,] and thus [not only convinced them of his power,] but drew their hearts to himself."

10. Hence, to teach man his lost condition as a sinner, the benevolence of Christ in denying himself and sacrificing so much for man's happiness, so that man will believe these truths, will, according to the foregoing principles, *draw out his affections toward God, and make obedience his highest happiness.*

That we have not mistaken the positions attempted to be maintained, is evident from these statements:—

"The love and truth being so exhibited by Christ, that they would necessarily produce the condition of soul prerequisite to the exercise of affection for spiritual deliverance—now as God was the author of the law, and as he is the only proper object both of supreme love and obedience, and as man could not be happy in obeying the law without loving its author, it follows, that the *thing now necessary*, in order that man's affections might be fixed upon the proper object of love and obedience, was, that the supreme God should by self-denying kindness manifest spiritual mercy to those who felt their spiritual wants, and *thus draw to himself the love and worship of mankind.*"

"How then could God manifest that mercy to sinners, by which love to himself and his law would be [philosophically, or as a neces-

sary and unavoidable effect] produced, while his infinite holiness and justice should be maintained? We answer, in no way possible, but by some expedient by which his justice and mercy should both be exalted."

It is true it could be done in no other way, because God can no more become unjust or unholy than he can cease to exist; but the question is not, whether he could devise a plan which should compromise his justice or holiness, but whether the plan he did devise, when revealed to "the eye of the soul," *necessarily produces* this result. A word more upon this point:—

"If, in the wisdom of the Godhead, such a way could be devised, by which God himself could save the soul from the consequences of guilt—by which he himself could in some way suffer and make *self-denials* for its good, and, by his own interposition, open a way for the soul to recover from its lost and condemned condition, then the result would follow inevitably, that every one of the human family who had been led to see and feel his guilty condition before God, and who believes in God thus manifesting himself to rescue his soul from spiritual death—*every one thus believing, would, from the necessities of his nature, be led to love God his Saviour;* and—mark—the greater the self-denial and the suffering on the part of the Saviour in ransoming the soul, the stronger would be the affection felt for him. This is the central and vital doctrine of the Plan of Salvation."—Pp. 151, 152.

All, then, that is necessary to be done to produce the love of God in the hearts of men, and induce them to a cheerful and happy obedience, is to convince them of sin and of its consequences, and of the love of God as manifested in Christ toward them. This done, the affections as naturally ascend to God, as elevated material bodies, when unobstructed, following the influence of gravitation, descend to the earth, or as a magnetized needle adheres to its pole.

This view of the subject is illustrated by a figure taken from the solar system, thus:—

"Now, if a planet had broken away from its orbit, it would have a tendency to fly off for ever; and it never could be restored unless the sun, the great centre of attraction, could in some way follow it in its wanderings, and thus, by the increased power of his attraction, as he approached nearer to the fallen planet, attach it to himself, and then draw it back again to its original orbit. So with the human spirit; its affections were alienated from God, the centre of spiritual attraction, and they could never have been restored unless God had approached, and by the increased power of his mercy, as manifested in the self-denial, sufferings, and death of Christ, united man again to himself by the power of affection, that he might thus draw him up from his misery and sin to revolve around him in harmony and love for ever."

"Now, *affection* is the attraction of the moral universe. And in accordance with the foregoing deduction, to reclaim alienated man to God

would be impossible, unless there should be a manifestation of the Godhead in the world, to attract to himself man's estranged affections, and then, after the affinity was fastened by faith, by his ascending to the bosom of the Deity, mankind would thus be gradually drawn back to allegiance to Jehovah."—Pp. 162, 165.

This, then, is the "plan of salvation" presented in the work under review. Who will deny that it is very beautiful and attractive, and peculiarly calculated to please the alienated mind of fallen man? Is it remarkable, that the infidel should embrace it and abandon his atheism, or deism, or other crude and disjointed notions of religion, which libel his sensibilities, his conscience, and his common sense? It is certainly not much calculated to awaken conscience and create a sensibility of guilt, or in any way to operate very favorably upon the *spiritually dead*, if indeed it is upon others. Not that it does not bring to view many interesting truths. This cannot be denied. Nor that its philosophy is sound in application to some subjects, and in application to religious experience under some conceivable circumstances. But that it presents the true "philosophy of the plan of salvation" is denied. The *philosophy* of a matter is an "explanation of the reasons of the facts or phenomena" relating to it. It is expected, therefore, in every system of philosophy, that the principal facts connected with its subject will be brought out, and assigned to their appropriate law or cause. If such facts are not noticed, or only noticed by implication, or if fundamental phenomena, which are referred to, are assigned to *improper* and insufficient causes, there is a marked defect in the system, which renders it unsafe. This we believe to be the case with the system before us. We will consider a few particulars.

1. *The necessity of a plan of salvation.* This is here represented to be, that man had fallen into *idolatry*, and was unable to extricate himself, because unable to transfer a better character to the gods he worshiped than he possessed himself. Here is no intimation that there was any corruption of human nature lying back of this, coexisting with, and giving mighty growth to, its abominations. None at all. Yet this has been regarded by evangelical writers as a foundation principle; one which is so intimately connected with the plan of salvation, that it must be recognized in order to an understanding of the atonement, or the provisions of mercy growing out of it. It is true the author says, that "human nature in the maturity of its faculties is imperfect and selfish," but this is no more than Pelagians allow. It is simply saying that man has gone astray from duty, and corrupted himself by sin.

In accordance with this view of the subject, we are told that when a pure object of worship is presented to idolatrous man, and proved to be supreme and *benevolent* by certain demonstrations, his mind naturally takes hold upon that object by faith and "*affection*," and thus becomes "*assimilated*" to it. He is represented as being unfortunately, owing to ignorance, *against* God; but yet so *neutral* in his tendencies, that when the argument comes to preponderate in favor of his power and mercy, he will at once be *with* him, and will render him affectionate homage. But is this the real state of man's heart by nature? Nearly all believers in the Deity and atonement of Christ hold that "original sin standeth *not* in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is the *corruption* of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his *own nature inclined to evil, and that continually*." Dr. Doddridge says, that "there is not in the mind, *by nature*, or in an unregenerate state, any real moral excellence,—that the heart of man, after all abatements are made which can be made, is set to *do evil* in a most affecting and dreadful manner." And the wise man declares, on divine authority, that the "heart of the sons of men *is fully set in them to do evil*." And not because they have no knowledge of, or faith in, the *goodness* and *power* of God, but because, through the *mercy* of God, "*sentence against an evil work is not speedily executed*." And does not observation and experience confirm this? The history of our race demonstrates that men are "conceived in sin," that "they are *estranged* from the womb,—that they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies." It is, therefore, philosophically *impossible* for man, with such tendencies and affections, by the apprehension and belief of any truth, to love and affectionately obey a pure and holy God, on the principles laid down in this system.

2. The views taken of the *atonement* appear to us not less defective. What are they? That the atonement was a satisfaction made to divine justice for the sins of man, so that "God might be just and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus?" Or, was it a mere display of "*self-denial*" and "*sacrifice*" on the part of Christ, to lay man under obligation to God, and thus, by the laws of reciprocity, draw out his affections toward his benefactor? There are, indeed, incidental allusions to the former; but the latter is the prominent view taken of the subject.

Now, the Scriptures represent the death of Christ as vicarious. Says the apostle, "Christ died for us," or in our stead. "Christ

hath once suffered for sins—Christ offered one sacrifice for sins." Not for his own sins, for he was without sin; but for "our sins." The penalty of sin is death, of which man was deserving; but God "laid on him the iniquity of us all." His death was *penal*, therefore, as also appears from Gal. iii, 13, "Christ hath redeemed us from the *curse* of the law, being made a curse for us." His death was designed to satisfy the demands of the law, which required the sinner's life, so that he might have a day of probation, obtain pardon, and the renovation of his lapsed nature, and thus become meet for an inheritance in heaven. And without this intervention of Christ, he must have perished without hope. Here is the foundation of the whole Christian system; and no philosophy of that system which overlooks, or but glances at it, can be worthy of the name it assumes. Without this, had the "*affections*" of man been drawn to God, (which we allow was impossible,) he must have perished, or the *law* had been dishonored.

3. And what becomes of the doctrine of justification, or pardon, by faith in Christ? This is one of the main pillars in the temple of salvation; without which, indeed, the whole must fall to the ground. Affection for God, and happy obedience to his law, are utterly impracticable till there is a consciousness of pardon sealed to the heart by the Holy Spirit. Where there is sensibility of guilt, there must of necessity be misery; and though there may be the fullest belief in the holiness and even the goodness of God, there can be *no* love to him, or delight in his service, till the mind receives some evidence that this guilt is canceled by a full and free *pardon* of sin. When this is the case, there will be "*love, joy, peace*," and other graces manifest to the consciousness of the believer, not as the result of natural principles, operating philosophically; but as the direct "fruits of the Spirit," produced according to the gracious promise of Almighty God. Hence, says the Psalmist, "Blessed [or happy] is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity." And St. Paul says, "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom, also, we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God." It is manifest, then, that this doctrine is a fundamental feature in the grand scheme of mercy. The Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge speaks of it thus:—"It is a capital article of that faith which was once delivered to the saints. Far from being a merely speculative point, it spreads its vital influence through the whole body of theology, runs through all Christian experience, and operates in

every part of practical godliness. Such is its grand importance, that a mistake about it has a malignant efficacy, and is attended with a long train of dangerous consequences. Nor can this appear strange, when it is considered that the doctrine of justification is no other than the way of a sinner's acceptance with God. Being of such peculiar moment, it is inseparably connected with many other evangelical truths, the harmony and beauty of which we cannot behold while this is misunderstood. It is, if anything may be so called, an essential and fundamental truth of Christianity; and as our very salvation depends on it through eternity, it deserves and demands our most serious consideration."

Now, with these views of the importance of the doctrine of justification, we naturally expected to find it occupying a very prominent place in the "Philosophy" under consideration. But the reader will be surprised to learn that it is scarcely alluded to through the whole volume, so that a stranger to the Scriptures, in reading the work, would hardly suspect that pardon of sin is a blessing of any great importance,—especially that it forms an essential part in the plan of salvation, without which we cannot be saved. Man's difficulty being, that his "*affections*" had fallen down from God, and taken hold on other objects of impure tendency, our author is so much occupied in getting them back again by a philosophical process to which the arrogance of infidelity shall not demur, that the penal nature of the atonement, justification by faith, and other great interests, are nearly overlooked.

4. The agency of the Holy Spirit is not recognized in this "Plan" as it is in the Scriptures. Our author's mode of purification is given thus:—

"A communication of knowledge, or law, does not manifest feeling so that it produces feeling in others. The moral feelings of God were manifested by the sacrifice of Christ; and that manifestation, through the flesh, affects the moral feelings of man, assimilates them to God, and produces an aversion to sin, the abominable thing which God *hates*."—P. 182.

He repeats the sentiment:—

"The truth which has been demonstrated in previous chapters is again assumed, that the manifestation of God, in Christ Jesus, would, when brought into efficient contact with the soul, produce that active holiness in the heart, which is man's greatest good."—P. 208.

And what he means by "*efficient contact*" is no more nor less than that it be clearly and forcibly set before the mind, as appears from the connection. So, that, when the manifestation of God is clearly made to the "eye of the soul," whether by reading, preach-

ing, singing, or praying, it necessarily produces regeneration, or "active holiness in the heart," as any cause produces its legitimate effect. Now, we ask, where is the Holy Ghost in all this? Is this what is meant by being "born of the Spirit?" Or what the apostle meant when he wrote to the Corinthians, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God?" Did this philosophy occupy his thoughts when he wrote, "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance?" Or, "God, according to his mercy, saved us by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost?" We do not deny that the *truth* has an important agency in man's salvation, or that embracing it by faith is necessary to its efficiency; but we do deny that its philosophical effect upon any susceptibilities there may be in unrenewed man to gratitude and love, is "active holiness in the heart." This is the direct work of the Holy Spirit proffered to us in the Scriptures on *condition* of faith in Christ. Till this change is wrought, the manifestation of God to man creates no love, but rather *fear* and *dread;* since, the greater the love he has received, the greater is his guilt in abusing it. Mr. Watson, before-mentioned, speaks of the atonement and the Spirit thus:—

"As the atonement of Christ stoops to the *judicial destitution* of man, the promise of the Holy Spirit meets the case of his *moral destitution.* One finds him without any means of satisfying the claims of justice, so as to exempt him from punishment; the other, without the inclination or strength to avail himself even of proclaimed clemency, and offered pardon, and he becomes the means of awakening his judgment, and exciting, and assisting, and crowning his efforts to obtain that boon, and its consequent blessings. The one relieves him from the penalty, the other from the disease of sin; the former restores to man the favor of God, the other renews him in his image."—*Institutes*, vol. i, p. 222.

Where, we ask again, is the Holy Ghost in all this "Plan?" We are not unaware that his agency is recognized. It is so, particularly in a separate chapter, near the close of the work; but, then, it is said that it operates in accordance with the principles before developed. And, lest it should be thought to have too direct an agency in the work of grace, we are referred to the vegetable and animal creation, especially to the human body, and are reminded that, as God pervades these and superintends their operations, "in like manner the Spirit of God operates through, and guides the processes of, the plan of salvation." This is, indeed, to be preferred to an absolute denial of divine agency; but it seems to us to fall very far short of

the whole truth. According to this, *man* may produce heavenly affections in his own and in the hearts of others, as well as he can produce vegetation in his garden; and there is as little of God in the one operation as in the other.

5. Another objection to this "Plan" is, that it makes religious affection to consist, or at least to originate, in selfishness. The author admits that obedience which does not spring from love is not acceptable; and, when it arises from no other than interested motives, it is sin. Is affection from the same motives any better? The motive involved in religious affections, according to this philosophy, is, that God has not punished us as we deserved, but has made sacrifices to save us. Now, our obligation to gratitude, or reciprocal love, is not denied; but we do deny that the love of God shed abroad in the hearts of believers is principally of this character. It is, no doubt, strengthened by considerations of the goodness of God to them personally; but this is not its essential principle. Its principle is holiness, wrought in the heart by the Holy Spirit, according to the ancient promise, "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul." It is one of the fruits of the Spirit, rather than of constitutional philosophy. It loves our divine Benefactor, not only because he *is* our benefactor, but because he is *holy;* and all other good beings for the same reason, though they are not our benefactors. It also loves our enemies and the enemies of God, and would do them good; and hence it is so far from being selfish, it is highly benevolent. Now, this is the affection which every believer in Christ enjoys, and its phenomena cannot be accounted for on the principles of the work before us.

6. We will notice but one point more, viz., *prayer*. How this is answered, is stated as follows:—

"Prayer brings the mind to the immediate contemplation of God's character, and holds it there, till by comparison and aspiration the believer's soul is properly impressed, and his wants properly felt. The more subtil physical processes and affinities become, the better are the analogies which they furnish of processes in the spiritual world. The influence of believing prayer has a good analogy in the recently discovered daguerreotype. By means of this process, the features of natural objects are thrown upon a sensitive sheet through a lens, and leave their impression upon that sheet. So when the character of God is, by means of prayer, brought to bear upon the mind of the believer—that mind being rendered sensitive by the Holy Spirit, it [the character of God] impresses there the divine image. In this manner the image of Christ is formed in the soul."

"It follows, therefore, that a fervent, importunate state of mind is, from the nature of the case, necessary, in order that God may be glo-

rified, and man blessed, by *the duty of prayer*. It was in view of these constitutional principles that Jesus constantly taught the necessity of desire and importunity, in order that mercies might be received in answer to the supplication of saints."—Pp. 202, 205.

According to this, it matters little whether our prayers are addressed to the proper object of worship, or a block of marble, provided we imagine that the object we address possesses divine attributes, because there is no hearing or answering of prayer in the case; but merely the philosophical effect of our own exertions, in speaking to a being to whom we attribute perfection of character. Nor, indeed, is it necessary to pray at all, only so far as the exercise aids in concentrating the thoughts, and getting a clearer view of the being worshiped. As to the mind "being rendered sensitive by the Holy Spirit," it amounts to nothing; for we have already shown that the Spirit's operations are explained away, so that they have little more to do in the salvation of souls than in the preservation of the physical system. How little does all this sound like the philosophy of Heaven, as indicated in the following scriptures!—"He that cometh unto God must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him. This is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us, and God shall deliver the needy when he crieth, the poor also, and him that hath no helper. I called upon the Lord in distress, and the *Lord answered me*." Was this done on the philosophical principle involved in the daguerreotype? Was it on this newly discovered principle that the Lord heard David's "*cry*," and brought him up out of the horrible pit, and put a *new song* into his mouth? Revelation spurns the idea. Answer to prayer is something more than the mere philosophical operation of mental exertion. It is God responding directly. So we have believed and taught; and the phenomena connected with the subject can be accounted for on no other hypothesis.

We will close this sketch by remarking, that the theory we oppose is not sustained by *facts*. The history of religion is entirely against it. Universal consciousness repudiates it. And however it may moderate the extravagance of infidelity, it promises little for vital Christianity. The religion with which its discussion is so deeply impregnated, and the "practical effects" recorded in the last chapter in its support, are admirable, but they owe their existence and loveliness to a higher principle. In a word, they are "*the fruit of the Spirit*," in accordance with the gospel system, and are nowhere found except in connection with justification by faith, and the "renewing of the Holy Ghost." Whatever propen-

sity there may be in man to worship idols, to which he transfers his own corruptions, he has no such propensity to worship God. His moral feelings are all directly opposed to it. Hence, though the character of God might be set before him in the pure light of heaven, and the infinite condescension of Christ might be portrayed in the seraphic eloquence of the skies, it could no more create "*affection*" in his heart than it could raise the dead. It might, by the blessing of God, *terrify* him, and induce him to fly to mercy's altar; but it could not produce *love*. This is the peculiar office of the Spirit, and not of the "*philosophy*," to which we object. Yet, as before remarked, the work contains many interesting truths, and, if read with due precaution, may prove beneficial.

Worcester, Mass.

Art. III.—*America, and the American People.* By Frederick Von Raumer, Professor of History in the University of Berlin, &c., &c. Translated from the German, by William W. Turner. Pp. 501. New-York: J. & H. Langley. 1846.

To those who cherish a regard for the repute in which America is held in Europe, it must be pleasing to note the character of the books put forth by the later tourists in the United States. A change is evidently coming over the spirit of their dream. Men of a high grade of intellect do not now, as many once did, consider it beneath their dignity to inquire seriously into the nature of our institutions, and discuss gravely the feasibility of the project which we have formed in civil affairs. At first our government was looked upon, almost universally, as a wild experiment. When our republic commenced its existence, England was further advanced toward free institutions than any other European state, and yet, among her men of thought, those who had no doubt of our success were few and far between. Since the days of Cromwell, and his stout-hearted iconoclasts, the divine right of kings had indeed possessed very few advocates, except among those who were conscious that certain privileges and immunities of their own were involved in the *divinity* of the royal title to sovereignty.

But that form of government which was given up as a divine institution, was, and is now, when considerably modified, defended as the best. The principle upon which despotism is founded is

this, that by virtue of birth or station some few are so exalted above the mass of the nation, that the welfare and interests of this minority who rule are of more value than those of the multitude who obey. According to this theory, all power centres in the king or the aristocracy; the people have no rights: and if the powers that be, ever, in the plenitude of their condescension, deign to bestow favors upon their subjects, these gracious gifts are to be received as we receive the bounties of Heaven, with an humble conviction that the recipients have no claims to them. These opinions have passed away, except among those that dwell in darkness and in the shadow of political death. But among multitudes of professed statesmen, that form, which was no longer advocated upon the right divine, was, and is yet, advocated upon the principles of expediency. They admit that the welfare of the people is the object of all government. They do not deny the abstract truth of the principle set forth in the great Declaration, that men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; and that, for the preservation of these rights, governments are instituted among men. But the grand problem is, How should a government be constituted so as to secure these rights with the greatest degree of certainty? Any form of government may fail of its true end, and be made the instrument of tyranny; but what particular system is least liable to these evils?

Let us endeavor to look at the subject from the European point of view.

The moderate royalist argues that he has no more veneration for the divine right than the most enthusiastic republican; but he does not believe that the masses can govern themselves. He reasons thus: The science of government, and of political economy in general, is not easily comprehended. A safe participation in the formation of the laws implies a deep knowledge of the general theory of civil government, and a thorough acquaintance with the practical effects of existing systems of policy. If the people themselves, by their own direct agency, secure good laws, it must be accomplished in one of two modes—either they must know what particular enactments will conduce to the general prosperity, and instruct their representatives accordingly; or the electors, by their personal knowledge of men, must select those of the strongest intellects, and the firmest principles of patriotism, and impower them to enact those laws which they, with their superior knowledge of civil affairs, may deem beneficial.

Now the first of these modes, he argues, clearly involves an impossibility; and the other is so extremely uncertain that no

reliance can be placed upon it. In all governments, the great mass of the people must continually toil for subsistence; and their want of leisure, of mental training, and of the means of acquiring sound political knowledge, necessarily precludes their knowing what laws will promote their own welfare, and they may drive their representatives into measures absolutely suicidal. If they choose the other alternative, and place implicit faith in the wisdom and virtue of their public men, they are exposed to all the evils of demagogueism and political charlatanry. A clique of designing men may combine for the prosecution of their own base purposes; and by incessantly flattering the "dear people, the intelligent people, the sovereign people," may persuade their many-headed dupe to elevate them to the summit of power. And when once duly installed in high places, they may utterly disregard the good of their constituents, and plunge the nation into endless disasters. And even then they may so keep up appearances that their deluded supporters are led to assign false reasons for existing evils, and rally devotedly around their destroyers, as the future saviours of their country.

Therefore, concludes the royalist, even admitting that all the citizens of a state mean well, and are lovers of law and order, which is no small assumption, real regard for their best interests dictates that they should not be burdened with power which they cannot employ with safety to themselves. We do not despise the masses; but we believe that circumstances, which none can control, unfit them for the great task of fashioning their own laws. Let us, then, give them that portion of influence in the state which will guard their rights, and be the palladium of their liberties; let them have their House of Commons; their Chamber of Deputies: but let there be another element, not under the direct influence of the popular will, which may check the convulsive movements of blind impulse and control its waywardness. Let there be a fly-wheel added to the engine, which will give smoothness and equability to its motion, and prevent its tearing itself to pieces by its own irregularity and violence.

These fears of popular ignorance, and consequent instability and caprice, led John Locke to recommend an aristocracy to the Georgian colonists. They led Alexander Hamilton to propose, in the great convention of 1787, that the president and senate should be elected to serve during good behavior, that is, in other words, for life; and that the former should appoint the governors of the states. They led Roger Sherman to say, in the same convention, that the people could not, with safety to their own interests, exer-

cise much direct power in the government. And so reason, to this day, many honest minds on the other side of the Atlantic; and yet, as earnest a republican as we are, we do not feel at liberty to charge this opinion to a lack of ordinary mental power, or a want of ordinary intelligence. The great Washington himself evidently considered our institutions a somewhat bold experiment; and, at times, feared the failure of all his dearest hopes.

We, on this western side of the ocean, now look no longer upon the American government as an experiment; unless, indeed, as *experimentum crusis*, which has already decided the principle for ever. In fact, we cannot contemplate the political structure which we have erected without a degree of honest exultation. We do not rejoice in the work of our hands as the Assyrian monarch gloried over Babylon. We would acknowledge that "unless the Lord build the city, they labor in vain that build it;" but "He hath not dealt so with any other nation." No nation, of modern times, has prospered as this republic has prospered. Perhaps we may say, without boasting, that we are becoming, in civil liberty, the light of the nations. When freedom first kindled her beacon light upon our shores, the tyrants of Europe, with all their mercenary train, derided the feeble beams. Even the friends of liberty, as they cast their eyes over the ocean, rejoiced with trembling, and feared every moment to see the glimmering light go out. But, as they looked, it became brighter. The flame shot up higher and higher. Soon the whole western sky glowed with the ruddy blaze. Now it tinges the mountain tops of Europe; and throughout the world the dawn of liberty is begun. It has not yet expelled all the darkness, but it will. Tyranny, like a dense thunder storm, still hangs over millions. But even where the cloud is blackest, the light of freedom falls, and spans the darkness with a bright bow of promise, which speaks of the joyous hour when clouds shall scatter, and darkness flee away. Republicanism must triumph, for it is based upon eternal truth. The idea, which denies that men can comprehend their real interest in temporals, is but a modification of that which denies the same in spirituals. Verily, they are as nearly allied as are the brothers of Siam. When a system of government is forced upon the people for their good, a system of religion is almost invariably added to it. And when one of these false notions is effectnally destroyed, the other is nigh unto death. In our age, the tendency of free institutions is onward. Even where the form of royalty is retained, the spirit is fast departing. America is too small to shut in the truth; and the mighty waves of the ocean are too feeble to stop its march; it

will leap from continent to continent, from island to island, till its approach startles the nations from their long slumbers, to burst their chains and be free. The despots of Europe feel their thrones tottering beneath them. Already they see, though dimly, the shadowy hand, writing the words of doom upon the walls of their power, and hear the clangor which speaks the destroyer near. The spirit of liberty must prevail if time continue, and the world suffer no relapse. And when the day of universal triumph shall have come, then this praise shall be awarded to America, that she opened the way of liberty, and became the vanguard of the nations, the pioneer of the world.

In our age, the old doctrine touching the divine right is pretty generally abandoned. Even despots and their defenders are fonder of persuading their subjects that they are more happy than republicans, than they are of appealing to this superannuated dogma. None deny the general prosperity of our country; but different reasons are assigned for that prosperity. Perhaps we ourselves, in tracing out the cause of our happy condition, rush to the other extreme, and attribute wholly to republicanism that which is, in a great measure, the result of other circumstances. But some go so far in their opposition to our polity as to affirm that all the good that we enjoy has owed its origin to incidental causes, and that we would have been more prosperous had we remained under the maternal care of England. All the tory tourists of England, all the strong royalists of France, attempt to prove this; and they add, moreover, that our system already shows infallible symptoms of decay. The liberals, on the other hand, affirm that the question is decided in favor of republicanism, and that men need doubt no more.

Thus the strife goes on; and we poor democrats are the bone of contention between these conflicting factions. The advocates of prerogative and divine right belabor us without measure or end. The more intellectual think themselves able to demolish our theory of government by solid reasonings and incontestible facts. Mons. de Tocqueville, who heads the opponents of democracy in France, having laid down his theory in his own mind, proceeds to demonstrate its truth from the result of American republicanism. He concludes that our institutions are radically defective, and that it would be extremely hazardous for any European nation to venture into the same path. Others, without this parade of research and ratiocination, condemn us at once, supplying the want of facts by a bolder logic, and making up for the knowledge of other nations by a most liberal abuse of this. Those of a smaller

mental calibre content themselves with magnifying petty annoyances, and tracing the connection between every trifling inconvenience of their journey and the principles of the great Declaration and the federal compact.

But in the work before us American democracy has at length found an advocate, though not, in all things, the champion we would desire. This friend of republicanism is Baron Frederick Von Raumer, Professor of History in the University of Berlin, in Prussia. It certainly argues well for the government and the people of our land when one of the veteran historians of Europe, coming to America for the express purpose of learning the real workings of our institutions, returns home with the strong conviction that our political experiment has been completely successful. Indeed, M. Von Raumer is rather enthusiastic in his laudations. He justifies all the principles upon which our government is based; he praises democracy above measure; and had not the thing gone out of fashion with the French republic, we presume he would vote for the apotheosis of Thomas Jefferson, and gladly assist in the ceremony.

It must be confessed that our historian and tourist, like all his predecessors, had his prepossessions. He came with an impression that free institutions were no idle dream of visionary enthusiasts, but a palpable matter of fact, not only correct in abstract theory, but capable of realization, and already in actual existence. This conviction was not an effect of blind prejudice, but the result of a careful examination of different theories of government. His duties as professor of history led him to study with deep interest the institutions of former ages. As he came down to modern times, he saw the change which was gradually coming over the political world. Kings were no longer the deified beings that they once were; and the influence of the people was gathering strength. He was convinced that this movement had not yet reached its meridian; and, therefore, he studied the present tendency as a means of conjecturing the final result. He saw that the United States of America were leading this new movement, and consequently began to feel an interest in American institutions. Thus, while engaged in the duties of his station, and before he contemplated an actual tour in this country, he was led to investigate its past history and present condition. Being well imbued with German rationalism, which has no veneration for anything, he was not blinded by regard for antiquated forms and systems. Seeing the intolerable evils with which the sovereigns of Europe ofttimes overwhelmed their subjects, he began to inquire with

earnestness whether there was no form of government which would protect the many against the folly and madness of the few. To give the people a voice in the state would place a check upon the privileged orders; but is not popular influence a dangerous element to introduce into civil affairs? And if it be not essentially dangerous, how powerful might it be made without danger? These are questions upon which even those deeply versed in the science of government have given different decisions. Some point to the republics which have fallen from their height of grandeur into the deep degradation of anarchy and despotism, as a proof that democracy is the wildest of all political vagaries. Others contend for the dignity of man, and alledge that the race are as capable of discerning their true interest in public as in private affairs; and that they no more need the appointment of a guardian in their corporate than in their individual capacity.

Our tourist inclined to the latter opinion. He is a philosopher, but not a philosopher of the order of Heraclitus. He is one of those theorizers in whom hope predominates, and who expect much from man. He believed that there was a point of excellence in government which Europe, with all its revolutions and counter revolutions, had not attained. He regarded America as the exponent of popular institutions, and therefore became desirous of acquiring a real knowledge of its state, convinced that "amid the splendors and horrors of the French revolution, the Germano-American one had been too much overlooked."

"Eager for information, I took up in succession a great number of books of travels. But what, for the most part, were the representations I encountered? A country of late origin, and in every respect more imperfect than the other parts of the world; an unhealthy climate; infectious diseases; a dead level of democracy originating in a lawless rebellion; a presumptuous rejection of all the natural distinctions of society, together with shameful ill-treatment of the negroes and Indians. Politics everywhere a prey to party spirit; religion split up into a multitude of sects; indifference to science and art; an immoderate worship of mammon; an eager striving after material advancement, with a neglect of the spiritual and the amiable; nowhere truth and faith; nowhere the amenities of refined social existence; a total want of history, and of great poetical recollections, &c., &c."—*Pref.*, p. 5.

After plodding, with true German patience, through an intellectual quagmire, equal, at least, to the Slough of Despond, he, unlike Pilgrim, found himself as far as ever from the celestial gate which he sought. He was conscious that he possessed but little true knowledge of the Americans. No reliance could be placed upon the representations of the great mass of foreign tourists in

this country. Some were men of cultivated minds; but they were bigoted in their admiration of royalty, and brought over with them a theory for which they must find support. Others wrote as if they had been dispatched by the privileged orders of their own land to find something in American affairs which might be held up, *in terrorem*, before the eyes of the restiff multitudes of Europe. Some came for the set purpose of bookish speculation, and, of course, accommodated themselves to the taste prevalent at home among those classes to which they looked for patronage. Others came for amusement; and after wandering around among the republicans, as children would through a menagerie, published a volume or two of wonderments and puerilities as an after consideration. Still, after employing all available modes of acquiring information at home, his impressions were by no means unfavorable. But he decided to see America with his own eyes, and investigate its affairs with that attention to which, as the exemplification of popular liberty, it was entitled.

M. Von Raumer, in the prosecution of this design, sailed for America, and arrived in Boston on the 21st of April, 1844. He passed, in rapid succession, through the principal cities on the seaboard, making Charleston, S. C., the returning point of his tour. He was in Baltimore during the session of the great convention which nominated Henry Clay for the presidency, and consequently had an opportunity of witnessing a scene which, probably as much as any other, laid bare the mode of conducting popular movements in America. He pronounces the highest encomiums upon this array of the people, so entirely new to him, so totally unlike anything to be seen at home, and declares that "it was, in truth, nothwithstanding some things which smacked of the ridiculous, the grandest, noblest, and most impressive national festival, not only that he had ever seen, but that can now be witnessed upon earth." His commendations, however, are not elicited by any particular affinity with the distinctive doctrines of the party whose representatives he saw in convention. He evinces, afterward, his almost entire adoption of the political faith of their opponents. But his pleasure was derived from the spectacle of an assemblage of citizens, thousands in number, from every state in the Union, gathered together to transact party business, at a time when the heat of party spirit was at its greatest intensity, and all was quiet and good order. No *gens d'armes* were seen, no armed police to repress violence, as there would have been in most European countries; and yet there was no riot, no tumult of any kind. On his arrival at Washington he found congress in

session; and consequently an opportunity was afforded him of seeing the noted men of the country. In this hasty visit, no one of our statesmen appears to have called forth his special admiration except Mr. Calhoun, for whom he had cherished a high esteem previously, and whom he lauds in the most exalted terms. In his return from South Carolina, through Virginia, he went on a pilgrimage to Monticello, and visited the tomb of Thomas Jefferson, the great idol of his political faith. At the last resting place of the departed statesman occurred about the only instance, during his whole tour, of his experiencing the emotion of veneration. There he said to himself, "Put off thy shoes, for this is holy ground;" and then he comes down, with a torrent of anathemas, upon those who undervalue Jefferson on account of his religious opinions; or, to speak with more accuracy, his opinions of religion.

Our tourist thence turned his course toward the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi; and after traveling for some little time in the regions between St. Louis and the lakes, passed into British America. After visiting Niagara, Quebec, and Montreal, he returned through Vermont and the northern part of the state of New-York, to the great commercial emporium, where he remained a few days, and then again visited Philadelphia, whence he journeyed to Boston. Here he wrote his last and longest letter on *Sunday*, September 29, 1844, five months having elapsed since his arrival.

We have been somewhat precise in tracing out the course of M. Von Raumer, for the reason that the value of his opinions touching the various matters that came under his observation must, in a great degree, be estimated from the opportunity that he had to gather data upon which to found them. His time was rather limited; but he made a serious business of his travels. He appears to have been very industrious in his researches; and he paid much attention to the collection of books and documents of various descriptions, calculated to aid him in his labors; and his work is as much a compilation from different sources as the result of his own personal observations.

He commences his volume by giving a sketch of the settlement of the American colonies, and traces the leading events of our history up to the present time. He takes it for granted that his readers know nothing of America, which is, doubtless, a very safe assumption. The historical sketch is, in the main, tolerably correct. There is an occasional mistake; generally, however, of minor importance. Some few chronological errors exist in the copy before us, which are so palpable that they may be detected

from the work itself. It is asserted, for instance, that a "union of all the colonies was talked of in 1791,"* which was four years subsequent to the formation of the constitution, and seventeen after the assembling of the first rebel congress. The conflict in Boston between the citizens and the royal troops is stated to have occurred in 1777, which date is too late by seven years. These errors, however, may exist only in the English translation of the work, and for them M. Von Raumer is probably not responsible.

There are occasional errors, too, for which M. Von Raumer is himself accountable. It is stated, for instance, that "congress rejected the proposal to forbid traveling on Sunday." Congress cannot forbid anything of the kind without transcending its powers, and encroaching upon the province of state legislation. He probably refers to the proposition once brought forward in congress to prohibit the transportation of the United States mail upon the sabbath. The committee to which it was referred, and of which R. M. Johnson was chairman, reported against the project, and it was rejected. Our tourist also states that "the clergy are excluded from both houses of congress," and then proceeds to defend the principle of exclusion. If he intends to state that in our national legislature we have no element similar to the bench of bishops in the English house of lords, he is correct; but if he imagines that the clergy are excluded, *ex officio*, from a place in congress, he is in error. The plan of exclusion has not been without its advocates, and it has been adopted in three or four of

* It is somewhat difficult to conjecture the real date to which allusion is here made. A union of the colonies was a subject of discussion for twenty years previous to its consummation. In the year 1754, when war between France and England was anticipated, the British government called a congress of commissioners to confer on the best means of defending the colonies against the French and their Indian allies. Seven states were represented. The commissioners, however, did not confine themselves to the matter which his majesty had submitted to their attention; but discussed the propriety of making an effort to form a confederation of all the colonies, and finally passed a resolution recommending union as essential to their safety. Dr. Franklin, who was one of the commissioners, drew up a plan, which proposed the formation of a colonial government, very similar to that now existing in British America. This plan was adopted by the commissioners; but when it was submitted to the parties interested, it was rejected by both. The king saw in it a concentration which might become dangerous; and the colonies, which were already mutually exasperated from their endless controversies concerning boundary lines, were jealous of each other, and afraid of the king. Dr. Franklin stated, in 1761, that a union was utterly impossible, except upon absolute compulsion. (*Statesman's Manual.*)

the state constitutions; but it is evidently founded in intolerance. Far distant be the time when ministers of the everlasting gospel shall deem it more honorable to fashion human laws than to proclaim the laws of God! But however inexpedient it may be for the clergy to leave their high vocation, and engage in political affairs, it is perfectly evident that it is contrary to all the principles of republicanism to deprive them, on account of their office, of the rights and privileges usually enjoyed by citizens.

The main body of M. Von Raumer's work treats of American affairs in essay style, instead of recounting the heterogeneous impressions made during a rapid tour. The subjects thus individually discussed are of great variety of character, comprising slavery, the Indian tribes, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, banks, the tariff, the laws, prisons, poor laws, charitable institutions, education, literature and art, religion, foreign relations, &c., &c., together with an extended sketch of the state of Ohio. To give the result of his investigations into all these things would be impracticable. We must, therefore, select two or three which are of general interest, and, at the same time, of such a nature as to involve principles, to discuss which comes somewhat within the province of our review.

American slavery is treated of at considerable length; and our author, singularly enough, opens his discussion with a grave refutation of slavery in the abstract, not forgetting to castigate Aristotle for his dogmas upon that subject. He here probably gives us an example of what he denominates, in another place, "scientific cognition, or the philosophico-systematic mode of thinking," and hints at an investigation of the origin of the difference between the Circassian and the African. He asks the question, Have all mankind descended from a single pair? And then he very coolly remarks,—

> "The affirmative, which accords with the Biblical narration, is usually held to be the most pious and religious. Naturalists, however, have very properly not allowed themselves to be deterred by this supposition from independent investigations. But while Rudolphi opposes the idea of a single Adam, and denies the degeneration of one race into others, Prichard, and Johannes Müller, assert that all men are only varieties of one and the same stock."—P. 113.

However, although he thus unequivocally asserts the right of pursuing his investigations, independently of Scripture declaration, he declines, with praiseworthy prudence, to plunge into the mazes of intangible hypothesis, and descending at once to substantials, asserts that the African is greatly inferior to the white. The Cir-

cassian races alone "possess a history, in the higher sense of the term. Neither negroes nor Indians have ever formed a leading dominant state that filled and enlarged the history of the world." In referring to the origin of slavery in this country, he lays the iniquity at the door of the real transgressor.

"Negro slavery in North America by no means proceeded from republican forms, neither does it stand in any connection therewith, as is seen from the fact that one half of the twenty-six states are free; on the contrary, it was brought thither by Europeans, and England thought that she had achieved something allowable, and even great and praiseworthy, when she obtained from the king of Spain, by the Assiento treaty of 1713, the exclusive right of supplying his colonies with slaves, and obliged him to be content with taking some shares in this detestable trade. Even while the number of negro slaves in the North American settlements was still small, many perceived the lasting wrong and increasing danger of this traffic in human flesh; but no proposition, no bill of the individual colonies for taxing, impeding, diminishing, or abolishing it, received the sanction of the mother country."—P. 116.

And we may add, in continuation of our author's remarks, that a member of the English parliament declared, about five years since, in his place, that "British capital still supports the slave-trade;" and thus both England and America may find it most consistent to restrain the superabundance of their righteous indignation for the sins of others, till they are in a condition that will admit of their casting the first stone. According to M. Von Raumer's opinion, the race, notwithstanding the unfavorableness of slavery to progress, have improved, and are in a far better condition, both mental and physical, than they were at their arrival in this country. He asserts, that even where the descent is purely African, it is found that the contour of the head, and the whole carriage of the body, are improved; and that their juxtaposition with a race superior to themselves has had an elevating and salutary influence. It seems plausible, since incidental circumstances have caused this diversity of the races, that the process, which has made the African what he is, may be reversed, and the original equality be restored. And it is said by some writer that the American negro colonists on the coast of Africa look upon the natives as greatly inferior, and would, if left to impulse, maintain as dignified an aristocracy as any nation can boast. But if this reverse process has really commenced, ages must elapse before they, as a body, can approximate the level which the Circassian now occupies; and even then the progress of the whites, in the mean time, may render the disparity as great as ever. The result

of M. Von Raumer's investigations of the general subject of slavery is comprised in the following extract:—

"As in the abolition of the internal slave-trade, I behold the first great means toward an essential improvement of the existing state of things; so, too, I regard as the second, not by any means a sudden, forcible, and, in fact, impossible equalization of blacks and whites—but, what is already in many places begun, a gradual and voluntary grant of property in the soil. Offensive as it may sound, the introduction of a sort of serfdom, or *glebæ adscriptio*, appears to me a measure which, while it avoids sudden social, and political leaps, includes, in itself, a better condition, and prepares for one better yet. The former slave is, then, no longer a mere chattel, without any recognition of, or regard for, his personal rights, but stands on solid ground; he is no longer a piece of moveable property, to be sold at pleasure like a brute, but there is opened to him the possibility of acquiring something for himself; in fact, a man *bound to the soil* is, in many respects, better off than he who is *bound to a machine*."—P. 135.

It is evident that he is in nowise disposed to join the ultraists of either party; he does not consider the case of the slave beyond hope, nor does he think that the good must all be done at once. But in sober verity, the final result of the introduction of slavery into this country is absolutely inscrutable. Darkness, which no human eye can pierce, rests upon it. To dogmatize, on either side of the question, is the easiest thing imaginable; but to demonstrate the future consequences, or even to establish a probability, the most difficult. The rigid opinionists of both parties may hurl their philippics at each other in furious attack and obstinate defense; enthusiastic men may see visions, and hopeful men dream dreams; but, in very deed, the prospects of the negro are most pitiable. Colonization has its warm advocates, as is meet and right. It has founded a flourishing colony; and it may in time utterly destroy the infernal slave-trade, and irradiate a whole continent with the glorious light of the gospel. But what can the plan do with a nation of three millions? At the time when the Colonization Society was established, in 1816, the colored population of the country was about a million and a half; since that time, if the statistics of Matthew Carey are correct, it has doubled, and is now increasing at the rate of sixty thousand annually. The society, during the thirty years of its existence, has colonized about twenty-five hundred, and has expended probably a million of dollars. If all the slave owners of the south were willing to let the children of Africa go, and doubtless multitudes would be willing, should the opportunity to let them return to Africa occur, it seems impossible that the liberated slaves should ever be conveyed

there, and sustained until able to support themselves, without as many and as great miracles as marked the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage. The pecuniary expenses of all the wars in which we have ever been engaged would be small in comparison with those of such an enterprise. Nor is it the want of funds alone that impedes the usefulness of the society. This is as truly the home of the so-called Africans of our land as it is our home; and many of the blacks, even where the foes of this society have not raised their absurd and unjust outcry against it, evince an utter repugnance to emigration. In 1824, President Boyer, of St. Domingo, offered to colonize six thousand American blacks in that island, at his own expense; a few hundred accepted his offer, but, for some reason, most of them soon returned. The society has been a blessing to Africa; but as a scheme for removing the entire colored population, it seems wholly visionary. Whether they are in future time bond or free, that unfortunate race must find their abiding place in America.

But are they to remain slaves? The tendency of the age, the tide of popular conviction, is setting in the opposite direction. Henry Clay has expressed an opinion that slavery will be abolished by the operation of the laws of population. We never saw a full exposition of these views, but the substance of them appears to be this:—As the population of the country becomes more dense, the price of labor will fall with the increase of the supply; this will eventually bring free into competition with slave labor; the labor of white men being most productive, slave labor will become less desirable, both on account of the smaller profits and the many annoyances and responsibilities which it involves; and thus slavery, its grand prop being removed, will fall. But if this hypothesis is correct, centuries must elapse, in all probability, before this result comes to pass, especially while the slave-owners have the privilege of avoiding the press of competition by receding into the south-west. And, incidental fluctuations apart, it is not probable that the price of labor will fall very materially, even east of the Alleghanies, so long as vast tracts of good land lie unoccupied at the west. But suppose the period already arrived, and the slaves freed, because they are no longer profitable, what will then be their condition? The future is made up of so many elements, that to foretell coming events, or even to conjecture probabilities, is often a useless pastime. That which seems demonstrable, frequently proves visionary. But the natural result of emancipation, effected thus, is the creation of a caste in the lowest depths of degradation. If the labor of hired white men is more profitable

than that of slaves, where must the labor of hired negroes rank? Certainly much lower than that of their white competitors. The consequence must be that the mass of the Africans will be scattered through the country, to be the Pariahs of our land, to perform the lowest menial offices, to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But it is useless to multiply conjectures. Both the slaveholders and the slaves of the present generation find themselves involved in a most unhappy state of things, in the origination of which neither had any agency. Let us, then, until calm but earnest discussion shall have pointed out a safe mode of emancipation, look upon the position of our southern brethren, so far as facts charitably interpreted will justify such a conclusion, not as their fault, but as their misfortune. Slavery is the incubus of the south; and many, who are bitterly denounced by the inconsiderate, acknowledge the fact. Whatever can be done to ameliorate the slave's condition, let it be done. The only course appears to be, not to sit down supine and hopeless, but to do all that can be done safely; to endeavor to elevate the slave to the dignity of man; to go as far as light rests upon the path, and leave the future to the unerring guardianship of Him whose tender mercies are over all his works.

In the chapter succeeding that in which he treats of slavery, M. Von Raumer discusses the present condition of the remains of the aboriginal tribes. His disquisitions contain little which is new to the American reader, and we would not have alluded to them had it not been for a very sage remark which he drops, *en passant*:—

"Whether the Indians are *autocthones*, *sprung from the soil*, or are immigrants from Asia, whether a more civilized people preceded them, and whether the latter retired voluntarily, or through compulsion, toward the south—on these topics much may be conjectured, very little proved."—P. 137.

If anything, in addition to the internal and historical evidence, and the blessed effects of the word of God, were needed to give the believer in revelation confidence in his system, it might be found in the intolerable absurdities of infidelity. The observation which we have quoted is such unmitigated folly, that in charity to our author we would fain have construed it into irony—a side blow at some atheistic philosopher—a clumsy German witticism—anything in the world but what the whole context proves it to be, an idea expressed with all gravity, and intended to be particularly learned and sagacious. Our tourist professes a huge admiration for the Bible; but as he explains it all away except the binding,

we may set him down as a German rationalist, otherwise an infidel. Professed skeptics are the most credulous class of men in existence. When the Christian owns his firm faith in that volume which he believes to be the word of Jehovah, the infidel looks upon him with a smile of pity or contempt, as one who is led by a cunningly devised fable, who is filled with absurd hopes and groundless fears, and who is looking onward to future existence in a land which has no being save in his own crazed imagination. The infidel feels infinite compassion for such intellectual imbecility. He can point out the apparent discrepances in the inspired volume, and appeal for support to all the base passions of the fallen man. But drive him into the defensive; carry the war into Africa. Since the Mosaic account of the creation is too vast for his limited powers of faith, put him upon the construction of a better one. Of the ordinary results, in such a case, we have a specimen before us. The learned M. Von Raumer, who, in many matters, seems a man of sound sense, gives us the theory, which, in the plenitude of his skeptical wisdom, he condescends to honor with his gracious assent. The sage who is too wise to admit the fable that man was created an intelligent being, by an omnipotent eternal Spirit, here teaches, with much more gravity than men of only ordinary composure of face can listen to him, that man *grew* out of the earth, "sprung from the soil," in the same way that, under the fostering hand of the baron's gardener, cabbages flourish in Berlin. Verily, *tell* it in Gath, publish it in the streets of Askelon, and let all the sons of infidelity rejoice; let the disciples of rationalism triumph. By the way, how absurd the outcry touching the "pride of philosophy!" With humility never excelled, not even by honest Dogberry, the sage of Berlin virtually confesses, inasmuch as men sprung up like mushrooms, and, after passing through various gradations, became what they are, that he, the erudite Baron Von Raumer, "Professor of History in the University of Berlin, &c., &c.," who was toasted so profusely at the dinner on Staten Island, may, with all his honors, be nothing but a lineal descendant of one of Lord Monboddo's monkeys; or, adopting the botanic theory, only a slight improvement on one of his gardener's vegetables. *Sed, de gustibus*, &c.

But as great as are these absurdities, there is commendable candor in the style in which the professor carries his bundle of folly. He never disowns it, or attempts to hide it from the eyes of men. If all those who deny the authenticity of the Bible were as honest as he, their delusion would have still less influence than it now wields. So long as they merely tear down; so long as they

build nothing upon their own foundation, they possess an advantage which they are none the less inclined to employ from its being an unfair one. But they find it expedient to involve themselves in thick darkness lest their opponents should discover the deformity of their system, and defeat them at once and for ever. The same fondness for obscurity, the same love of darkness rather than light, runs through all the minor forms of infidelity now extant. Give any false system a thorough investigation, and some part will be found upon which the dreaded light must not shine. Whole classes of errorists, whom we might name, who profess to teach the very pith and marrow of the gospel, show great reluctance to giving a full exposition of their doctrinal views. They may assign, as a reason for this repugnance, their unutterable horror of *creeds;* but doubtless they have other reasons quite as good as this ostensible one. Christianity is not composed of disjointed fragments of truth; but its teachings form one harmonious whole. Consequently, they who deny any of its grand cardinal doctrines, may well feel some hesitation in showing how far their theory involves the whole system in ruin. They prefer leaving the matter where they can admit and reject, affirm and deny, advance and recede, as circumstances render it expedient; and, in the mean time, seek to cover their retreat by leaving behind them professions of immeasurable liberality of sentiment. Would that they copied M. Von Raumer!

Our author gives us a long chapter entitled "Religion and the Church," in which he professes to set forth the religious condition of America. This chapter is a very curious affair. He gives a brief account of the leading denominations; of the workings of the voluntary system, which he approves; and, of course, bewails the existence of bigotry, intolerance, and fanaticism. One sect, however, are so happy as to escape his censures, inasmuch as their views "exhibit an affinity to certain philosophical schools" of German notionalists. The professor feels much sympathy for them in their good work; but expresses doubts of their ever being able to accomplish much.

> "The Unitarians will never be able to root out everywhere the longing for the marvelous, for a vicarious redemption and atonement, &c.; very many will cling to the old orthodox doctrines."—P. 337.

He gives an epitome of the religious opinions of this favored sect, which epitome comprises seven negatives, and one &c.; and then observes, with an air of despondency, that in the religious views of the Americans he perceives "no essentially new and

peculiar element; they confine themselves mostly to the old paths, and not always without disputes and ancient bitterness."

"Of all the cants of this canting world," says a satirical writer of the last century, "though the cant of hypocrisy may be the worst, the cant of criticism is the most provoking." But the writer, when he penned the testy remark, had probably never heard the cant of liberalism. The baron, as may be seen from the quotations already given, feels an utter repugnance to all spiritual religion, and is as bigoted in his opposition as those upon whom he expends his wrath can be in its favor. The first table of the law is of little account in his eyes. He alludes to the Deity occasionally; but his God is a philosophical abstraction; and in his religion the sentiment of devotion has no place. He inculcates the ordinary duties of man to man, and lauds an enlarged republicanism as the sum total of all religion; but many of those things which we believe to be clearly enjoined in holy writ, he derides as the legitimate offspring of Pharisaism and puritanical bigotry. One of these is the Christian sabbath as observed among the "orthodox:"—

"I can more readily enter into this than into their dull, dry, severe Sundays, on which the negroes alone display any cheerfulness or enjoyment of life."—P. 426.

"In the zealous Protestant states a very strict observance of the sabbath is even required by law; though by this the principle, that the civil authorities have nothing to do with ecclesiastical and religious matters, is certainly violated, and personal liberty restricted."—P. 342.

In another place he expresses an opinion that music will never be very extensively cultivated in America till we lay aside our present mode of keeping the sabbath, and become more liberal. This remark will have its weight with those, the magnitude of whose auricular adornment exceeds that of their souls, and who estimate their relative value accordingly. But the objection which the professor makes against our laws for preserving the sanctity of the sabbath, on the ground of their alledged anti-republicanism, might be of more force were the sabbath, like prayer, and pious meditation, of a wholly religious nature. Were the laws to compel each citizen to read a page daily in a state prayer-book, then there would be interference with the religious opinions of the subject. But a correct view of the case causes the difficulty to vanish. A civil sabbath may be necessary for the preservation of personal rights. All experience proves that the periodical observance of a day of rest is far more conducive to physical well-being than

incessant labor, even if the aggregate accomplished be the same. The mind, also, is invigorated by laying aside the cares and perplexities of secular affairs. The heart is kept from growing callous, and the home affections are cultivated, by spending the hours of sabbath quiet in the family circle; and those allied by nature are bound together with stronger and more enduring ties. Man also needs time for the consideration of subjects of a higher grade, and greater moment. The all-wise Creator, who knew what was in man, who was perfectly acquainted with his physical, intellectual, and moral nature, has ordained this periodical cessation from secular pursuits, in order that all may have time to worship him, to learn the way of life, to meditate upon divine truth, and examine the foundation upon which they base their hopes of happiness when time shall be no more. The observance of this day, in all practicable modes, is essential to our moral progress. To observe this day is not only the duty, but the privilege of all; a right which man cannot take away, because God has given. But even in our own land, and north of Mason and Dixon's line, the majority are in the employ, or in some way under the control, of the minority; and to abolish the legal sanctions of the sabbath would, in innumerable cases, place this unalienable right of the many at the mercy of the few. Some, indeed, would not abuse their power. Others, like M. Von Raumer, would recommend gayety as the proper mode of observing the holy sabbath, and exhort all to give themselves unto fiddling and puppet shows. But some would take advantage of the absence of legal enactment to oppress those dependent upon them. If the law should be so modified that no one, whether bond or free, could be compelled to labor, but the whole matter be left optional, still the evil would exist. The avarice of multitudes might soon find some cunning device to elude the charge of direct compulsion, and they would thus escape the penalty, while they broke the spirit of the law. Therefore the present laws are not founded in bigotry, nor upon the principle that religion is to be thrust upon men's consciences by the civil power; but upon this, that the rights of the dependent are to be protected against the caprice or the inhumanity of those who may, for the time, possess control over them. These laws, then, so far from being anti-republican, have for their direct object the protection of the dearest and most valuable rights of the weak against the encroachments of the powerful; and the objections urged against them are those only to which most laws, which man frames and executes, are liable.

The baron does the Methodist Episcopal Church the honor of

an extended notice; and undertakes to give a brief sketch of its origin and progress:—

"The Methodists formed their first society in the United States in the year 1766; but since then they have been increased to such an extent by untiring activity and restless zeal, that they now constitute several bishoprics, and number seven thousand seven hundred and thirty stationary and four thousand eight hundred itinerant preachers. The latter constitute the yearly district conferences, which are represented by delegates in the General Conference, held every four years. The Methodists, however, allow the laity no share in the choice of preachers or in ecclesiastical legislation; all of which is placed in the hands of the clergy. This arrangement produces, on the one hand, energy and decision; but, on the other, gives rise to narrowness and intolerance. And yet, in the year 1838, there sprang up, even among the clergy, so great a division, that about one half separated from the other, and took to itself the designation of the Old School, in contradistinction to the New."—P. 330.

If the work which we are examining was no more correct, in general, than is this particular paragraph, to rectify its errors would be to rewrite the volume. The Methodist Episcopal Church, as every one who has the least acquaintance with its polity knows, has no diocesan bishops, and, consequently, no bishoprics, in the technical sense of the term. Nor is it true that the laity are allowed no share in the choice of preachers, or in ecclesiastical legislation. We acknowledge, indeed, that we are strongly prepossessed in favor of itinerancy, and are aware that it can be sustained only by mutual concession, the laity giving up the power of choosing their pastors, and the clergy the power of choosing their particular congregations; and, therefore, pastors and people agree to place the appointing power in the hands of a third party, the bishops, who, even if they should not prove to be the men we believe them to be, can have little or no motive to abuse their office. But it is false that the people have no share in the choice of pastors. They cannot, by law, designate the minister who shall officiate in any given pulpit; but the people, as a body, have the power of nominating those from whom the choice is to be made. In some other churches, the clergy control the whole matter of educating and licensing ministers; or, in other words, of pointing out those from whom the congregations shall select pastors. We have, in our system, the converse of this plan. The laity are not without power; but that power is applied at the other end of the train. No one can be authorized to hold meetings for prayer and exhortation till his brethren of the laity vote to permit it. No one can receive authority to minister

in holy things till they authorize his licensure. No one can receive orders in the local ranks till his brethren advise it. No one can become a candidate for admission into the conference till they recommend his admission.

But all this is well understood among our own people; and we would not have alluded to it did we not occasionally meet with well-meaning men of other churches, who demur at laws of which Methodists never heard, and recommend the removal of evils that have no existence. Neither clergy nor laity count our system a burden; in eighty years our church has grown up from non-existence to a membership of more than a million; and therefore we may well disregard, as we have done hitherto, those predictions of future ill which are based upon a one-idea theory.

With regard to the separation into the Old and New Schools, it is evident that our tourist, through inadvertence or misinformation, has confounded the Methodist with the Presbyterian Church. He also mentions the division in the Presbyterian Church, but dates it in 1837, instead of 1838, as in the passage which we have quoted. This discrepancy arises from his referring in the one instance to the ecclesiastical action which led to the division, and which took place in 1837; and in the other, to the actual separation of the General Assembly into two bodies, which occurred the succeeding year. The remainder of the article on Methodism is taken up with an account of the separation of the north and south, which is treated with tolerable accuracy. He closes with the following remark:—

"Perhaps it is a real benefit that the growing power of this sect, and the danger of constantly increasing violence and intolerance, are, for the present, circumscribed and broken by this schism."—P. 332.

Here the baron is guilty of a dual blunder; he errs with respect to both premises and conclusion. He sets out with the idea that the Methodist Episcopal Church is both violent and intolerant. As he does not appeal to any facts to sustain his position, we hope that none will deem us reprobates should we take the liberty of deferring our repentance and confession till this deficiency shall have been supplied. Had he spoken of constantly increasing *danger* of violence, we would not have wondered at his observation, though even then we might not have been constrained to own the soft impeachment. In years gone by, indeed, all dominant sects were more or less imbued with the spirit of persecution. In England, those who were, for the time being, at the head of the government, no matter of what faction, considered it their bounden

duty to construct a vast national conscience, according to whose dictates all must order their walk and conversation, or be converted from the error of their ways, by the clear and satisfactory arguments of the prison, the gallows, or the stake: Thus the Episcopalians hunted down the Puritans; the Puritans, in turn, hunted down the Episcopalians; and the Catholics, when they were in power, persecuted them both. In this country, the same bitter spirit ruled, and the same conflict was kept up, though on a more limited scale. In Virginia, the Episcopalians drove the Presbyterians from their borders; in New-England, the Presbyterians, filled with mighty zeal for God, persecuted all heretics with the most exemplary diligence and fervency. Had the Methodist Church existed in those days of darkness, and been in power, possibly some fiery spirit might have devised an infernal logic which would have plunged it into that which we now abhor and detest. But as it was, we know not that Methodists have ever been in any way concerned in persecution for opinion's sake, except as victims of the pious fury of others. What, then, does the baron mean by his allusions to "increasing violence and intolerance?" But if his premises were correct, his conclusion would be a *non sequitur*. If the Methodist Episcopal Church ever obtains any legal advantages over other churches, those privileges and immunities must be obtained at the bar of the state legislatures; and the influence of the denomination in the several states has not been impaired, in any degree, by the division of the north and south. Thus it appears that the "liberal" M. Von Raumer becomes alarmed at a shadow, and comforts himself with a sophism.

Our author has considerable fault to find with the American churches in general; or, at least, with all afflicted with "those fanatical movements called revivals." But we must keep in mind the peculiar views which he entertains of these subjects. His own language speaks him as perfectly destitute of all conception of enjoyment in religion, as the *meerschaum* which he puffed while concocting his infidel paragraphs. To object to dancing and revelry upon the sabbath is Pharisaic bigotry. To adopt a system of theology under the impression that it is true, and that its rejection would consequently involve error, is intolerance; while to believe that both sides of an unmitigated contradiction can be substantiated from the word of inspiration, is magnanimity and liberality. To manifest as much reverential emotion in religious worship, as he himself would in soliloquizing over a pair of Jefferson's old boots, or a hair from his wig, is arrant fanaticism;

while to adopt all the irrationalities of rationalism is the highest wisdom, and ultra-democracy the only real religion.

On the subject of education in general we have a very interesting chapter. Much industry is manifested in the collection of facts and statistics, and much knowledge in the discussion of the principles involved. The professor's researches led him to the following conclusions:—

"On taking a resurvey of all that we have stated, some general remarks are suggested,—

"First. The American universities, libraries, and scientific collections, (which it is impossible to create at once,) are behind those of Europe, and especially of Germany; but, on the other hand, as regards the education of the people, many of the states are on a level with the most cultivated European countries, and far before several, including even England.

"Secondly. No nation has done so much for schools in so short a time as the Americans.

"Thirdly. There is in the United States no danger of an education too elevated for the condition and relations of the educated. Such are their political privileges, that nothing is placed wholly out of the reach of any one; wherefore the outlay goes to the education not of subjects merely, but of rulers also."—P. 297.

Our common school system is indeed, as Governor Clinton, of New-York, remarked in his message on the subject in 1795, "the palladium of our freedom." All who have considered the dangers to which republics are exposed, must confess that there needs be a powerful influence, not to counteract the spirit of democracy, but to guide into that path in which peace and safety dwell. Every system of polity has its peculiar dangers, its weak point, its vulnerable Achillean heel, which the arrow of the destroyer may pierce. A strong executive government may imperceptibly glide into despotism, and thus the end of government be lost. A republic, on the other hand, finds its greatest danger in that lawless spirit which spurns even salutary restraint, and tramples upon all authority. When did an enlightened republic glide insensibly into a despotism? Never. Between the free and the tyrannical stage there comes an interregnum, when the fountains of the great deep of anarchy are broken up, and the floods of corruption rush forth, and sweep all things back into chaos; when demagogues are revered as patriots, and patriots denounced as traitors; when calm counsel is derided, justice overthrown, and mob law and violence reign in their stead. When this comes to pass, some more daring spirit, who, perhaps, brandished his dagger most fiercely, and denounced tyrants most loudly, in the popular tu-

mults, seizes the supreme power, and is suffered to reign by a community weary of lawless commotion, and willing to submit to any government which will free the land from riot and bloodshed. The intellectual and moral culture of the people forms, therefore, the natural defense against this, the attendant danger of republican institutions. "Knowledge," said the great Washington, in his first message to congress, "is in every country the surest basis of public happiness." "Educate and inform," said Thomas Jefferson, "the whole mass of the people; enable them to see that it is their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them." "Knowledge," declared De Witt Clinton, "is as well the cause as the consequence of good government."

In literature and the arts, the Americans, in the estimation of our author, have made attainments which are valuable, both from intrinsic worth, and from their promising great advancement in the fullness of time. M. Von Raumer also defends us against the charges which certain very considerate Europeans have made, that we possess "no monuments, no antiquity;" for which deed of abounding charity we could have excused him, as it is certainly a work of supererogation.

With respect to the periodical press, the baron discourses more favorably than some other travelers:—

> "The greater American periodicals, or critical reviews, distinguish themselves by propriety, moderation, and dignity; they display an accurate knowledge of all sciences, and often contain criticisms which are masterly both in form and substance."

Of the newspaper press, touching which Mr. Dickens penned so furious a tirade, he remarks, that the ill effects resulting from its possessing no censorship to control its licentiousness, have been no greater than they would be in Europe. With regard to the subject in general, he observes:—

> "Bishop White, of Philadelphia, has justly remarked: 'No one who lives uprightly can ever be entirely put down in America by slander. Whatever the momentary effects may be, he will live down the falsehood.' But even the passing momentary effect is an injurious one; and the proverb is but too often confirmed, that something always sticks, *semper aliquid hæret!* As it is seldom possible to bring newspaper writers to justice, and only in case of gross slanders and falsehoods, they constitute, in effect, a completely independent, unassailable power."—P. 302.

No one who has acquainted himself with the character of the newspaper press, especially of the party journals, will consider this wholly imaginary. It is an unquestionable fact, that the

press, at times, does immense evil, as well as immense good. In a popular government, it must necessarily wield great influence. The principle upon which public affairs are conducted is, that the people themselves are fully capable of deciding between conflicting systems of policy, and of pointing out, not only by whom they will be governed, but how that government shall be administered. All things pertaining to the state must therefore be discussed before the electors. Here is the arena where principles and personal character are involved in the conflict, and all the art and finesse of the combatants put forth to achieve a victory, the spoils of which are office, honors, and emoluments. In this contest, every mode of attack and defense, which promises to be of advantage, is too frequently employed without scruple. And the tribunal is composed of such a variety of character and cultivation, that everything becomes available, from solid, rational argument, declamation, and wit, down to the uttermost depths of reckless abuse and frenzied rhodomontade. Writers are easily found who will hesitate at nothing which promises to be of service, whether it be insane panegyric of their own party, or vile attack upon their opponents. He that reads one side only, and believes it all, deliberately writes himself a monomaniac.

How, then, can this gigantic evil be remedied, or, at least, confined to a smaller sphere of iniquity? To adopt the European plan, and institute a censorship, would not only be contrary to the spirit of our government, but would be, in itself, perfectly nugatory. All offices are either the gift of the majority or of the chosen men of the majority; consequently, the censor would be a mere party officer, and the hopeful plan would only result in adding a new wheel to party machinery, and a new manœuvre to party tactics. The only resort is to the good sense, the virtue, and the true patriotism of the community. The evil is not in those alone who conduct journals of this description. To charge the guilt to these exclusively, would be almost as great a blunder as to criminate the types and printing press. There are many partners in the base transaction. Those who conduct a reckless paper are but the guilty instruments of evil. They deal unfairly, because they find deception a marketable commodity. They prophesy falsely, because the people love to have it so. The deluge of lies poured out is a part of the stock in trade, virtually bought and paid for by those who patronize publications of this class. Let no infernal casuistry be employed in this matter. Let no one tolerate these mighty fountains of detraction; and at the same time lay the flattering unction to his soul that he does it innocently,

inasmuch as a whole party is benefited, while the sin rests only upon him who holds the pen.

As the matter now is, multitudes are frequently deluded, where they honestly look for information. A clique of office seekers, perhaps, concert measures to promote "the cause." If popular enthusiasm can be roused in their favor, the object is certainly attained. Therefore the people must be coaxed, and blarneyed, and deluded into the belief that some great principle is involved in the election of these demagogues, when, perhaps, the whole matter discussed is of no more real consequence than a suit between John Doe and Richard Roe in a moot court. A man is hired upon the express condition that he will advocate "the cause" strongly, that is, recklessly; and the party instrument goes into operation. The streams of falsehood and sophistry rush forth, and the multitudes crowd around as eagerly as did the perishing children of Israel around the rock in the wilderness. They are told that their own party leaders are immeasurably endowed with every virtue known to humanity, and they shout with ecstasy at the discovery. They are informed that their opponents are just the reverse of all this, and they wax indignant at the sight of such hypocritical knaves. Sometimes the demagogues are fearful that they will be discovered by their own party, and they therefore draw the attention of the people away from their own operations to a very important something in another direction; like the juggler who flourishes his dagger high in air before the eyes of astonished bumpkins, while he performs his trick with the other hand. But we need not further enlarge upon these things; every one knows that these schemes are not unpracticed by the party opposite to him.

With reference to books, M. Von Raumer remarks that the liberty of the press is more rarely abused; and he also remarks that works of real merit are liberally rewarded in this country. He pays some very high compliments to those Americans who have labored in his favorite department—declaring that "men like Bancroft, Prescott, and Sparks, have effected so much in this respect, that no living European historian can take precedence of them, but might rather feel proud and grateful to be admitted by them as a companion."

But it will be impossible for us to pursue further an analysis of the work before us, or discuss all our tourist's many conclusions touching our present condition, and his many speculations concerning the future. Suffice it to say, that the conclusions to which his researches and observations led him are eminently favorable to our government and our people. He has the utmost

confidence in our system of polity; and he believes that under the auspices of republicanism in America will be achieved those mighty advances which he thinks our race still destined to make. The essayic part of the work is concluded with the following fine remarks:—

"From that quarter in which the greatest power of a state resides, the greatest danger is also threatened; and this in America, without doubt, is democracy. This can lead from a noble self-respect to vain presumption, and from presumption to an insolent disregard of all law. The greater the privileges, and the greater the advancement of a people, the more they have at stake, and the more important do their duties become.

"The most healthy government can suddenly perish, the most rational may fall into madness, and the most sickly (like that of the Byzantines) may drag on for centuries a miserable existence. May judgment, moderation, self-control, and patriotism, exercise in time to come, as in times past, a powerful influence on the political course of America! May every one extend his views beyond the indispensable requirements of private morality, to discern what public morality and public wisdom are, and what they demand! May no rabble, seduced by flatterers into pernicious ways, ever lift up its head! And may zeal for dogmatic opinions never banish Christian toleration and love! Then the work which has now prospered for sixty years—and whose cause is the cause of honor, virtue, and humanity—will not degenerate or be brought to an untimely end; but the United States of America will press forward unceasingly, with redoubled spirit and exalted vigor, in the same glorious path which they have hitherto trod."—P. 409.

The last ninety pages of the five hundred that compose the work are "extracts from letters written during his tour." These convey the thoughts and impressions of the moment, and portray the lively emotions which the sight of new objects ever produces. There is more vivacity in these letters than we had anticipated from reading the preceding parts of the work. He changes from grave to gay with great facility, and occasionally gives a touch of genuine humor. By the way, when he recommends a more "liberal" mode of keeping the sabbath, it cannot be said that he preaches what he does not practice. To note his proceedings in his own style of laborious minuteness, we may remark, that about one-fourth of his letters were written upon the sabbath. He travels upon the sabbath as upon any other day. He goes to see sights, visits public places, dines out on the sabbath, discusses politics, manufactures, and trade, and entertains himself and the company with Shakspeare, and—not the musical glasses—but the Greek tragedians.

His most laborious sabbath appears to have been the ninth of June, which was spent by him in Baltimore. In the morning he went with an acquaintance to the Catholic Church for the express purpose of hearing the music; at least, this was the "chief object of his visit." The music proved tolerably good, although it would "hardly bear comparison with any European church music." His friend then accompanied him, at his own request, to an African church, where both slaves and free negroes congregated. M. Von Raumer saw, of course, a display of what he denominates fanaticism. The black preacher "spoke just as well (or ill) as the generality of white preachers." The voice of the speaker rose, and he "applied to his auditors descriptions of sin, death, the wrath of God, hell, the devil, and such like spiritual Spanish flies." Then an effect was produced upon the congregation which astonished our tourist beyond measure. The tumult rose to "shrieks and yells, as if every one of them was being murdered." One cried, "Holy, holy;" another shouted, "Bless me;" and one or two others indulged in certain extraordinary gymnastics, whereat the sage professor marveled greatly. The afternoon he spent at a German public house and bowling alley, a little way out of the city, where he and his companions talked politics, and adjusted the affairs of Europe and America. In the evening he again went to the negro church; but the performances, doubtless to his great chagrin, were not so tumultuous as they had been in the morning. The scene he saw "was such as he had never before witnessed in his life." But he opened his eyes, as well he might, when he was assured by the veracious "H." that this was a "slight beginning compared with the preachings and doings of the *white* Methodists!" Had this colored congregation been treated to a neat little moral essay, or a small section of German fog, and then had adjourned to the bowling alley with the professor, to spend the remainder of the day in revelry, it would have been, in his estimation, very liberal, very rational, very free from bigotry and fanaticism.

These letters, were it not for the infidelity everywhere expressed or implied, would be quite interesting and instructive. But this is the dead insect, the effluvium of which mingles in every breath. M. Von Raumer indeed talks of God; but his God is not the God of the Bible. He alludes to Christianity; but he means by that term a very different system from that which the apostles preached, and the martyrs of old believed. He does not object to religious services; but there must be no warning sinners with tears, as Paul warned them; no allusions to judgment to

come; and, above all things, no hints about the damnation of hell.

In fine, M. Von Raumer hopes everything from the American system of government, and from the freedom of inquiry and discussion enjoyed in this country. The nations are moving on in the grand march of progress; he looks upon America as the van of the mighty procession, and bids us not lose the post of honor. The following concluding remarks of the volume express the general impression made by his tour in this country:—

> "Although much still remains to be related, I must break off, and conclude this last American letter for want of time. I have here seen, heard, and learned more than in any equal portion of time in my life, so that I regard my journey as fully justified and abundantly rewarded. I shall always remember the United States, in spite of some little drawbacks, with feelings of interest, gratitude, and admiration." —P. 501.

A modification of this language will also express our conclusion with regard to the merits of the volume before us. It is in many respects an excellent one. With reference to political affairs, M. Von Raumer has enlightened and liberal views. He was desirous of seeing America as it is, and not as aristocratic minds would prove that it must be. He delights in all that is praiseworthy; and our civil defects minister no joy to him. He is mild in his animadversions on the evils which he is too candid to hide; and the book is temperate in its general tone. It imbodies a considerable amount of solid facts, and is well calculated for the purpose which the author had in view, the diffusion of information concerning America among those who were almost wholly unacquainted with our history, institutions, and present condition.

But while we would give our author all due credit for these excellences, we cannot give his work our unqualified approbation. There is an occasional want of accuracy in his statements; but that we had expected: he is strongly disposed to adopt a party badge; but that is not unpardonable. But there is one fault which we cannot so readily pass over, and which, in a Christian community, ought to place the ban of condemnation upon the work. This is his infidelity. All his ideas centre in the present. He is a perfect bigot to his own notions of liberality; his self-complacent lamentations over our fanaticism and bigotry are beyond endurance; and his attacks upon the religion of the Bible are the more dangerous from the cool, quiet self-sufficiency with which he makes them. To those who would acquaint themselves with America, there are opened other sources, at least as rich in

information, and which are, at the same time, untainted with the deadly poison which mingles in every stream that issues from this.

As far as we are able to judge, the translator, Mr. William W. Turner, has done his part well. The language is well chosen; and the general style is characterized by clearness and purity. Occasionally, the words which form the logical connectives of sentences are such as a close thinker would hardly employ; but this may have originated in the difficulties attendant on a translation from another language.

Hope, N. J., 1846.

Art. IV.—1. *A Greek-English Lexicon, based on the German Work of Francis Passow.* By Henry George Liddell, M. A., and Robert Scott, M. A. *With Corrections and Additions, and the Insertion, in Alphabetical Order, of the Proper Names occurring in the Principal Greek Authors,* by H. Drisler, M. A., *Adjunct Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, New-York.* Pp. 1705. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1846.

2. *A Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language, adapted to the Use of Colleges and Schools in the United States.* Third edition, greatly enlarged and improved, by John Pickering. Pp. 1456. Boston. 1846.

3. *A New Greek Lexicon, principally on the Plan of the Greek and German Lexicon of Schneider.* By James Donnegan, M. D. Revised and enlarged by R. B. Paton. Pp. 1413. Boston and New-York.

It is now exactly forty years since the first publication in Germany of Schneider's "Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch," the earliest Lexicon which boldly ventured to throw aside the Latin as the medium of teaching Greek, and to adopt instead the student's mother tongue. It has proved a fruitful parent—its issue, "magna diversaque Proles." Since that time, vernacular Greek Lexicons have swarmed upon scholars. Years have done the work of ages. *Before*, generations—*now*, but months pass between successive editions; and, to bring the matter to a climax, in the month of August last, within two days of each other, came forth from the rival presses of New-York and Boston the two greatest works of this kind that American scholarship has as yet produced—Professor Drisler's bearing date the 18th, Mr. Pickering's the 20th of August, 1846.

Now this fact is one of deeper import than at first sight appears. It is not merely the enlarged current of a more studious age—students the cause, and books the result. On the contrary, the books were the cause, and the students the consequence. What we mean to say is this, The substitution of the vernacular for the Latin is the secret of the change. It was like striking a new vein, or opening a fresh fountain. It was a change that at once popularized Greek studies, by enabling the student to look at them directly through the medium of his own tongue, instead of giving him a feeble and distorted reflection from what may well be called a dull mirror—the student's imperfect knowledge of the Latin. Latin spectacles once taken off, youthful eyes saw clearer, the mist was removed, and the young scholar soon learned both to understand and admire what before he only admired how any one could understand. Such we hold to be the giant step taken in the "Wörterbuch" of Schneider. Nor are we left to *argue* its advantages. Experience has *demonstrated* them. Latin has been driven from the field—the vernacular has gained an overwhelming victory—not, as usual in great changes, young reformers slowly winning their way against sturdy old conservations, as Hume tells us of Harvey's great discovery of the circulation of the blood, which no physician in Europe, over the age of fifty, ever acknowledged. *Here*, on the contrary, old experience first followed—even the octogenarian pedagogue was seen to drop his Hedericus, or Schrevelius, and take up his Schneider as if by natural instinct. Such is the alacrity with which man obeys where nature and good sense lead the way. Since that time, both instructors and learners, German and English at least, have luxuriated, we may say, in the comfort of Greek Lexicons in their own mother tongue. Nor (to return to the question again) was the boy's ignorance of Latin the only objection to its use. With all its stately beauties, Latin is still a "cast-iron tongue," inflexible and unaccommodating; pre-eminently unfit, therefore, to represent the infinite graces of the language of the muses. Grecian thoughts in Latin words have always seemed to us like precious gems taken in plaster—you have the form, but not the power. All which gave it grace, delicacy, and expression, are gone. Nor let the admirers of Cicero or Lucretius quarrel with us for this judgment. We learned it from those very authors whom they admire. Lucretius himself bemoans "egestatem linguæ," the poverty of the language to which he was condemned, while Cicero's pages actually "bristle" with Greek words, simply because his own tongue furnished him with no equivalents. Even the very banner word

of his favorite philosophy (ἐποχή) he was forced to borrow from its native fountain—being unable, as he himself acknowledges, to translate it. Such was the Latin as a medium of Greek thought, even in master hands, and in its palmiest days; what, then, must it now be in the hands of modern lexicographers? But still the benefit of this exchange is very far from equal to all modern tongues. Germany, unquestionably, has the best bargain, because its "vernacular" approaches the nearest to that of Greece in all its high and varied excellences. If not (as the Greeks boasted) *αὐτογενής*, "self-born"—it is at least *ὁμογενής*, "self-compounded." Its radicals are within itself, and therefore capable, like the Greek, of unlimited composition. This vast advantage, which it enjoys far beyond any modern tongue, fits it peculiarly to take the stamp of Grecian thought and art, while, with its infinitely diversified metres of both quantity and accent, it is obviously the only modern language which can even pretend to enter into rivalry with poets, "quibus," as the Roman Martial enviously complains,—

"Nil erat negatum
Et quos Ἄρες—Ἄρες decet sonare."

But we of Saxon race have at least the comfort of thinking that next to the German in this list stands the English, a language, which—with its double tongue, (Britannia bilinguis;) its Doric and its Attic dialects, affording synonyms of nicest distinction; its Saxon words of fresh vigor, and its Latin words of polished refinement—forms no contemptible rival even to its cousin German. Lowest in this scale comes the French tongue, which has been also latest to profit by the improvement, the antipodes of the Greek, both in freedom and harmony, in loftiness, as well as variety of expression: we have yet to learn what influence will be produced on its scholarship by the change. We cannot, we confess, augur well of a language which, in the hands of its master genius, brought forth a Henriade, as the nearest approach it could make to an Homeric Iliad.

But turning to our own western land, we too have taken hold of this new instrument; we too have laid our hand on the Grecian plough, and that not only with our characteristic zeal, but also with more than our characteristic success. The rapid advancement of not only American scholarship, but of high American contributions to Greek scholarship; and, above all, in the department of philology; is a fact as honorable to our scholars as it is unquestioned. In our wide, bustling, utilitarian land, it is a fact

perhaps as little known as cared for, but still it is one that begins to *tell* at home, and has already *told* sensibly abroad, in awakening respectful attention toward our country and its scholars. It is, in truth, a forward national impulse, just beginning to be generally felt; and one which, we doubt not, will, in the space of no very long time, (notwithstanding all our present deficiencies in libraries and learned endowments,) enable us to rival our German teachers, and perhaps outstrip our English ones.

Now this may sound very boastful—Anglice, American-like—but we speak it in no such spirit, but simply in a reasonable estimate of the future by the past, and of admitted causes, now actually in operation. In the first place, the American market for such works is growing, and must continue to grow, with a rapidity that distances all European competition. The recompense to scholarship will consequently advance in the same proportion, and thus call forth, as well as reward, the talent and industry needful for it. If learning be a marketable and profitable commodity, we may rest assured our country will not be backward in furnishing it. Under such patronage, too, libraries will spring up, giving to the scholar the needful books and endowments, affording to him the needful leisure. These both are the legitimate offspring of that love which comes from knowledge, when married to that wealth which comes from industry. Now of such fair progeny, in future time, we want no better proof than that afforded by the learned works whose titles we have given, in one of which, at least, all their elements prominently appear, namely, a generous love for that noble language in which Homer sung and Plato reasoned, turning into a laborious lexicographer one whom leisure, fortune, and taste seemed to have marked out as the patron of others' labors, rather than himself the drudge. But with the late Mr. Pickering, (alas that we must thus write him!) as with all true lovers, entire affection scorned meaner hands, and he himself became an humble laborer; for more than thirty years (the work having been begun in 1814, and but completed in 1846) an humble and patient, yet skillful, laborer in building for others' use the fair temple of American scholarship. Now this we say is a spirit of love and zeal, growing and spreading in our land. It is sowing the good seed broadcast over it, and out of it will come forth, at no distant day, a golden harvest—libraries for the scholars, and scholars for the libraries—learned endowments to give leisure, and worthy men to employ it aright. One further national characteristic, of which American scholarship already reaps the advantage, is the intermixture in it of German with

Saxon blood, adding, in our judgment, a new element of power to the classical scholar, and a new guaranty of success to his labors, and that more especially in the department now before us, of philological learning. How far this element has already contributed to the rank and reputation of American scholarship it is not for us to say; suffice it, it is well known as no foreign element in our highest names, nor a small ingredient in the merits of the first-named and greatest of the three Lexicons before us.

But to turn to that volume, the first-named in our list, our first thought of wonder on opening such a work is, how any human patience could stand the drudgery of its preparation, its seventeen hundred close-printed pages, and seventeen thousand articles, and perhaps one hundred thousand cited authorities. But the true solution quickly suggests itself—that no one man's industry or scholarship has effected it—that it has been, in truth, the product of a thousand minds and a thousand years—and that no one editor, however learned or laborious, can claim more than a very small fractional part of the whole merit. It has been a cumulative work, growing by slow accretion, even from the days of the Alexandrian critics; and he who has done most toward its completion has still but added his *one stone*, or cleared up the rubbish in *one little corner*. Such is the history of the Greek Lexicon of the present day, by whomsoever edited—its age runs back to the age of the Ptolemies. Still, however, there are special merits among lexicographers, and some of a higher order—such as from time to time break forth, throwing light on the true plan and principle of such a work, and adding, at once, largely and definitely to its practical value.

Before entering pointedly on the comparative merits of the works before us, it may be interesting to trace, succinctly, the rise and general progress of that on which they all rest.

When we look for the roots, and the beginning of the Greek Lexicons, we are carried back, as already observed, to the Alexandrian age, some two hundred and fifty years before Christ; the earliest grammatical, the latest literary age of Greece. We there find, not Lexicons, indeed, but the seed of Lexicons—*λέξεις*, collections of special words; and *γλῶσσαι*, glossaries of obsolete ones—sometimes confined to the examination of single authors, as *Ὁμηρικαί*, *Πλατωνικαί*, &c. Again, extending to classes, or styles of writing, as *νομικαί*, *ῥητορικαί*, &c.; but as yet nothing that can be regarded as a dictionary of the tongue. They who spoke the language needed no such work; and for barbarians the

Greeks labored not. The first step of enlargement beyond this narrow plan appears to have been taken somewhere in the third century of the Christian era, and first by one Diogenianus, an obscure grammarian, who combined several of the above into one: consolidated again by Pollux in his *Ὀνομαστικόν*, and still further enlarged in the celebrated compilations of Hesychius, and subsequently in those of the learned and virtuous Photius. The collections, again, of an unknown author, bearing the title of *τὸ μέγα ἐτυμολογικόν*, in the tenth century, and the so-called Dictionary of Suidas in the eleventh, with his critical and biographical notices, added fresh materials to the stock: until, at length, somewhere about the beginning of the fifteenth century, the more modern form was given to the work by arranging it in a *Greek and Latin Dictionary*. This was first done by one Joannes Crastonus, a Carmelite friar of Piacenza—and his lead was soon followed by several others. But we should much deceive ourselves if we were to identify this, or any other of the middle age Lexicons, with those of modern times; more especially with those of our own century. So long as these works were prepared by Greeks for Greeks, they comprehended only words of the less familiar anomalous parts of the language. The difficulties experienced by a foreigner in learning Greek, were no difficulties to them, and, therefore, were not explained nor included. With the fall of the Greek empire, (1453,) in fact, came the rise of critical learning; with the extinction of the language as a living tongue came the birth of that new science which was to teach it. Greek was first to be viewed and handled as something dead, before anatomy and analysis could do their office. Nor was it to be expected that such analytic science should be at once either complete or exact. It was, in truth, a matter of degrees, and a question of progress. Its early results were, therefore, rather "vocabularies" than "dictionaries," being without plan, without method, without order, and without authorities—"rudis, indigestaque moles." These grievous defects were first partially remedied in the Commentaries of Budaeus, the great restorer of classical learning in France; but soon fallen back into again in those put forth by Camerarius. The Lexicon of Constantine, also a Frenchman, (1564,) took a new step of advance by introducing the alphabetic arrangement of words; and eight years afterward, namely, 1572, that most learned of printers, and prince of Gallic scholars, Henricus Stephanus, (*Anglice*, Henry Stephens—*French*, Henri Etienne,) brought to completion his great Greek Thesaurus, the glory or the envy of his own age, and the admiration and storehouse of

each succeeding one. Looked at, however, as a Lexicon, and under the lights of a deeper philosophy than in his day was applied to language—the Thesaurus of Stephens must be held to be a mistake—a splendid one, we admit; but still a mistake in lexicography, of which assertion no further proof can well be needed than that afforded by the equally splendid failure of its recent English republication. It was not a true foundation to build upon. As its name imports, it was a Thesaurus, and not a Lexicon; and nothing short of a radical change could make it one. But still, even as it was, it had not in its republication a fair chance. Neither Valpy nor Barker had talents, or, it may be, learning for the task. The one certainly wanted skill; the other, perhaps, honesty in its fair execution; and their work fell still-born from the press—a monster, wanting reason: the age spurned it, and has already passed it by, so that it now stands like some huge boulder rolled out of place—useless where it lies, and only serving to mark the features of bygone days. The scholar often praises it, but seldom consults it; the student may have it on his shelves, but rarely, or never, opens it; nor, if he did, would he readily find what he looked for; nor if by chance found, could he depend with certainty upon its information. What will be the fate of the Paris edition of this great work, its republication in its native land, is yet to be seen. Under its higher auspices, it may not be a failure; but yet it is risking little to say, it will be, if Stephens's plan be adhered to, of no great benefit. As a Lexicon, it will be antiquated before it is completed; and German lexicography will prove, in the end, too strong even for French nationality.

But this brings us to the fountain head of our modern Lexicons, at least up to the present century, a new start made on a new track. The well-known Schrevelius, in 1654, first gave to the Greek Dictionary its modern form and arrangement—the alphabetical order of words—their etymology, various meanings, and dialectic variety, together with the leading inflexions of verbs and cases of nouns. On this model, most that follow have been based. It was enlarged in England by Hill; in France, by Vauvilliers and Lecluse; and in Germany, by Kritsch: and upon this special basis has come out, in our own country, repeated editions, in a greatly improved form, of the second-named Lexicon in our initial list, namely, that of Pickering.

But meanwhile, in Germany, a new and higher school of Greek learning was arising, bringing philosophy to bear on the analysis

of the language, and common sense on the best method of teaching it. Casting off ancient shackles, the question of a Greek Lexicon was taken up as a new question,—First, for what ends it was wanted; and, second, by what means these ends were to be attained. It was the opening up of this "ideal" of a Greek Lexicon that constituted, amid many defects of execution, the chief merit of the "Woerterbuch" of Schneider, whose second and improved edition came out in 1805, and third and last in 1819; and it has been by keeping strictly in view the same "Ideal" that all subsequent advances in it have taken place. In the same year with Schneider's last edition, came out Passow's first—taking a large step in advance—a second and third followed rapidly in 1825 and 1827; and a fourth and last in 1831, in which, dropping the name of Schneider, Passow carried out so fully these philosophic principles, as to leave little to those who have come after him—save to give greater accuracy and fullness to the executive part of his work. This has been done, with scholarlike ability in England, by Liddell and Scott, both of the university of Oxford, and in our own country, in the present year, by Professor Drisler, of Columbia College, New-York. We mention these two Lexicons, specifically, not as denying merit to others, but as being based, professedly and carefully, on the above work of Francis Passow, recognizing all his principles, and carrying out all his plan. Now, in this we think these editors have shown their wisdom; and we cannot, even apart from examination, but anticipate a vast difference in the value of modern Lexicons, according to the differing works they have chosen for their foundation; for in this, as in most other things, *ἀρχὴ τὸ ἥμισυ*.

But it may be asked, What are these boasted principles of ideal perfection thus authoritatively demanded in a Lexicon? We answer, They are such as spring from its uses, and are the demands of reason sitting in judgment on them. It asks but little philosophy to see and acknowledge what they are. They may be stated as follows, and we do state them the more formally as affording convenient tests by which to try the comparative merits of the rival Lexicons now before us. What reason demands, then, is this:—

1. That a Lexicon be a full, exact, and complete vocabulary of the language, containing, as far as may be, all that a student wants to know touching the word sought.

2. That it be, withal, compendious—giving the results of learning, not its processes—conclusions, not dissertations; in order

that the student's time be not wasted on that which he does not want.

3. That it be alphabetical in order, and single in its arrangement, that the student may turn to the word at once and with certainty, not hunting for it under its radical, nor doubtful in which of two alphabetical lists he is to find it.

4. That the explanation of words be in the student's vernacular tongue—with us, a "Greek and English," not "Greek and Latin Dictionary." In this, at least, all now agree.

5. That no generic meaning of a word be given without its distinct authority annexed—that the student may verify it if he will, and also such authorities classified, in order that the student may rightly estimate their relative value.

6. That the various generic meanings of a word be *numerically* arranged under it—made clear both to the eye and understanding, and following in a natural order, so that each word may be said to give (in the words of Passow) "its own history."

What constitutes *natural* order may, indeed, be made a question. Two choices are open, though differing more in terms than reality. 1. *The historical*, which begins with the Homeric and Hesiodic use—thence passes on to lyric or Ionic prose—thence to dramatic and Attic meaning, and concludes with the κοινὴ διάλεκτος of the Alexandrian and later age. This is one principle; or, 2. The philosophic order—beginning with the *literal* meaning of the word as its primitive, and proceeding, step by step, through all its transitive and metaphoric mutations. In either case, we would have, what most Lexicons want, "lucidus ordo." In the one case, a philosophic analysis of the word; in the other, its veritable history. As between these two, the latter is undoubtedly the true choice; the analytic is to be resorted to only when historic authorities fail.

Now if the above be conditions which reason demands to constitute a perfect Lexicon, they constitute, also, as evidently the true tests by which the comparative merits of any Lexicon may be tried. Let us so apply them to the three chief Lexicons now in the American market, between which scholars and teachers are called on to choose; and which choice it is well they should learn to make on reasonable grounds.

1. As to the question of fullness and completeness as a Greek vocabulary, so far as the "prima facie" evidence goes, of the number of articles, it is a comparison easily settled; and is, by all odds, in favor of Professor Drisler's. As to their comparative

accuracy, that is also an all-important element; but one not to be dogmatically settled by the casual examination of a reviewer. All we would say is, that no one can read Professor Drisler's modest account of his own devoted personal labor, (vide Preface,) without having awakened both respect for the untiring scholar and confidence in his faithful work.

2. Touching "compendiousness," that is, exclusion of all needless parade of learning, whether critical or speculative, no fault is to be found with any: the age has gone by that would bear it in such a practical work as a Lexicon. It was the millstone that sunk Valpy's Thesaurus, and will again swamp any work that falls into similar pedantry.

3. Alphabetic arrangement. This is also a common feature, now definitely settled in all Lexicons by manifest economy of time, labor, and thought; an arrangement necessary for the young student, and convenient for all, and therefore not likely to be again given up for any theoretic argument, however imposing, of radicals with their derivatives. The simplicity of use overrides all argument.

4. The same may also be said of vernacular interpretation—nature has settled this. English, married to Greek, is a union henceforth not to be broken.

5. Authorities given for each distinct meaning, and such authorities classified. To effect this was one of the special improvements, planned by Passow, and, to a fair degree, reached by him, namely, to give for every meaning the appropriate authority of some classic author, instead of that of the lexicographer, and, in so doing, carefully to discriminate (what his predecessors had huddled together) Ionic from Attic, and both from Alexandrian sanction—epic from lyric, and lyric from dramatic usage. Now it is easy to see, independent of actual comparison, the advantage, in this particular, that must be possessed by a Lexicon directly grafted on Passow—who made this a leading principle, over others based upon works that neither valued nor sought it—such as Hedericus, Schrevelius, and others. Nor, as before observed, can any subsequent care of editors altogether supply a radical want in the original stock on which they engraft their labors. Under this test the Lexicon of Professor Drisler ranks, unquestionably, first; that of Pickering follows, Patton's Donnegan's, though, in parts, very studiously modeled after Passow, yet unquestionably lowest. We give a case, taken at random, for illustration, therefore, rather than proof:—

DONNEGAN.	PICKERING.	DRISLER.
Ἀπεύχομαι, *fut.*, ξομαι 1. *aor.* ἀπηυξάμην, to pray or wish that something may not happen, to deprecate; to pray against, to execrate; to abhor, to detest, to accurse. Th., ἀπὸ, εὔχομαι.	Ἀπεύχομαι, *fut.*, ξομαι, to deprecate, abhor, detest. Eurip. Hipp., 895; Aristoph. Thes., 721.	Ἀπεύχομαι, *fut.*, ξομαι, (ἀπό, εὔχομαι,) dep. mid., to wish away, to deprecate a thing, wish that it may not happen, τι. Eur. Hipp., 801, ubi v. Monk; ἀπ. τι τοῖς θεοῖς, to pray the gods it may not be, Plat. Legg., 687, D.; ἀπ τι μὴ γενέσθαι, Dem., also without μή, Id., 480, 15.—II. to reject, despise, τι, Aesch. Eum., 608.

Taking the above word as a sample, we see in Donnegan a crowd of meanings, but no one authority. In Pickering, one of its true meanings omitted, "*to reject*," and his two authorities, *un*discriminated. In Drisler, we have four authorities cited in connection with their respective meanings; and one (from Aeschylus) exhibiting a meaning of the word not given by either of the other two.

6. We now come to our last and highest test, namely, the arrangement of the various meanings, together with their authorities, according to some clear natural law—one that shall throw light on the history and uses of the word—showing its origin, tracing its growth and changes, and thus giving sequence and order, and, consequently, clearness and force, besides furnishing the strongest links to memory, to what, without it, would be, more especially to the young, inextricable confusion. This we hold to be the true "ideal" of what a Lexicon should be, and the greatest merit of modern German lexicography. It has turned etymology into a science, elevated philology into philosophy, and associated it with all the higher studies of the intellect. In this improvement, all acknowledge Passow's work to have taken the lead, and given the model. His Lexicon was, in truth, an *era*—it brought order out of confusion, and by making each word its own history, made the sum total of the words the true history of the language. Under this light, the expanding stream of Grecian terminology assumes a new character, opens to our view like the course of some mighty river; first, we have it in its pure Homeric fountains, pouring forth fresh waters from their full urn—then in its sparkling lyric streams—then in its deeper philosophic flow—then in its Eolic and Doric branches, with their *colored* waters—then in its tragic tears and stateliness—until, at length, all unite and merge in the broad and equal current of an undistinguished

stream—*κοινὴ διάλεκτος*—the common mind of Greece. In such aspect does this improvement present itself—as the *crowning* excellence of a Greek Lexicon—THE test by which every new effort of scholarship is to be tried. How far it has been attained by any, may be a question; there can be none that, in proportion to its attainment, truth, beauty, and clearness, must be its results. It is, in truth, the very *κόσμος* of its own high philosophy—it is "order," "beauty," "design," given to the unformed *χάος*—the *ὕλη πρώτη* of the mere plodding lexicographer; and as it is a high element, so to give it requires a mind of no ordinary powers, at once philosophic and learned. Now such mind Schrevelius had not, with his "unweeded garden;" nor Schneider, with his one-sided learning; nor Donnegan, with his unfaithfulness; nor Dunbar, with his Scottish, unmethodical scholarship. Oxford scholars were the first to appreciate and nationalize this idea in England; and in following them, Professor Drisler has consequently the merit of first engrafting it fully on American scholarship. In this, as well as most other points, he enjoys the advantage of having taken a superior basis for his own editorial labors. As before, so here, we take a word, "ad aperturam libri."

DONNEGAN.	PICKERING.	DRISLER.
Διαφορά ᾶς ἡ, difference, dissension, debate, controversy, profit; advantage, subst. of διαφέρω.	Διαφορά, ᾶς ἡ, a difference, diversity; contention, enmity, dissension, discord, a quarrel; εἰ καὶ μητρὶ διαφορὰν ἔχει, though he has a quarrel with their mother. Eurip. Med., 74, *in logic*, the specific difference. Fr. διαφέρω.	Διαφορά, ᾶς ἡ, (διαφέρω,) *difference, distinction.* Thuc. 3, 10, etc. 2. *difference, variance, disagreement.* Hdt. i, 1; also in plur,. τὰς διαφορὰς διαιρέειν, καταλαμβάνειν, *to settle differences*, Hdt. 4, 23, 7, 9, 2; and so Thuc.—II. *distinction, superiority, excellence*, Plat. Tim. 23, A. Hence—III., *advantage, interest, profit*, and so,—2, *money*, v. διαφέρω II. διάφορος III.

Here, again, in Donnegan, we have a jumble of meanings without order, and without one authority cited. In Pickering, but *one* reference to many meanings, and one of those meanings needless, the "*specific* difference" being, in truth, the *real* difference, that is, "quo ad rem," and, therefore, included under the first meaning given; two distinct meanings of the word are again omitted, namely, "*superiority*" and "*profit*," with its secondary transitive, "*money*." Now all these Professor Drisler gives both distinctly, and in their natural sequence.

We take another chance opening:—

DONNEGAN.	PICKERING.	DRISLER.
Μνηστεύω, fut., σω and ηστέω, to seek in marriage for another; to woo, to court, Theoc. xviii, 16, to bring about a marriage, Plat. leg. vi, Callim. iii, 265, to betroth Apollod.—*met.*, to sue for, to prosecute a suit, to bring about, or procure. Μνηστεύομαι, mid., to solicit in marriage for oneself, to woo, to court; *met.*, to prosecute a suit, to solicit, to bring about, conciliate, or procure. Plut. in Caes. Th. μνάομαι.	Μνηστεύω, fut. εύσω, 1. a. ἐμνήστευσα, to sue for in marriage, to be a suitor. Eurip. Alc., 736; to be a match maker, or go between, to aspire to, to desire or seek for; to betroth one to another, Id. Elec., 313, acc. and dat.; mid. to woo for oneself, to court; to prosecute a suit, pass., μνηστεύομαι, to be asked in marriage; μνηστεύειν γάμον, to contract a marriage, Platt. Legg., vi, 773, B; pf. pass., μεμνήστευμαι, 1 a. pass., ἐμνηστεύθην, part. μνηστευθείς. Fr. μνηστής.	Μνηστεύω=μνάομαι, to woo, court, seek in marriage, c. acc., γυναῖκα, θύγατρα, Od. 18, 276; Hes. Fr. 73; ἐμνήστευσε τὴν γυναῖκα ἀναλαβεῖν, Xen. Hell., 6, 4, 37. μν. γάμον, Eur. I. A. 847; Plat. Legg. 773, B.; to woo and win, espouse, Theog., 1108; Theoc., 18, 6.—2, later in Act., to ask in marriage for another; and in mid., to woo for oneself—both in Apollod.—II., to promise in marriage, betroth, τὴν θυγατέρα τινί, Eur. El., 313, so γάμον μνηστεύειν τινί, to bring about a marriage for another, help him to a wife, Ap. Rh., 2, 511. —III. generally to sue or canvass for a thing, c. acc. χειροτονίαν, Isoc., 162, A.

On this word, all three Lexicons are full; but still "cum differentia." Donnegan, with slovenly carelessness, repeats twice over the same *four* words and meanings, namely, *woo*, *court*, *bring about*, and *prosecute a suit*, besides carelessly beginning with a meaning evidently "derivative," namely, *for another*—his authorities few, and beginning with the very latest age—*Theocritus*. Pickering is better; but still altogether wanting both in analytic and historic arrangement: but *two* authorities are given, namely, Euripides and Plato, and the later generic meaning of the word altogether omitted. In Drisler, on the contrary, we have, first, the threefold power of the word clearly discriminated to the eye—1. *To woo;* 2. *To betroth;* 3. *To canvass*. Then we have *nine* distinct authorities for its use, in place of the *two* of Pickering and *four* of Donnegan; and, lastly, we have those authorities following in historic order, beginning with Homer and Hesiod, and coming down to Isocrates and Apollonius Rhodius.

But we have done with extracts. Doubtless, *by searching*, the balance might be made to look more even. All we can say is, that the above examples have been taken at random, and present,

we think, a fair sample of the whole. If any doubt it, let them examine as fairly as we have done, and simply set down the result.

Among our own special grounds of preference, no one point weighs more with us than the peculiar prominence given by Passow, and those who have followed him, to the Homeric fountains of the Greek vocabulary. From our schoolboy days it has been our feeling, that not only were the Greeks a "Homeric people," but their language also a "Homeric tongue." Homer, "shade of a name" though he be, yet stands forth the representative of a power and a spirit to which, in the after ages of Greece, there was nothing similar and nothing second—at once the inventer and perfecter of its poetic mind, its poetic melodies, and its poetic language. To carry out this view was again our earliest experiment in education, and *that* years before Passow came out with his first essay. Our scheme was—throwing aside the Latin as a medium, in the case of a quick-minded and warm-hearted boy of some ten years of age—to cast him at once, as it were, into the ocean of Homer's greatness, to familiarize his ear to his noble rhythm, his heart to his tender thoughts, his imagination to his soul-stirring pictures, and his memory to his words; and only when thoroughly imbued with Homeric lore and love, to permit him to sail down the less pure stream; and we were satisfied with the experiment. Our present critical judgment on this point is not, therefore, one of hasty growth or partial friendship. We but hail in Professor Drisler, and in the principles he maintains, the learned and successful advocate of opinions that have "grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength."

Before closing, we would look a little more directly into Professor Drisler's specific merits in this edition. The modesty with which he speaks of himself and his labors demands it from us. In this cumulative work he has at least added his "grain" to the "heap." His diligence has gathered somewhat that had been omitted by former editors. This is seen in the new articles added. His care has corrected somewhat that was left faulty. Hundreds of amended references attest his critical exactness, while his personal (*Preface*, p. xii) superintendence of the press has given to all a stamp of confidence which no ordinary proof-reader could give. His list of authorities consulted, has exhausted almost our patience to read—we are quite sure it would altogether do that of *our* readers—we therefore omit it. And, to crown the proof of untiring diligence, all this labor he has gone through, in addition to "his public duties in college and school, occupying six hours

of every day, apart from the necessary private preparation for those duties."—*Preface*, p. v.

But the one point on which he has ventured furthest on his own judgment, is the introduction into the *body* of the work of what is generally either omitted or given in an *Appendix*, under a separate alphabetic arrangement—we mean, the "proper names" of Greece —thus giving to his Lexicon somewhat of the use and value of a "classical dictionary." Now, as this is its most peculiar feature, (though not altogether without authority, Papé having somewhat carried out the same idea,) it demands from a reviewer a more special consideration. It is clearly a question that admits of two sides, as well as involves two distinct considerations: 1. How such arrangement *tells* on the practical convenience of the student; and, 2. How it accords with the appropriate and distinctive character of a dictionary of the language.

To the first question, at least, the answer is clear. It is obviously a manifest improvement, and was dictated by the editor's long practical experience. It simplifies the student's work, economizes both his time and labor, and saves him, moreover, many a disappointment (still rankling in *our* schoolboy remembrance) of hunting vainly in one list of our Hedericus, for what was to be found only in the other. Looked at in this light, (and this is its *true*, because its *practical*, light,) the editor may securely rest his justification on the united thanks of both scholar and teacher.

But as a question of high scholarship and philosophic arrangement, (the "ideal" of a Lexicon,) the decision is not so clear, or, rather, not so obvious; the *words of the language*, it may plausibly be urged, and *the facts of its history*, are things essentially different, each—ἄλλο γένος—demanding its own place and distinct alphabetic arrangement. But, in reply, we would ask: 1. As to the possibility of such separation, Can such line be strictly drawn? Can all the proper names of Greece be struck out, and yet carry nothing away with them of the language itself? Have we cut off nothing from the tongue of the people when we have cut off all those words which were at once deepest in their heart and oftenest on their tongue? their gods, their heroes, their poets, and their philosophers? let alone those names which must have been ever in their mouths—names of races, nations, places, tribes, mountains, rivers, cities? Suffice it to say, such strict rule of exclusion no lexicographer has ever ventured to carry out. The law then broken, the practice becomes a question of expediency, and, as such, is to be ruled by the convenience of the student, and settled, as here it is, by the authority of plain, practical men. But to

probe this question a little deeper,—Are such critics, we ask, sure that "proper names" are not also "common names," and, therefore, words of meaning in the language? Has it never occurred to them that the names of gods, and heroes, and mountains, and streams, *may* be, nay, *must* be, remnants of the earliest tongue spoken by a people, and therefore not only words, but invaluable words, to the philologist and grammarian, as monuments of what the language once was, like "boulders" on some wide plain, marking the "wave course" from the mountains, or like "organic remains" to the geologist—the only veritable records that tell us of a world of words past away? We recommend these questions to such purists. To us, we confess, their answer seems a clear one. The historic names of every country are part of the primitive tongue of that country, and to the philosopher the most valuable part, because the most ancient, that part which links on to still older tongues. The heroic names of Homer are older, obviously, than the language of Homer. Whatever antiquity we assign to the poet or the poem, the heroes they celebrate are of still earlier date, and their names were familiar as household words when half of Homer's words were as yet uncoined. Nor let any one say, "They are but names of fiction." Not so; whatever be thought of their exploits, their names, at least, are genuine. The poet of a rude age may forge adventures, but not his hero. Him he must take, ready made, from the hearts, and tongues, and rude minstrelsy of the people whom he addresses, otherwise he would have no auditors. For ourselves, we could as soon doubt of our own personal existence as that of *Ἀγαμέμνων, ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν, Ὀδυσσεὺς πολύμητις—Ἀχιλλεὺς ὠκὺς πόδας*, or any other hero of the Iliad or Odyssey. These names are not of Homer's creation, nor, in truth, Homer's words. He received them, ready coined and stamped, from those of whom he so often speaks—*οἱ πρόσθεν ἀοιδοί*—"the minstrels before him," as they had received them from their fathers—consecrated names—the sole remnant of Priam's fated kingdom—such are *living* words. When town and tower come down, then *names* stand, the truest monument of those who bore them, "ære perennius."

But of this enough. If philosophy thus justifies what expediency had already demanded, the introduction of these names, there can be little doubt as to the verdict that will be rendered on this "quasi" original improvement in the Lexicon of Professor Drisler.

To one more point of this Lexicon, before closing, we turn attention, though to some it may appear a trifle. It bears the de-

cided stamp of a *Christian* editor. Holy names are in it, marked with appropriate reverence. Capitals attest the faith of him who uses them—witness Χριστός, Λόγος, &c. Touching this last word, we would add, that its spiritual or religious meaning, given but by the Oxford editors as a distinct meaning of the word, (III. Ὁ Λόγος, God the Word,) is as creditable to their scholarship as it is to their piety; for in such peculiar sense the word must be understood in Platonic, as well as Christian teaching. (Vide *Plat. Cont. Atheos, passim.*) Now this Christian character, however casual its exhibition can be in a Lexicon, we yet hold to be all-important even there, and will be, we think, highly operative ("ceteris paribus") in determining a choice. It is removing from classical studies one slur and one popular objection. It is laying the foundation for the Christian teaching of heathen authors. It goes to sanctify their perusal. It is, at least, keeping the banner of Christ "flying" over them; and the student walks unharmed so long as he sees that open recognition of his faith. We are much deceived if this little incidental trait in Professor Drisler's Lexicon (one wholly wanting where we should have expected to find it, in Professor Patton's Donnegan) do not tell powerfully with the American public in determining a preference. The time has gone by, we trust, never to return, when classical studies might stand divorced from the Christian faith.

We close with but one word of mere personal bearing. In the title-page of this work of learned and laborious diligence we hail, for the first time, the open appearance, before the public, of one long known in this his native city, as an unpretending scholar, working his way to the temple of fame, silently, patiently, yet, we think, surely, under the wise guidance of one already there established. He is now at length "déterré." His name is known by scholars, and will not soon, in his sphere, be forgotten. He is now fully entered on the "course," and in patient industry, minute accuracy, and conscientious fidelity, has at once placed himself among the favorites of the field. But among his deeper merits, is that evidently of an humble mind and a grateful heart. His debt of gratitude to Professor Anthon he acknowledges at large in his Preface, and so beautifully in his Dedication, that we are tempted to transfer it to our pages:—

"To Charles Anthon, LL.D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, this volume is most respectfully dedicated as a token of admiration for distinguished abilities zealously and successfully devoted to the elevation of classical learning in our country; a tribute of gratitude for instruction received in earlier years;

and a memorial of friendship which, commencing in the relation of professor and student, has existed unbroken during many years of almost daily intercourse, by his pupil and friend,

"THE EDITOR."

In conclusion, we have one little matter to quarrel with, though but a point of taste. We abominate in such a work all stars, * *, parentheses, ( ), brackets, [ ], and obelisks, † ‡. It is, doubtless, a schoolboy prejudice, but still a well-founded one. They distract and puzzle the young student, have little or nothing to do with the scholar's needs, and lie only between the editor and his critics. In a future edition we counsel their omission. They have sprung, we know, from scholar-like modesty, not to claim another's merits, and not to mislead by unacknowledged authority. But by the time a new edition is called for, the editor's name, we doubt not, will give authority, so that the words added by him may be permitted to stand on their own merits, and when his *third* edition shall come forth, he may safely follow the example of his predecessors; and as Passow did by Schneider, and Liddell and Scott by Passow, so, too, may Professor Drisler slip his *leading strings*, and let his *own* name take its merited position on his *own* title-page. M.

ART. V.—*A Treatise on Algebra, containing the latest Improvements. Adapted to the Use of Schools and Colleges.* By CHARLES W. HACKLEY, S. T. D., Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in Columbia College, New-York. Harper & Brothers. 1846.

WHAT a stupendous achievement of the human intellect is the science of mathematics! From Thales, Pythagoras, and Euclid, what a magnificent advance! From small beginnings, from the most simple intuitions, have arisen the most complicated reasonings. And such is the nature of the science, that every mathematician reads the history of its growth in the history of his own intellectual development. If he ends with La Place, he must begin with Thales. The simple intuitions can never be laid aside. They are the everlasting starting-points of mathematical thought—the authority of the profoundest and most remote deductions.

The value of this science, of course, is not questioned, and yet we fear is not, generally, adequately realized. We call it a sublime study, a discipline of the mind in exact reasoning, the indispensable organon of various other and lofty sciences; and still we are

prone, mentally, to reserve that it may be dispensed with in certain forms of finished education, and that an intense devotion to it, or even very respectable attainments in it, are rather incongruous to a refined, elegant, and classical cultivation. With all its greatness it is, nevertheless, dry; and, although it leads to the comprehension of realities, it is too abstract and formal for minds that dwell amid the beautiful, or expatiate in the ideal fields of the imagination. The same, indeed, is said of philosophy in general; and many are the instances which are adduced to prove the withering influence of mathematical and philosophical abstraction over the finer powers of the mind. We have solitary and dreary chambers from whence the cheerful face of nature, the pleasant sunlight, and all sweet and familiar sounds, are shut out; we have a stern separation from social life, and everlasting absorption in diagrams and symbols, as the imagery of this self-immolation. Men of one idea are made to haunt our thoughts, whose very visages appear triangular, and whose bodies seem compressed into cubes. And then, even on the fields of severe reasoning, exceptions are taken, because, forsooth, the habit of reasoning with infallible certainty unfits the mind for reasoning where only probability is attainable.

Men of one idea are found everywhere, and wherever found are men of one idea. The everlasting politicians, political economists, poets, and fidlers, are abortions of men, no less than the everlasting mathematicians. We need a nobler standard of mental discipline. We need to remember that the same Milton who wrote Paradise Lost, wrote politics, divinity, and logic; that Dante was a soldier and a statesman as well as a poet; that Michael Angelo united in himself the painter, the sculptor, the poet, and the mechanician; that Schiller and Coleridge were great in philosophy as well as in verse. Where have we gained this doctrine, that the powers which God has made to coexist in the same mind, cannot be cultivated together; and that the knowledges which coexist in the universe of thought with beauty and melody, cannot be grasped by the human mind without destroying beauty and melody? The mathematics we believe to be indispensable to a thorough and right noble discipline of the mind in the intellectual functions, and not unworthy of consideration in the discipline of the æsthetical. The Greeks, in giving names, gave definitions and expounded uses. Well, therefore, did they call this science *τὰ μαθήματα*, which, adequately translated, would be something like this,—*knowledges which beget the power and habit of knowing.*

As a discipline of the attention, it is pre-eminent. The mathematics demand and hold the attention through long-continued, diffi-

cult, and most exact processes of reasoning, where the truth is presented with the sharpest and most delicate edge. Here wandering thought is impossible—here the mind must concentrate its intelligential force. If the superiority of Newton, according to the remark he is said to have made of himself, consisted in the power of long-protracted and energetic attention, we are at no loss respecting the studies by which that power was perfected.

The remark to which we have alluded, respecting the unfitness of a strictly mathematical discipline to subjects where the calculation of probabilities forms the main element of the reasoning process, while it may be justly questioned in itself, since even the calculation of probabilities often demands to be subjected to the mathematical organon, and perhaps is never wholly independent of it, is a remark which appears quite irrelevant, when we consider the nature of mathematical reasoning in general. The process here is strictly a process of deduction from first principles intuitively perceived; a deduction made by a most rigorous adhesion to the syllogism: in other words, it is the purest and most lucid deduction possible. Now we cannot conceive how the most perfect reasoning of this kind can unfit the mind for deductive processes on other subjects. On any subject, the value of our deductions must consist in their clearness and truthfulness—in their syllogistic accuracy. Mathematical discipline, therefore, by begetting this accuracy in a pre-eminent degree, is the discipline to be sought for above all others. We shall look about in vain for any substitute for geometry in enabling us both to comprehend the nature of deduction, and to perform its processes with rapidity and unerring skill.

When reasoning on subjects into which probabilities enter largely, there are other processes besides deduction. There is minute and accurate observation; there is a comparison of phenomena for the purpose of combining the like, and eliminating the unlike; there is the inductive process; and deduction may enter only occasionally into particular parts of the complex ratiocination, or may appear at the end as the winding up of the whole consecution. The truth is, that reasoning is not made up merely of deduction; but where deduction does appear, it must ever follow the laws of the syllogism. It therefore must hold good that the mathematics, and geometry in particular, as embracing the most rigid and beautiful deductions, cannot be regarded otherwise than as affording the most important discipline in this department of reasoning.

But it is not only in respect to deduction that mathematical studies serve to discipline the intellectual functions. There are often curious inductions to be performed as tentative processes upon

the general realities of quantities, preparatory to the determination of universal laws. The determination of the binomial theorem by Newton is an example of this kind. That most important function, too, the function of invention, is most conspicuously brought into action both in the solution of problems, and in those loftier processes by which the methods of the higher analyses are arrived at,—such as Newton's and La Grange's method of approximation, and the celebrated theorem of Sturm.

Indeed, whatever be the form of the process, it is this very property of exact definition, of determined thought, of unerring reasoning, of truth gained with the strongest confidence and the fullest satisfaction, which constitutes its great value in developing and sharpening the intellect. As the eye in the purest light, and amid the most transparent atmosphere, realizes most perfectly its visual capacity; so in this region of pure truth the intellect learns its strength, and the certainty of its thought. It here believes that it was constituted to know, and that knowledge is no illusion. And the confidence gained in the higher region will not forsake it when it descends to a lower: as the eye removed to a murky light will still believe itself to be the organ of vision, and will strain itself to collect the scattered rays, so the intellect, removed to more imperfect conditions, will still rest in itself as the faculty of perception, and strive, according to the laws which it has already revealed to itself, to grasp what knowledge may here lie within its reach.

The æsthetical relations of the mathematics have not been much considered in disquisitions of this character, and yet we cannot but think they are quite apparent. This infinite space around us is drawn in all directions with geometrical lines, wherein move suns and planets, as they figure to us the splendors, the beauty, and the harmony of creation. The forms of all created things are drawn by the same lines; and that relation of parts which constitutes their symmetry, and, of course, their beauty, is a relation determined by mathematical proportion. It is true, indeed, that the manifold forms of beauty in the world, rising up from the most minute and delicate textures to displays vast and magnificent, baffle our skill in determining their exact laws under appropriate formulas; but we have reason to believe that the flowers of the field, no less than the stars of light, are permeated by the same geometrical forecast. Light moves in the nicest lines and makes its angles with geometrical precision; and the sunshine, poured with such apparently wild profusion upon the careless showers, pierces the drops with unerring nicety, drawing upon the clouds the arch of the rainbow, as with compasses which cannot deviate from the

radius to which they are stretched, and painting the gradations of colors with such beautiful softness, that every tint has its measure determined by a law no more subtile than exact.

The mathematics which express the laws of light, express also the laws of sound, and the richest and most complicated music, like the illuminated showers of heaven, are governed by this mighty and harmonizing organon. Poetry flows in measured numbers; architecture is an art based upon proportion, and requires a knowledge of what the old Greeks called the *sublime geometry*, embracing conic sections; painting owes its power of representing reality to the geometry of perspective; and sculpture achieves its marvels by chiseling sharply the lines of symmetry and proportion. And when we come to examine the interior constitution of material subtances, and attempt an explanation of their changes and various compositions, we are surprised again by the presence of the same mathematical thought; and the science of chemistry becomes a science of definite proportions.

Are we not then compelled to the conclusion, that the infinite mind of the Creator was pervaded by this pure science as eternal and necessary thoughts; that when he made the world he set his compasses upon the deep, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance; and that the beauty of the world, no less than its stability, depends upon the geometry of its structure?

"It is a great error to suppose that enthusiasm is incompatible with mathematical truths; the contrary is much more true. I am persuaded that there are problems of calculation, of analysis, in Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Euler, which suppose as much intuition and inspiration as the finest ode of Pindar. Those pure and incorruptible formulas, which were before the world was, which rule all time, all space, which are, so to speak, an integral part of God,—those sacred formulas, which will survive the ruin of all universes, place the mathematician who merits the name in deep communion with the divine thought. In these immutable verities, he tastes the unmixed purity of creation, he prays in its tongue. Like him of old, he says to the world, 'Keep silence, we shall hear the murmur of the gods.'"—*Prof. E. Quinet.*

With our views of the importance and interest of mathematical science, we cannot be indifferent to scholarlike attempts to facilitate and promote its thorough cultivation by the preparation of text-books particularly designed for the youth of our country.

The work of Professor Hackley embraces that branch of mathematics which in modern times is taking precedence of every other. Algebraic analysis is now applied almost universally in determining

the relations of quantity; and, on account of its greater facility, even takes the place of the geometrical methods in departments where these had been most successfully applied. This extended application is owing in a great measure to the labors of Descartes, Euler, La Grange, La Place, Gauss, Couchy, and others occupying the same elevated rank as mathematicians. It has for some time been a desideratum to have the improvements of the later mathematicians imbodied in a work of convenient magnitude, and with such clearness as to make them available in the courses of instruction in our public institutions. For the preparation of such a work, there is required a high and peculiar order of talent—a thorough mathematical discipline; a power of grasping the whole science as a clear and distinct unity into which all the parts flow harmoniously; a happy tact in arranging and presenting the parts, so that the consecution shall strike the learner luminously; a logical readiness in explaining abstruse points, so as to awaken in the mind of the learner the process of ratiocination, as if it grew out of his own thoughts; and a certain simplicity and colloquiality of style which can be acquired only by long familiarity with teaching in the lecture-room. This desideratum Professor Hackley, in the work before us, has undertaken to supply. From an examination of his Algebra we are led to believe, what we indeed anticipated from the known character of his mind, the extent of his attainments, and the habits of his life, that he has been eminently successful; and has proved himself to possess that very order of talent which we have just described.

The feature of the book which first strikes us upon opening it, is its completeness. There is scarcely any subject in algebra which is not treated of with a fullness and clearness to afford satisfaction even to a ripe scholar. We anticipate that some hasty critics will be likely to make its very completeness an objection, and will adjudge that it is not sufficiently elementary and popular. Had we space we should be inclined to say much respecting the demand made for popularizing everything, as if a science can be forced out of its legitimate sphere and reduced to a standard of ignorance and imbecility. We believe that a science can be properly treated only according to its nature, and can be made no plainer than its subject matter will admit of. A popular algebra, a popular logic, a popular geometry, are words most unhappily associated, if we mean by this that these pure and sublime sciences can be squared to the measure of miscellaneous and unthinking readers, to the habits and tastes of sciolists, and can be so offered up to the public as to relieve any from the necessity of severe

study. Any attempt of this kind would be sheer intellectual empiricism, and would only flatter its subjects into a belief of attainments, the fallaciousness of which their real ignorance alone would prevent them from detecting. A science becomes transparent and satisfactory only by being mastered; and he is the true teacher who enables us to reach this.

Now, we believe that the completeness of this work will constitute one of its greatest recommendations; it will enable the learner to master the science. We grant, however, that algebra may be studied in part with a clear understanding of elementary principles, and that a brief work may be compiled for the use of such as do not wish to enter the region of the higher analyses. And Prof. Hackley has provided for this. He has discussed the first elements with an amplitude and clearness which give his work, considered as an elementary one, a superiority to every other that has fallen under our notice. Indeed, when we speak of its completeness, we refer no less to the simplest and most elementary parts, than to the remoter and higher developments of the science. In order more perfectly to adapt it to different grades of students, he has, by a felicitous arrangement of the sections, been enabled at the beginning to indicate three distinct courses of study, any one of which is as easily available as if the courses were imbodied in three separate volumes. He has indicated, first, a *minimum* course, which is strictly elementary: secondly, a *more enlarged* course, adapted to the wants of collegiate instruction: thirdly, a *full* course, embracing the whole volume, and adapted to the wants of those who wish to grasp the science throughout. The work, therefore, compared with ordinary Algebras, is just what Liddell and Scott's lexicon is to a school lexicon, compiled for reading only certain authors. The more copious lexicon, to say the least, is just as well adapted for an ordinary school lexicon, while it superadds the merits of a *Thesaurus*.

In compiling such a work, much evidently depends not only upon the arrangement, but also upon the manner in which each part is disposed of in its place. Prof. Hackley has, in this respect, shown a singularly good judgment.

Under the usual head of definitions and notations, with which, of course, the work opens, he has at once given the definition with such fullness, that the attention of the student need not afterward be distracted by returning to this subject, when he is engaged in unraveling important analyses, and in solving problems. Following this, we have a complete discussion of the forms and combinations of algebraic quantities before employing them in equations.

We are much pleased to find introduced here every variety of symbol belonging to the science. By this means the student early becomes familiar with algebraic language, and one kind of difficulty is at once disposed of. Besides the greater neatness of this method, it insures an adequate treatment of all preliminary matters, which, when postponed to the several parts where they require to be employed in analytical processes, are prone to be dismissed in a cursory manner, through the natural impatience on the part of an author of returning to elementary things, when taking in hand the loftier parts of a subject.

It belongs to the same method to give, in the earlier portions of the treatise, demonstrations of rules, and expositions of principles in marginal notes, so as to leave the rules themselves and the subjoined examples bare and distinct. Afterward this is omitted, when the student may be presumed to have become sufficiently familiar with algebraic forms and reasoning, not to be embarrassed by having the whole worked together on the body of the page.

Our author has completed each subject in its proper place, anticipated and provided for difficulties as they naturally arise, and, with unusual tact, said just enough in the way of explanation. Elementary principles are thoroughly cleared up, and the way thrown wide open for an advance into the heart of the science.

Prof. Hackley has not aimed so much to make an *original*, as a *useful* work. In his Preface he remarks:—

"No attempt has been made at originality, unless for the benefit of the student, and in the belief that the existing expositions or processes were inferior. The object has simply been, by any and all means, to make the best book, without aiming so much at individual reputation as at the author's own convenience and that of others, devoted, like himself, to the noble task of guiding the youthful votaries of science.

"The French treatises furnish excellent models of the theory of algebra; the German, of ingenuity, and brevity of notation and exposition; the English, of practical adaptation, and variety of illustration and example; and from these, after a careful comparison of many authors in each language, demonstrations have been selected and introduced verbatim, when they seemed incapable of improvement; but whenever the slightest alteration or amalgamation, or the entire remodeling of them, could give additional clearness or elegance, the *limæ labor* has not been spared."

Now we think this course deserves the highest commendation: for whatever may be the ability of an author to treat of all the subjects embraced in such a work with entire originality, the course of education certainly will be much more advanced by a digest of the treatises of various eminent mathematicians. The great im-

provements made in the science are not only thus brought from a variety of sources within the reach of every student, but are, also, by the comprehensive judgment of one mind, and the plastic labor of one hand, reduced to unity of form and method. The various subjects are arranged with particular reference to convenience and clearness, and the analyses are happily applied to practical uses. It is not the work of one mind to build up one vast science by its own original thinking; but it is the work of one mind to digest the mass of details into a convenient compendium for the purposes of education. Men of genius, in different countries and periods, slowly do the first: when that great work is completed, some patient laborer, some man of practical experience and foresight, casts up to do the last. This patient laborer is no less a benefactor than those who have prepared the way for him; and how morally great does he appear, if he voluntarily resign the charm and merit of original investigation for the work of making the labors of others available to the community! He might distinguish himself by inventing a new method, by developing a new and recondite analysis; but he prefers to apply to useful ends what has already been successfully accomplished. There are many cotemporary authors who have successfully and praiseworthily labored in this department. Among these, at least, Prof. Hackley must hold an eminent place. To verify, in some measure, our judgment of the merits of his digest, we shall make a few references.

The whole subject of division is presented with great elegance and clearness. The examples are numerous, and selected with a nice judgment in reference to exercising the skill of the pupil. Here he has introduced many examples with literal exponents and literal co-efficients: the law of quotients, when they become infinite series, is given: division by detached co-efficients, and the method of synthetic division by Horner, are presented with great simplicity and beauty. We observe here in the margin, a very neat and concise demonstration of Horner's method. Let any one compare this with the demonstration given in Hutton's Mathematics, and the improvement will be obvious.

The subjects of the greatest common measure, and the least common multiple, are properly placed after division, and treated in a manner to make them easily and perfectly intelligible to the young pupil. The whole subject of radicals, the clear understanding of which is so important to the student in the higher equations, is early introduced, and cleared up most successfully by lucid explanations and appropriate examples. Fractional and negative exponents, which are so apt to embarrass the pupil, are here strip-

ped of much of their forbidding aspect, and made an inteiligible language to ordinary capacity united with diligence.

On pages 64 and 242 imaginary quantities are resolved with great neatness and clearness.

On pages 100–107 the binomial theorem is determined inductively, according to Newton's method, and at once applied to series and roots. On page 108, after the way has been sufficiently prepared, the demonstration is given. This immediate application of the theorem is a happy conception: it gives interest to the theorem itself, and introduces the pupil naturally to a new and important subject. The demonstration on page 108 is given with a rigor which some mathematicians have regarded as impracticable. We cannot avoid calling attention, in connection with this, to the demonstration of the polynomial theorem on page 109—remarkable alike for its conciseness and elegance. Then follows a neat demonstration of the method of extracting the root of a polynomial.

That most important subject, ratios and proportion, a thorough comprehension of which is essential, indeed, to all mathematical reasoning, is treated of with unusual brevity and transparency, and examples subjoined which serve both to apply the doctrines and to convey useful and interesting information.

We have noticed, as improvements in treating of equations, that a variety of letters are employed to represent unknown quantities, and that elimination by common divisor is introduced in simple equations. The general discussion of equations of the first degree, page 173, is exceedingly satisfactory. In connection with this we have presented new symbols of indeterminate equations, page 177, and extended, page 178, to two or more unknown quantities.

The method of undetermined co-efficients is developed with an important improvement: the exponent is not assumed, as is ordinarily done, but is taken indeterminate, also, and then the relations are afterward proved, and the values afterward deduced.

Next in order, the subject of logarithms is taken up, and very lucidly discussed. Here, at once, a short auxiliary table is given for constructing general logarithmic tables, and its theory and use explained. Then follow a variety of analytic exercises in which logarithms are involved. After this the practical use of the tables is copiously explained, and a specimen page from Callét is given at the end of the volume, as an illustration. Here a variety of exercises are appended. Gauss's system of logarithms, designed exclusively for sums and differences, is then introduced; and finally the calculation of the common and Naperian logarithms by series.

Progressions are next discussed. Under this, what may, perhaps, be fitly called the historic origin of logarithms is explained.

The general theory of equations is much improved in the notation and brevity of the demonstration. Sturm's celebrated theorem, which is so blind in late treatises which have attempted to explain it, is restored to its native beauty and transparency by following strictly the author's own method. Prof. Hackley has here evidently consulted the original, instead of relying upon second-hand expositions.

Binomial equations, a subject of great importance, but usually slighted, is introduced and amply treated. It is worthy of notice, also, that cubic and biquadratic equations are treated in a very simple and analytic manner, with trigonometrical solutions of both the reducible and the unreducible case.

Thus far we have considered Prof. Hackley's work simply as a digest. In this point of view, indeed, we wish mainly to consider it; for it is in this that its great value consists, and in which the author intended it to consist. But so astute a mathematician must, in spite of his own modest intention, cause his work to be pervaded by lines of original thought, as well as give original modifications to the thoughts of others. We should do injustice to the author, therefore, did we not touch upon his performance in this point of view likewise. We would call attention, therefore, briefly to several particulars. The introduction of Horner's method of synthetic division is an important improvement in itself, but the explication of it is the author's own; we have already alluded to this, and we mention it here again for the sake of remarking its originality.

Indeterminate analysis of the first degree, page 186, and indeterminate analysis of the second degree, page 240, are very creditable examples of the author's original analytical power. The examples subjoined to the first are happily selected—they are not merely curious, but embrace solutions of practical utility. We refer also to maximum and minimum values, page 242. On pages 244–6, the method of Mourey for avoiding imaginary quantities is most ingeniously and clearly explained. In permutations and combinations new forms of notation, exceedingly convenient, are introduced, together with various modifications of the ordinary problems and formulas. The application of this subject to a variety of others, and especially to the calculation of probabilities, is also worthy of notice. The explanation of Gauss's formulas, involving sums and differences, is, we believe, new in an English dress, having been hitherto confined to German works.

After logarithms and progression there is given a very full set of formulas and rules for interest and annuities in which logarithms are applied. These tables are of great practical utility.

The important subject of interpolation is treated of in the best manner we have ever met with: also, that every equation has a root, page 203; and the subject of conjugate equations.

Another improvement is the application of Horner's method of synthetic division to the depression of roots of equations, page 316; and, in connection with Sturm's theorem, to approximations to the roots of higher equations, very rapidly, to any required number of decimal places, pages 334–338. The determination of the imaginary roots of the higher equations, page 384, and the theory of vanishing fractions, are new in an elementary treatise, and ingeniously expounded.

Our author has made improvements on the theory of elimination in higher equations, by Labatie, worthy of remark.

We call attention, also, to difference series, and a most ingenious method of applying them to determining the places of roots in the higher equations, pages 416–18; to the subject of variation, pages 425–7; to the elimination of symmetrical functions, page 436; to a new method of solving the cubic equation, by a young American; and to a simple, but very complete, exposition of the diophantine analysis, page 457.

The work concludes with an article on the theory of numbers, in which an attempt is made to give a brief explication of this extensive subject, both as treated by Legendre and others, and according to the peculiar method of presenting it adopted by Gauss. The nature of primitive roots is explained, and the Gauss method, depending on them, of solving binomial equations of all degrees. Full references are here given to larger works.

The subjects here referred to will be found generally to contain much that is new to ordinary students, extracted from eminent mathematicians of different countries, and pervaded by the author's original conceptions and modifications.

The critique we have ventured to make on Prof. Hackley's Algebra, we confess, aims rather to point out its excllences than to seek for its defects. This last and less gracious work we will leave to other hands. We believe that where a work has commanding merits, a greater favor is done to the public on its first introduction by leading them properly to appreciate it, than by engaging their attention to curious criticisms upon doubtful points, or by making a parade of the reviewer's skill in noticing narrowly those defects which are incidental to the best attempts. We are

decidedly of opinion, also, that a candid and thorough examination of the work will bring before the mind so much to admire and commend, that, as in our own case, there will be little disposition to mark faults which the author's own judgment and skill are adequate to correct in subsequent editions.

Art. VI.—*Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

Were we called upon to designate that event upon which future ages are likely to look back as vastly the most important in the history of the last hundred years, we should refer to the revival and new development of missionary enterprise. This opinion we should announce without hesitation; having at the same time a lively recollection of other stupendous facts, which have made the period referred to one of the most memorable of the great historical epochs embraced in the annals of our race—of the struggle of our forefathers with the power of Britain, which gave birth to a great nation, and ushered in a new political, social, and religious economy—of the French Revolution, which swept with volcanic fury over half the civilized world, overturning and rearing thrones, subverting and re-constructing human society throughout enlightened empires—of the Reform Bill and Catholic emancipation, which have resulted in making essentially popular the essentially aristocratic government of the most wealthy and powerful nation on earth—of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, by which eight hundred thousand bondmen were made free—of the extension of the British East Indian empire over a population of one hundred and twenty millions—of the introduction of China into the family of nations, and the free advent into the bosom of her incredible population, which may thus be given to social, moral, and economic meliorations, hitherto unknown and impossible to her narrow, bigoted civilization. We by no means affect to undervalue the importance of these great events, which have produced radical and durable, and, we verily believe, beneficial changes in the lot of the largest portion of the human family. We are quite satisfied that ours is, all things considered, the happiest of countries. We think it demonstrable that Frenchmen of the present generation, as well as the people of several other European nations, are enjoying the good fruits of their bloody revolution. We are believers in human progress, and wait hopefully to see the emancipated slaves of Ja-

maica and Barbadoes grow into virtuous, industrious communities, reflecting honor upon the liberal policy that broke their chains, and demonstrating to a more timid and wary philanthropy, that the spread of human liberty in all its forms is ever favorable to the true interests of society. It is nearly certain that the teeming populations of the East find the oppressive taxation to which civilized rule subjects every article of property, every branch of industry, and every form of life, somewhat less intolerable than the perpetual revolutions, spoliations, and massacres to which they were, from generation to generation, exposed under the subverted dynasties; and a few years of free trade and amicable relations will probably efface from the minds of the Chinese all bitter recollections of the forced importation of opium, and the bombardment of their commercial metropolis,—the rather ominous harbingers of these blessings in reserve. These statements do but partial and inadequate justice to the value of those political and social changes which, within a period not extending back beyond the memory of men now living, have produced, sometimes by violence, sometimes by peaceable means, a marked and beneficial revolution in the condition of our species. In making these concessions, however, we mean only to magnify the missionary enterprise, for which we have claimed at the outset a decided and manifest superiority over all other agencies and plans of reform. Political convulsions are wont to exact a fearful compensation for the scanty and often tardy blessings which they bring in their train. The revolution which sweeps away ancient abuses, and smooths the way for national improvement and social progress, usually sacrifices one or two generations to its wrath. Wars, which subvert cruel despotisms and disenthral enslaved nations, sow for their distant and doubtful harvests in fields enriched with precious blood, and watered by bitter tears. England came out of the French Revolution the sole unscathed victor, and her triumphs have entailed upon her oppressed population pecuniary burdens which consign millions to hopeless pauperism, while the boldest of her politicians dares not promise to remove, or sensibly to alleviate, them for this or any coming generation. After the lapse of thirty years the victory of Waterloo still enhances the price of bread to the Irish peasant, and makes heavier the burden of the Cooly on the banks of the Ganges and at the foot of the Himalaya. Unlike the convulsions and changes to which we have referred, the missionary enterprise, as "the blessing of the Lord, maketh rich and addeth no sorrow." Without shedding one drop of blood—without a single act of oppression, or extortion, or cruelty—without carrying distress into

the bosom of a single family, the unostentatious labors of the missionary have, we are bold to affirm, achieved more and greater temporal benefits, and for greater numbers, than have resulted from all the political changes which have made up the history of the present generation and of that which preceded it. As to the emancipation of slaves both in the East and West Indies, this was confessedly a direct result of the missionary enterprise. The philanthropic efforts of self-denying men prepared the degraded bondmen for the enjoyment of freedom, while their earnest appeals aroused the public mind of Britain, and so insured the triumph of this measure in parliament; and now that this great melioration, achieved by missionary efforts, has obtained the recognition and the guaranties of law, the task of watching over the liberated serfs and conducting them onward in their transition from the weakness and degradation entailed upon them by their former condition, to the intelligence, virtue, and manliness, that befit their higher destiny, is by general consent intrusted to the same Christian agencies, as alone competent to check the vicious tendencies inherent in such a revolution, and to implant and fortify the great conservative principles, without which personal and civil liberty is incompatible with the happiness, and even the existence, of society.

Brief as is the history of missionary labors, it affords us the means of forming a just estimate of the comparative efficiency of Christian and merely political and economical agencies, in promoting the well-being of nations. During a period which extends back beyond the first inception of existing missionary efforts, the successive governments of England have been incessantly laboring to quell the discontents and remove the grievances of Ireland, and raise its degraded population from the misery and turbulence which distinguish the masses of that unhappy country. On the prosecution of this herculean work all the resources of a great empire have been lavished, and all the expedients of legislation have been tried. Millions have been expended in gratuities, and millions more in the maintenance of soldiers and policemen, for the prevention of crime, and the preservation of order. Immense public improvements have been executed. New privileges and franchises have been granted; and the emancipation and reform acts have poured their healing influences upon the irritated public mind. As the result of all these efforts, we now see a wretched population doomed, in a land proverbially fruitful, to experience the horrors of periodical and almost yearly famine. The populace are exasperated against the government that labors so assiduously for their relief—are prone to rebellion and to violence, and there is no longer

any security for property or life, while the prospect of better days recedes from the approach of every new scheme of relief and improvement. England had already been engaged for half a century in her Sisyphean labor of Irish reform, when two American missionaries planted themselves on the Sandwich Islands, then peopled by a race of savages and idolaters, tainted with the vices and debased by the thraldom that ever belongs to the condition which those words describe. In the five and twenty years that have since elapsed a change has come over the face of these realms of barbarism. The savage idolaters are transformed into Christian men, who cultivate the earth and live in commodious habitations, and enjoy the protection of good laws and a regular administration, and who worship the true God in decent temples. They have a written language in which the Bible is published, and an infant literature, while the rising generation receives the elements of common education in well-conducted schools. All this has been quietly achieved by imparting new ideas, and awakening new emotions, without blood or violence, and at a pecuniary sacrifice less than the yearly pay of the thinnest regiment whose bayonets preserve the peace in Ireland. There is no want of other examples, less striking, perhaps, but equally pertinent, to demonstrate the great superiority of the missionary over all other reformatory processes. Several tribes of American Indians have been raised by missionary efforts alone to a social and economic position, decidedly more elevated than that of the depressed classes in some of the freest countries in Europe. In France and Belgium, where so much blood has been poured out in contests for liberty, and where theoretically there is no want of liberal institutions, the great body of the laboring classes, beyond the walls of Paris and some other large towns, are practically where they were in the days of the elder Bourbons; the reform, such as it is, not having penetrated deep enough, or not having found the ideas and morals necessary for the development of rational liberty. It is, indeed, a prevailing opinion, freely expressed by mere politicians and statesmen in France itself, as well as in other parts of Europe, that the great obstacle in the way of free institutions and of valuable progress in that country is the want of Christian principles and morals. We are fully satisfied of the soundness of this opinion; and we venture to add the expression of our belief, that the few obscure missionaries, maintained in France by the Wesleyans since the beginning of the present century, have done more to prepare the mind and the heart of that interesting people for the practical realization of freedom, than did the expulsion of Napoleon

and Charles the Tenth, or the advent of Louis Philippe and the Chart of July. To an extent which will never be fully known and acknowledged till the day which reveals all secrets, have these devoted servants of Christ aroused and leavened the slumbering Protestantism of France. This has in its turn acted powerfully upon the great Catholic community with which it is everywhere in contact, till, together, the two antagonist forms of the Christian faith have put a sensible check upon the reigning infidelity, and made some progress toward a successful assertion of the claims of the Christian code of morals. This reference is made to a single class of missionaries, with no intention to disparage the efforts of others; but in a firm persuasion that their labors are not justly appreciated, at least in this country, and with some right to express the opinion that the Wesleyans in France, while they have been chiefly useful in awakening the native churches to greater zeal and effort, exhibit pre-eminently in their own scattered societies the very highest, purest examples of Protestant Christianity, especially in the virtue so rare in that country—the sanctification of the sabbath.

We cannot dismiss the train of reflections that crowd upon us in contemplating the missionary enterprise, in the performance of this, its lower and merely secular function, without expressing our entire belief in the comprehensive underlying truth, of which the facts and arguments that have been adduced are only special instances and illustrations. It is, that the gospel is the great, and, in a very important sense, the only civilizer. What nation or tribe of men has, during the last eighteen hundred years, advanced from barbarism to a state of civilization and refinement by any other agency? Will commerce enter the lists, and dispute the claims of Christianity? Africa has been its undisputed field of experiment for centuries; and what besides the diseases and vices of civilization has the trafficker left behind him on those barbarous shores, in return for gold-dust, ivory, and the "souls of men?" Portugal, Holland, and England, have grown opulent on the precious merchandise of the East; but we have not yet heard of the nation or savage tribe which the trader has been able to reclaim from the ignorance, and vices, and gross barbarism of their ancestors. Government and wise laws, imbodying as they do several of the conservative maxims of religion, have proved somewhat more efficient than commerce, as instruments of human progress; but the instructive example of Ireland proclaims the impotency of the most enlightened code and the purest administration to regenerate an ignorant, degraded race. Government and law have to do with the actions of men, and these constitute the sphere of their operation

and the well-defined limits of their power. But the malignant disease of barbarous, pagan man, has its seat in his gross habits, and debasing prejudices, and low appetencies, and inherited depravity; and to it no remedies can be well adapted but such as are subtil, penetrating, spiritual. The dominion of inveterate prejudice and omnipotent custom must be subverted. There must be an infusion of new ideas, and the implantation of new motives, and the awakening of new hopes and aspirations. It has often occurred to us that if the most enlightened philosophy and the largest experience were put upon the task of finding out some sovereign remedy for such a case, they should concur in prescribing that which is so clearly described in the fourth chapter of Hebrews: "The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." Let us imagine that the hundreds of faithful missionaries now laboring throughout British India have succeeded in commending to the undoubting faith of the multitude, not the entire system of Christianity, but some one of its great maxims—that the whole vast population of this benighted empire should be brought to believe cordially in the unity of God, and should so be led to forsake idolatry in all its hateful, degrading forms. The working of this simple idea would remove an amount of vice, and suffering, and wretchedness, which defies all computation. There would be an end of all the abominations and pollutions of pagan worship; an end of pilgrimages to holy cities, and distant temples, and sacred rivers. There would be no more self-inflicted tortures for expiation, no more immolations and human sacrifices, no more hecatombs for the insatiable Ganges, or for sanguinary Juggernaut. Or let us suppose the Scriptural teaching in regard to the rights and destiny of woman to be the solitary doctrine for which these heralds of the cross have obtained from the millions of Hindostan a practical recognition,—who does not perceive that they would have conferred upon these miserable nations a boon, in comparison with which all political and civil franchises are impotent as instruments for promoting civilization and happiness? To say nothing of the thirty thousand widows, and of the uncounted multitude of female children who would be rescued annually from a cruel death by burning and infanticide—atrocities which are only the slighter incidents of the prevailing system—this single change in Indian ideas would elevate one half of its teeming population from the condition of mere brutes to the dignity and destiny, to the enjoyments and duties, of intelligent immortal beings. Or,

finally, if missionary labors should produce no further result than the successful inculcation upon the oriental mind of the Bible theory of the unity and essential brotherhood of all the families of man, they would have removed an obstacle to Indian improvement and civilization, which, in the institutions and customs of caste, has hitherto bid defiance to every social melioration, whether its introduction has been urged by force of argument or of example—of laws or of arms. Our confident expectation is, that these and other great truths, by the development of which the gospel confers such inestimable benefits on human society, will work their way to a general recognition and practical supremacy in pagan India and the world; and it is because of this belief, and not from any strong reliance on the wisdom, or benevolence, or power of statesmen, that we rejoice in all the revolutions which throw open the barred doors of these nations. The missionaries of the awakened churches will enter side by side with the soldier, and the civilian, and the merchant, with arms more potent than theirs to win an empire, and with laws and arts more fit to rule, enrich, and adorn it. As sure as the march of time and the developments of Providence, will the gospel, while it gives eternal life to all who believe, accomplish the regeneration of human society. Its doctrines of right and of duty, no less than its doctrines of grace, are œcumenical as well as divine; and, while a heavenly sanction attends their promulgation, their manifold harmonies with the wants and sympathies of the race insure their ultimate triumph.

We shall offer no apology for having dwelt so long on what is confessedly a lower view of the missionary enterprise. It is with us a favorite aspect of the subject, and we are fain to welcome a train of reflections which may serve to magnify this highest function of the church in the eyes of those who do not contemplate it from the loftiest position, yet would gladly recognize and foster an agency that offers a sure promise "for the life which now is, as well as of that which is to come." Even in this secular, lowest view of the subject, the establishment of missions takes the highest rank "among ancient, primitive, and heroical works."

In passing on from these preliminary statements to the special objects of this article, we would ourselves dismiss, and, if we could, banish from the minds of our readers all thought of the material and temporal benefits which the gospel so freely diffuses, that we might contemplate the missionary enterprise solely as God's chosen and only revealed method of making known to perishing nations the great scheme of redemption through the blood of the cross. In proceeding, as we now do, to inquire what one important branch of

the church has done, and is doing, to extend the Redeemer's kingdom over a revolted world, and to rescue from eternal perdition the myriads of blood-bought souls upon whom the Sun of righteousness has not yet risen, we would bear upon our heart a lively recollection that the church is in God's economy the great depository of saving truth and power—is intrusted with a monopoly of the only remedy for sin; and that upon its loyalty to Christ and its compassion for the heathen, it has been mysteriously permitted to depend when He shall receive his purchased inheritance, and when they shall acknowledge the Lord that bought them. We would ever bear in mind, and would entreat our readers to bear in mind, the appalling truism which we are so prone to forget or discredit, for all beyond the narrow pale of our own language and our own type of civilization, that there is salvation in no other but Christ—that faith in him is indispensable to true piety—that the heathen cannot believe in him of whom they have not heard, nor hear without a preacher; and that the preacher's indispensable function is also left dependent on other agencies—for how can he preach except he be sent? Happy shall we deem ourselves if anything contained in this discussion shall be made instrumental in exciting in that Christian community, for which it is specially intended, a more lively sense of its vast responsibility.

The Missionary Society, of which we are here presented with the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report, was organized in the year 1819. The Methodist ministry, however, was as truly, and, in proportion to their numbers, as extensively engaged in missionary labors before, as it has been since, that period. "Wesleyan Methodism," as has been justly said by the author of The Great Commission, "is strictly missionary in its character." This remark is pre-eminently true of American Methodism, which, in addition to the inherent adaptations of its economy to missionary operations possessed in common with the parent church, has occupied a field vast as the entire theatre of the apostolic ministry, and abounding in the strongest inducements to labor, as well as offering unusual facilities and encouragements. It will be admitted, we think, that this field has been cultivated with a good degree of zeal and perseverance, and with eminent success. Our fathers were called to enter upon their labors, after the other Christian denominations had obtained for their peculiar sentiments and polities a strong hold in the faith and hereditary attachments of the entire population; so that their work in the older settlements, and even in the large cities, was as strictly missionary as it has since been in the wild regions bordering on the great rivers and lakes of the West. Indeed, the pioneers of Me-

thodism in the new settlements have usually enjoyed facilities unknown to their early predecessors. Many of the emigrants, and especially those of the younger class, carry with them to their new homes strong predilections for Methodism. Not a few have been members of her communion, and only wait for the coming of the missionary, to rally under his banner and co-operate in his efforts to propagate the gospel among others less disposed to embrace it. In many instances local preachers, who went with the current of emigration to improve their worldly circumstances upon the virgin soil of the West, had already gathered the scattered sheep into the fold before the arrival of the accredited missionary, who was thus permitted to enter into "other men's labors," and while he confirmed and built up the infant churches, to make them the basis of more distant and extended operations. Methodism has been diffused throughout this country rather by the aggressive genius, and inherent tendencies of the system, than by any *extraordinary* arrangements and special exertions. An *itinerant* by the established economy of his church, the Methodist minister ever wears the panoply of a *missionary*, and enters upon the missionary function, at the call of duty, with less inconvenience and with habits more favorable to success than could the settled pastor, more averse as he must be to change, and with less power of adaptation to the new and trying circumstances that beset this enterprise. We speak here of the special fitness of the itinerant system to meet the religious wants of a great country like ours, under the peculiar and ever-varying conditions that result from our position, our institutions, and the character of our people—from the vast extent and fertility of the fresh regions that tempt our adventurous families to seek their fortune in the wilderness, and that give birth to new states, and territories, and populous towns, in such rapid succession—from the absence of religious establishments and endowments, and the consequent liberty conferred, and obligation imposed, upon every Christian sect to consider "the world as its parish," and to "do good to all men as it has opportunity"—from immigration and from emigration, which are constantly infusing new elements and tendencies into society, and impressing new characteristics upon our already heterogeneous population—and we are satisfied that all intelligent Christians, who recognize it as a branch of Christ's church on earth, will also recognize in American Methodism special and providential adaptations to the great field in which it has been called to fulfill its mission.

Through God's blessing upon such instrumentalities, a simple form of Christianity, everywhere of sufficient power and purity, we

verily believe, to renovate the heart and reform the manners, has been carried into every neighborhood of this great republic. We can hardly be premature in saying that Methodism has won a recognized, and, in all human probability, a permanent, position in the old and more populous states, as well as in the new and less cultivated sections of our country. Under some not unimportant modifications of its modes of operation—possibly with some loss of its aggressive power—we believe that the denomination retains everywhere a good measure of its missionary character, and we are wholly sure that it still possesses facilities and special capabilities which ought to make it the most missionary church in the land. Our pioneers still enter the forest in the vanguard of the great emigrating army. Our regular work presses incessantly against the furthest boundary of civilized society, and our outposts are counted along the entire length of the ever-lengthening line of our ever-receding frontier.

The plan of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church embraces both domestic and foreign missions; and the first article of its constitution announces that it was established for the express purpose of "enabling the several annual conferences more effectually to extend their missionary labors throughout the United States and elsewhere," and also for the "support and promotion of missionary schools and missions in our own and in foreign countries." Following the order here indicated, which we observe is reversed in the Report for 1846, we proceed to notice the domestic department of Methodist missions. This embraces: 1. German missions. 2. Indian missions. 3. Circuits and stations wholly or partially sustained by the society.

The German missions are justly considered in the Report before us as possessing a special and increasing importance, and as holding out peculiar encouragements. The oldest of these, so far as the annual exposé enables us to ascertain, was established in Cincinnati in the year 1837. From a beginning so recent, this good work has extended into more than a dozen states and territories. It embraces forty-eight missions and fifty-four missionaries, who have succeeded in gathering into the church three thousand three hundred and forty-nine members. There are also reported a considerable, though by no means a proportionate and satisfactory, number of children under sabbath-school instruction. Upon nothing is the valuable and permanent success of missionary labors more dependent than upon the diligent training of the rising generation; and it strikes us that this is especially true of a people so inquisitive, so educated, so prone to speculation and to skepticism, as the Germans.

It is commonly admitted that emigrants from Germany constitute the best class of our adopted citizens. Many of them are agriculturists, who, instead of congregating in the large cities to disturb their peace, and control their elections, and fill their poor-houses, find their way to the West, where there is room for them, and their labor is wanted. They are thus diffused among the native population, and placed in favorable circumstances for learning something of the new forms of life and of industry, by which they may become worthy partakers of the blessings so freely offered them, and something of the political rights and powers, to the enjoyment of which they are so frankly and courageously admitted by our wonderful system of freedom. The wide dispersion of German emigrants, which presents an apparent obstacle in the way of their evangelization, is really favorable to missionary successes among them. They are less clannish and national, while the semi-infidel Christianity which, without being well understood or much inculcated, exerts a most paralyzing influence upon the lower classes in the father-land, necessarily operates with a greatly diminished force upon isolated families, and in the absence of those associations and influences which are calculated to strengthen and perpetuate early prejudices and impressions. Their ignorance of the language of the country, though at first a serious hinderance, is, we are persuaded, a real facility to the attainment of missionary successes. We observe from the Reports that a considerable number of Roman Catholics have been converted, a species of success rarely gained among Irish and other members of that communion who speak the English language. These are now provided with churches and religious teachers in almost every part of the United States; and it can hardly be doubted that the scattered German Catholics would generally be gathered into the same folds to which they are drawn by so many sympathies, but for the barrier interposed by an unknown language which must make the sermon and the associations, as well as the liturgy, unintelligible and distasteful to them. The Methodist missionaries, who, as their Teutonic names sufficiently demonstrate, are veritable Germans, possess a talismanic passport to the affections and confidence of their compatriots, in their ability to address "every man in his own tongue wherein he was born." We will add that the disclosures made by their published reports, as well as some personal knowledge of these laborious messengers of the church, have served to impress us very favorably in regard to their character and their work. Many of them persevere under discouragements and privations which only evince more clearly that they have the zeal, and resolution, and

faith indispensable in the missionary field. One laborer in Illinois, a superintendent of a mission district, is "obliged to travel nine hundred miles every three months, in order to reach his appointments." Of his colleagues he says:—They "have generally hard work, a slender support, and much to contend with. The Germans almost all belong to some church, and are strongly attached to what they call their faith. Hence we have to preach *their* religion out of their heads, in order to preach Bible religion into their hearts." We regard the German branch of our home missionary department as presenting a field peculiarly important, as well as encouraging. It has already produced good and abundant fruit, while the labor bestowed upon it has disclosed new and pressing wants, which appeal with peculiar propriety and emphasis to those who have been favored so highly with the divine approbation. We think that these operations ought to be extended as fast as suitable men and means can be obtained. It is gratifying to perceive that the converted Germans are disposed to help themselves as far as they can. The mission in Cincinnati is already independent of the resources of the society, and we are left to infer, from the small sums granted to other stations, that a considerable part of the support of the missionary is derived from the people among whom he labors. This is highly gratifying as an omen, as well as a fact —as a means, as well as an end; and the missionary enterprise always gives evidence of good progress toward the attainment of its objects when it raises upon the field of its operations a competent ministry, and awakens among its converts such a sense of the value of the means of grace as leads to the pecuniary sacrifices necessary to secure them.

An argument for prosecuting this particular enterprise with the utmost diligence, is the strong improbability that so free access to the German emigrants, especially to German Catholics, will much longer be enjoyed. We ought to expect that the most strenuous efforts will be made to gather these wanderers into the fold of the Papal Church, and that, as in the case of Irish emigrants, missionaries will be sent for the purpose, recommended by all the advantages now so eminently possessed by ours. In any event, however, the good already accomplished is likely to remain; and the infant churches established in so many places may be expected to become centres of attraction and light, to which the multitudes yet to be poured upon our hospitable shores, by the tide of emigration, will continue to be drawn by natural sympathies, and, as we may humbly hope, by divine influence. Some of our remarks have had special application to a rural population; but we are

happy to perceive that the wants of a vast body of Germans, resident in our large cities, have not been overlooked, and that missions for their benefit exist in New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, and several other populous towns. The obstacles to their evangelization will, we fear, be multiplied by circumstances that operate with peculiar force upon emigrants, who dwell together in sufficient numbers to form their own social and religious communities; but this only renders the more indispensable, timely and vigorous efforts to diffuse religious truth among them. What are the liabilities and tendencies of a great body of German emigrants assembled in a large city, and left pretty much to themselves, we had opportunity to learn authentically on a late visit to the British metropolis. We were invited to attend a meeting of British and foreign Christians, called for the purpose of hearing some statements in regard to the religious condition of natives of the continent resident in London, and of devising some plan for their moral improvement. The disclosures to which we there listened filled us with profound astonishment; for we could not have thought it possible for an evil so massive and tremendous to accumulate in the very centre of philanthropic operations that claim the world as their proper theatre. Of German emigrants, especially, who equal in number the population of one of our great cities of the second class, it was stated by, we believe, the only clergyman who is laboring for their evangelization, that they are nearly all freethinkers. Hardly any of them attend public worship; as, indeed, how should they, when there are no churches or chapels for them to attend? Intemperance prevails to an extent which is quite remarkable, even in the midst of the most intemperate population on earth. The sabbath is universally desecrated; and those who do not spend the day in drinking-houses, assemble in public halls, hired for the purpose, to listen to lecturers on socialism, and other kindred topics. These apostles of infidelity and vice are often men of such powers as exercise a dominant influence over the multitude; and the new comers, who may happen to bring from the fatherland some measure of religious restraints and self-respect, easily fall a prey to an organized system which works by every known method of seduction, from a concert to a brothel. To complete the horrible picture, it was stated that marriage and its obligations are little more than a name, and that the importation from Germany of young women to supply the incredible demand for prostitution, in a community of socialists, constitutes an established branch of trade. These statements were confirmed by the Prussian ambassador, who

addressed the meeting, and who is well known in this country, and throughout the civilized world, as one of the most eminent Christian scholars and philanthropists of the age. We trust in God it may be long ere such a description is applicable to any portion of our emigrant population; but those who are intrusted with the direction of the only conservative agency on which reliance can safely be placed, will do well to recollect that nearly all of our large towns are surcharged with materials which require no process more expensive or laborious than to be let alone for a time, in order to multiply among us similar examples of loathsome, gigantic depravity.

Indian missions possess, in our estimation, a peculiar, melancholy interest. The success which has hitherto attended on all well-directed, persevering efforts for the evangelization of the aborigines of this continent, must, upon the whole, be pronounced satisfactory; yet a gloom hangs over the future destiny of even Christianized tribes, which, indeed, rather enhances than diminishes this satisfaction at their religious improvement, while it holds in abeyance, if it does not quite extinguish the hope, that these converted savages are in due time to become thoroughly civilized men, capable of self-government—of forming happy, prosperous, enduring communities among themselves, or of being usefully merged into the great political family which surrounds and overshadows them. In the "Evidence on the Aborigines," taken before a parliamentary committee, as well as from other reports on the subject, it seems to be a well-established fact that missionary labors have, in several instances, arrested the tendency to depopulation and extinction, which is almost universal among savages. This is said to be the case among the Canada Indians, and it may be so with those upon our own borders, who have been most affected by Christian labors. We should indeed rejoice to believe it, but we have hitherto failed in finding sufficient ground for the indulgence of such a hope. After all that the benevolent efforts of our government, and all that Christian philanthropy have been able to achieve for this injured race, no element of character has yet been developed—no antidote for latent ills has been discovered—to justify any strong expectation that at the end of two centuries more, more than a forlorn remnant of the North American tribes will be found upon the earth. It has hitherto proved about equally fatal to them whether they adhered to the hunter life or resorted to agriculture. In the former case, the spread of white settlements consumed the game on which they must subsist; in the latter, they are soon environed by an ever-

restless, aggressive civilization, which, if it does not repel, attracts but to enfeeble and destroy.

The removal of the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi, and far from contact with the whites, we verily believe, offers the most favorable conditions for carrying out the difficult experiment of Indian civilization. If our government continues to maintain a steady policy, and to extend to the aborigines an efficient, not officious, protection; if it shall prove itself able to do what has never yet been done, to restrain the lawless whites, who always hover, like vultures, about the Indian frontier, and always contrive from that remote position to exercise more influence at Washington than ten times their number of virtuous, peaceable citizens, then, and for the first time, will an opportunity be afforded for testing fairly what missionary labors can do to remove a barrier which has hitherto proved insurmountable. Whatever may be the result of this experiment, the duty of the churches will be plain and imperative. If crowned with success, a new impulse will be given to an enterprise which has often been left to derive its worldly encouragements rather from the present than from the distant future; if, on the contrary, it shall be demonstrated that these scattered tribes are called to fill their brief cycle under a mysterious destiny, which hastens its own accomplishment by denying to its victims the inspiring motives of patriotism and hope, all that is benevolent in the gospel loudly demands that its light and consolations be promptly extended to this long funeral procession, already saddened by the consciousness of an inevitable doom, that each individual of a race manifestly predestined to be "no people" may be furnished with the unquestionable badges of citizenship under a higher and more equal dispensation.

The most interesting portion of the Methodist Indian missions has fallen under the jurisdiction of the southern division of the denomination. Of the four thousand three hundred and three converts of 1844, only six hundred and forty are now reported as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These belong to the remnants of once powerful tribes now scattered along our north-western frontier; and they are represented as making some hopeful progress in the arts and habits of civilized life, in spite of their proximity to counteracting and deteriorating influences. There are eight missions and eleven missionaries, whose fields of labor are embraced by the Rock River, Michigan, and Oneida Conferences. We are sorry to say that the Report before us does not offer a very satisfactory view of this department of missionary labor. There is a lamentable deficiency of statistics and other

precise reliable information; and how the proper authorities are able to proceed intelligently in the work of satisfying wants so inadequately set forth and so imperfectly known, we are really at a loss to conjecture. It is equally difficult to divine how, with the unsatisfied wants which are disclosed, the Christianizing process is sustained without serious and irretrievable embarrassments. There are missionaries ignorant of any language known to their flocks, who are yet wholly unprovided with interpreters, or left to struggle on with such casual helps as the Indians happen to be able and willing to supply. Schools, which must have been established at considerable expense, lack books and teachers, without which, the name of such an agency might as well be left out of the account. This is manifestly the great and crying want. Almost every missionary who gives any account of the state of his charge, complains bitterly of the utter inefficiency, or of the utter want of this right arm of an Indian mission. We know not by whose direction or oversight such a state of things is allowed to exist at a time when the missionary treasury is not absolutely exhausted, and when we venture to say an appeal to the church would afford ample means for removing an obstacle fatal to all reasonable hopes of success, and, we will add, for wiping away a reproach. The Board of Managers, with whom, in conjunction with a general committee, we believe, is lodged the power of redressing such wants, fully and explicitly recognize the crying neglect, as well as the indispensable necessity of providing ample means of education not only as a means of carrying forward the work of evangelization, but of preserving the fruits of former labors. "The board is fully persuaded that unless something further is done for the instruction of these Indians, instead of retaining and increasing the hold we now have upon their confidence and affections, the influence we have already acquired over them will be transferred to others." Again we are admonished that "the only remedy" for existing evils is "the establishment of suitable schools among them, and a more general and strict attention to their mental and moral training."—*Report*, p. 86. The entire church will subscribe to the soundness of these views, and will wait with some impatience to see them practically illustrated in this highly interesting and responsible field of missionary labor. Deeply as we should feel the mortification of seeing the influence which we now exercise over the Indian mind transferred to others, even to other evangelical Protestants; we should esteem that a slight evil in comparison with those which must follow the maintenance of that influence, notwithstanding our neglect of the sacred duties it im-

poses. True, we cannot yield the ground already won without manifest dishonor; but we cannot retain it, and yet neglect its diligent cultivation, without guilt still more manifest. It is a high duty to save the Christian name from reproach, but a higher to save souls from perdition.

In its further exposition of domestic operations, the Report brings to our notice the establishment, in the city of New-York, of a mission to Swedish seamen, for whose benefit religious services are regularly conducted in their own language, on board a bethel ship, moored in the North River. This enterprise, which was commenced in the year 1845, has been attended with a good degree of success, and offers every encouragement to perseverance.

One hundred and sixty-two missionaries are employed by the board in "destitute portions of the regular work;" and in this department, the most important fields are perhaps in the Rock River, Iowa, and Michigan Conferences, which comprehend a vast extent of territory now rapidly filling up by emigration. In our preliminary remarks upon the missionary character and capabilities of the Methodist economy, we have sufficiently indicated the process by which three-fourths of the entire field, now occupied by the Methodist Church, were brought under the influence of its doctrines and instructions. Emigration has usually scattered the good seed in the wilderness before the arrival of the missionary, who speedily extends his operations from one neighborhood to another wherever he can find a Christian family or an open door, till a circumference of one or two hundred miles is described, and forms the ample programme of his future labors. Revivals and recruits from the older churches are not long in giving resources and stability to the new circuit, which henceforward sustains its own preachers, and releases the missionary fund, to be employed in still more needy and distant regions. We do not believe that the Christian church has ever used a system of means better adapted to diffuse the gospel over a vast and growing country, such as we occupy, and we confidently expect that it will prove itself equal to the demands which the actual and prospective extension of our already immense national domain may impose upon our Christian zeal and fidelity. It has done more than any other agency to save a great country from the curse of being, at this moment, overspread with an irreligious, semi-heathen population; and the same boon, we think it likely, in its fair proportion, to extend to Oregon, and to whatever region besides, may be won and occupied by our branch of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Unquestionably, it is the high duty of the Methodist Episcopal Church, enjoined by its past history, and by all providential indications, to sustain and to multiply these very efficient and strictly indispensable missions to any extent which the expansion and movement of our population may demand. They have ever proved the most productive and the least expensive of its missionary operations, and it might easily be demonstrated, we think, that their efficiency would be impaired rather than promoted by a larger outlay of means, or any attempt to retard the earliest practicable transition of the dependent, pensioned mission, into a regular self-supporting circuit. Under these circumstances, no probable enlargement of this department of the work is likely to impose any considerable burden upon our missionary funds, or to exceed the ordinary contributions of the new conferences, within which, or adjacent to which, the most considerable expenditure will be wanted.

We are struck with the important fact disclosed in this Report, that a very large majority of the agents and pensioners of the society are employed, not on the western frontier, but within the limits of the oldest conferences and the most populous states; seventy-one are in New-England and New-York, and twenty in the comparatively small territory embraced by the Philadelphia Conference. The numbers of members given in the Report as belonging to these fields of labor are not, we presume, generally the fruits of missionary effort, but rather indicate the feebleness of the societies, many of them old, which require aid from missionary funds. A considerable number of these societies, however, are of recent origin, and the great development of manufacturing industry, in the populous regions under consideration, has given rise to many new communities, which require, and are likely to reward, missionary labors. Not a few now flourishing stations were a few years ago feeble missions; and such instances of success are already so numerous as to repay, many fold, the outlay which has been made in their behalf, and strongly to recommend the continuance of the enlightened liberal policy which has proved so beneficial to the general interests of the church.

If, however, we are not at fault in our recollections, by far the larger number of these missionary stations owe their existence to other and very different causes; and the little societies of twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty members, who enjoy the means of grace at the expense of missionary funds, have been made small by emigration, by schisms, and decay, or by the division of old circuits or stations. And here, again, we are quite aware that cases have

risen, and may still rise on either of the grounds just enumerated, which fully justify, and, on all considerations of Christian benevolence and sound policy, require the application of missionary funds for their relief; but we are also persuaded that the multiplication of petty stations, which the existing system encourages, is a practical evil of no ordinary magnitude. It would not be easy to fix a standard either of numbers or circumstances by which to determine the propriety of extending aid to feeble societies; but it seems to us a sound rule not to attempt, in this way, to establish new stations, or to sustain old ones, when there is not a reasonable prospect of such an expansion as will enable them, in due time, to support themselves. In a new country, but partially supplied with religious instruction, and constantly replenished by emigration, there is always such a reasonable prospect; but in the very different circumstances of the region now under consideration, an enlightened discretion had need to be exercised over any new proposal to build up a church on missionary resources. When a village or neighborhood is already preoccupied by active, spiritual denominations, and the people are well supplied with the means of grace, it is plainly a waste of means to attempt, in this way, to raise a new congregation for the gratification of half a dozen families who may prefer our creed or polity. Whatever else may be said in favor of such an aggressive movement, it is no proper missionary work; and resources obtained for the evangelization of the heathen, or to help the destitute, cannot, without a manifest perversion, be expended on such enterprises. Our cause is essentially weakened by the multiplication of such dependent churches; and we could easily enumerate scores of stations struggling on from year to year, and doomed to struggle on, without room for expansion or the prospect of better days. A handful of people, not often wealthy, make extraordinary and painful sacrifices to sustain the preacher, who is, nevertheless, but half supported, and escapes, at the end of his brief term, as from exile, embarrassed with debt, or impoverished by the excess of his unavoidable expenses over his scanty income. All this may be cheerfully, and even joyfully, borne amid the stirring scenes of a really missionary field, and under the inspiring hope of founding churches for future generations, while a present salvation is carried to the destitute and the perishing; but in the absence of these sustaining considerations, the prosecution of the Christian ministry under such discouragements becomes, to the last degree, burdensome and irksome to the preacher, while to the people it is seldom profitable and effective. Our remarks are intended to demonstrate the utter

inexpediency of expending missionary funds in providing, for the trial and deterioration of our preachers, a larger number of these unfruitful, unimprovable fields of labor. We know it is the settled opinion of a large proportion of our most enlightened and experienced ministers, that the actual number of these petty stations ought to be greatly, though gradually, diminished; not by their abandonment, but by a return, wherever it is practicable, to the circuit system. Two or three of these small societies, united in a circuit, would afford an inspiring and remunerating field of ministerial labor, where the preacher would get a better support, and the people, we verily believe, would get better preaching. The system here recommended is universally adopted by our elder brethren in England, and with good effect, under circumstances not greatly differing from ours. It is eminently the system of Methodism, and of the very genius of itinerancy, of which it has ever been the glory, that it is adapted to find, and provide for, the scattered members and families of Christ's flock.

In passing to notice, briefly, the foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we begin with the South American mission, which stands third in the Report. The name would suggest, to one not conversant with the earlier operations of the society, something very different from what he finds on further examination. At present, the society has but one missionary stationed on the South American continent, who preaches to a small Protestant congregation, composed of English and American residents in Buenos Ayres, by whom, with the aid of some friends, his salary is paid. The Rev. William H. Norris remains at his post with the consent of the missionary board, the only ground, we suppose, for still retaining, in the Annual Report, the name of the South American mission, which was formally given up in 1841–2, after an unsuccessful attempt to make some impression on the native Catholic population of that country. This early abandonment of an enterprise which had been entered upon with flattering hopes of success, and prosecuted at great pecuniary expense by some of the most intelligent missionaries ever employed by the society, was regarded, by many friends of the cause, a hasty and ill-advised measure. Six years was, unquestionably, a short time to allow for such an experiment, and few similar attempts have ever been crowned with any very eminent success, except as the reward of more patient and protracted labors. We are among those, however, who believed that the discontinuance of this effort, which had already demonstrated itself to be nearly hopeless, was, upon the whole, expedient, and that it was better to incur the charge of

instability and irresolution—no slight faults in those who guide the missionary enterprise—than to persevere in the face of difficulties, of which it was nearly certain that they would continue to increase rather than diminish. No Protestant missions have hitherto yielded so little fruit as those set on foot for the conversion of Catholics. It was hoped that the free institutions just introduced into South America might facilitate the diffusion of religious opinions more in harmony with the new political ideas; but the visions of freedom which rose in that direction have long since given way to a painful conviction, that as no people in the world are less fitted for self-government, so none are more completely the bondmen of priestcraft and superstition.

The acknowledged failure of this mission is no unusual event in the history of such enterprises, and it is fraught with lessons of instruction, which may be highly useful in forming and executing future plans. We trust that it will inspire the board with great caution in entertaining new projects for missions among Catholics. Ten years since the feeling was strong in favor of establishing a mission in France, and we can hardly mistake in believing that, with many, this is still a favorite object. After enjoying very favorable opportunities for the formation of our opinions, we then arrived at the conclusion, which subsequent information and developments have only served to confirm, that such a mission would be injudicious, and probably useless. There are, at this moment, nearly three hundred evangelical Protestant ministers in France, who are laboring for the spiritual good of its population with all the advantages which, as natives of the country, familiar with its institutions, its literature, its sympathies and prejudices, they are likely to possess. They are the true missionaries to whom France, Catholic and Protestant, is to look for evangelizing labors. Foreign interposition has, unquestionably, been highly useful in the revival of the ancient spirit of Protestantism; and the liberality of British and American Christians may be very beneficially directed to the support of native agencies, whose efficiency depends on considerable outlays of money. Beyond this species of help, it is the well-known opinion of the best-informed men in Europe, Frenchmen as well as English and Americans, that little valuable assistance can be rendered from abroad. Providential indications manifestly point to the evangelization of the heathen as the proper sphere for our missionary operations; and till the three hundred millions of China shall enjoy the labors of as many faithful preachers of the gospel as now toil among the thirty millions of France, we can conceive of no reason likely to satisfy the head or heart of

an enlightened Christian that it is right to overlook the vaster and the more pressing want, and, we will add, to pass by the more open and inviting door, in order to attempt the evangelization of a people already Christian.

The Oregon mission, which has attracted so large a share of attention during the last ten years, can no longer be regarded a foreign mission, now that the title of the United States to that country has been acknowledged by Great Britain, and measures have been adopted for extending the benefits of a regular administration to that distant portion of the republic. No missionary undertaking has been prosecuted by the Methodist Episcopal Church with higher hopes and a more ardent zeal. That the results have fallen greatly below the usual average of missionary successes, and inflicted painful disappointment upon the society and its supporters, none, we presume, can any longer hesitate to confess. It is, no doubt, for wise purposes that God permits his people to struggle with difficulties in their well-intended efforts for the promotion of his cause. Combinations of Christians, no less than individuals, require the discipline of adversity in order to qualify them for the better performance of great duties. The purity and the power of faith are made manifest by trials, and discomfiture itself, by reminding the church of its dependence on divine assistance in all its enterprises for the promotion of religion, is often, perhaps usually, the harbinger of coming triumphs. Trusting, as we do, yea, confidently and assuredly believing, that God yet designs to confide to our denomination some share in the work of evangelizing the heathen, we are disposed to look upon the history of this mission, so full of disaster and mortification, for instructive lessons to warn and guide us in our future operations. It would be wholly superfluous to declare that we mean no reflection upon the wisdom and faithfulness of those who have had the chief direction of this and other missions. We concede to them the praise of an entire devotion to the best interests of religion, and of having labored in the cause of Methodism and missions with a zeal and success which, we doubt not, will be rewarded with higher honors than our testimony could presume to confer. There is, perhaps, no reason to believe that others would have been able, under the circumstances, to judge more wisely or act more discreetly. It is, nevertheless, true, that from the more favorable position which we now occupy, we can easily detect the causes, which, whether regarded in the light of mistakes or misfortunes, led by inevitable tendencies to the failure of this mis-

sion, and the church cannot afford to lose the benefit of lessons for which it has paid so dearly.

The founder of the Oregon mission, the Rev. Jason Lee, now no more, was a man of unquestionable piety; and he gave many proofs, during his connection with the board, of possessing several high and indispensable qualifications for a pioneer in such an enterprise. Had the mission never been extended beyond three or four families, and had it been confined to its appropriate work of evangelization, we see no reason to doubt that his zeal, force of character, and perseverance, would have fully justified the confidence reposed in him by the board; but when he became the head of a religious colony, and sole director of a complicated system of operations, evangelizing, mercantile, agricultural, mechanical, and semi-political, which involved an expenditure of forty-two thousand dollars in a single year, he was thrown into an untried position, from which the wisest men in our ministry might well have shrunk, and for which, we incline to think, no man likely to be called to such duties was more eminently unfit than Mr. Lee. That he should have obtained over minds of the highest order among us such an ascendency as is implied in their approval of his impracticable schemes, is more surprising than that, under such circumstances, he should himself indulge in visionary hopes. The mission was commenced in 1834 by two clergymen and two lay assistants. At the end of six years there were "*sixty-eight persons* connected with this mission, men, women, and children, all supported by this society." This unexampled increase had been added to the original company at the urgent representations of Mr. Lee, after having been several years in Oregon, enjoying better opportunities than any other man for becoming acquainted with the actual wants of that region. The Indian population, for whose benefit this mission was established, does not, in the estimation of the Rev. Daniel Lee, colleague and nephew of the superintendent, exceed sixteen thousand. How such a number of missionaries found employment in such a field it is not easy to conjecture, especially as the great body of the Indians never came under the influence of their labors. They were, in fact, mostly engaged in secular affairs,—"concerned in claims to large tracts of lands, amounting in all to thirty-six sections, claims to city lots, farming, merchandising, blacksmithing, carpentering, cabinet-making, grazing, horse-keeping, lumbering, and flouring, with the constant trading, hiring, and paying attendant upon all these branches."—*Report*, p. 42. We do not believe that the history

of Christian missions ever exhibited another such spectacle. That the effect of this signal perversion of an evangelizing enterprise was no better than ought to have been expected, the Report before us, as well as some that preceded it, clearly intimates.

The mission became odious to the growing population, with whose interests and designs, good or bad, it came into perpetual conflict as an unwieldy, overshadowing, intermeddling, many-handed business establishment. As zeal grew lukewarm, and piety deteriorated under this secularizing process, the infirmities of human nature were occasionally manifested, and at length irreconcilable differences arose among the missionaries, which led to the return of several individuals to the United States, and to a disclosure of the real state of the mission. This has, of course, been followed by retrenchment and reorganization. The seculars have been discharged, and the trading establishments, mills, and workshops, have been broken up and sold by an agent, most judiciously selected, and sent out for the purpose. Two new missionaries have been sent out, who, with one or two of the old ones still in the service of the society, are henceforward to devote themselves to preaching the gospel and other strictly evangelizing efforts. Some time will probably be requisite to live down prejudices, and regain lost confidence; but we trust that success will yet smile upon this ill-conducted enterprise. We are sure it will hereafter be managed on sounder principles than before, and we trust that nobody will think of its abandonment. Oregon is rising into importance, and some such provision, as we have just indicated, the church must make for the white population; and with the continuance of such help as has uniformly been extended to frontier settlements, we may expect that in a few years this opening territory will be embraced in our regular work.

In regard to the spiritual results of this mission we refrain from saying much, for to us the subject is involved in painful mystery. In the earlier days of the enterprise, we believe the year before the arrival of the great reinforcement, an extensive revival was reported, and five hundred Indians became members of the mission church. None of these now remain, nor have we been able to learn the causes of declension or defection, which have so suddenly and so completely dissipated the fruits of so much labor. Did the converted Indians fly from contact with the mission when its distinctive character was lost in the industrial colony? Were they overlooked in the multitude of new pursuits? We are sure there were always faithful men who continued to care for these precious souls: but the entire series of Annual Reports has failed

to satisfy our reasonable and intense curiosity. On other points, no less than on this, we have been surprised at the scanty and infrequent intelligence received from this mission. Much of this is, doubtless, to be ascribed to distance and imperfect communications; but we cannot avoid the conclusion that there has been great negligence on the part of those from whom the board and the church were entitled to expect and demand regular and unreserved accounts of their operations. Such information is indispensable for the satisfaction of the public mind, as well as to guide the board in its measures; and it occurs to us, that any agent of the society, at home or abroad, who neglects so plain a duty, comprehends very inadequately the importance of one branch of his responsibilities. We shall leave this train of remark with an expression of our lively regret that so many missionaries, after having been sent to their field of labor at a heavy expense to the church, should feel at liberty to increase the burden, and set a dangerous example, by returning home without obtaining the consent of the board, a course of conduct which could not fail to impair the confidence of the church in its missionary agencies.

The length to which these strictures have already extended, leaves but little space for the most important of the society's foreign stations. Liberia has, from its first establishment, been a favorite mission with our Christian community; and many, who feel no sympathy with schemes of African colonization, have gladly co-operated in the missionary enterprise to which these attempts have given providential facilities. This must be pronounced a prosperous and highly useful mission, a reputation which we believe it has maintained under various fluctuations, from its first establishment. Its importance is heightened when we consider that this colony introduces religion and civilization to the most benighted portion of a benighted continent—that it interposes an effectual and constantly extending barrier to the slave-trade, and that it is, in all probability, the beginning of an empire destined to spread the gospel and its attendant social benefits, with every accession to its own territory and power. Fifteen preachers constitute the Liberia Mission Conference, who, with twenty-five individuals not named in the Report, are in the employment of the board, and dependent on its funds. There are at this time about eight hundred church members under their care. We are sorry to notice this diminution of numbers, but trust that it has been produced by transient causes, and that, with the growing population of the colony, this interesting branch of the church may enjoy increasing prosperity.

Before dismissing this mission, we wish to offer two or three distinct observations. It is not a mission to the heathen. The colonists are mostly natives of the United States, who were brought up in the belief of Christianity, and many of whom were members of the church before their emigration to Africa. It has often been stated, and we suppose truly, that the number of communicants in Liberia is greater in comparison with the whole population than it is in this country. This fact does not detract from the importance of this mission, but it determines its real character. It has little besides its greater remoteness to distinguish it from some of our domestic missions. It ought, also, to be remarked, that the laborers in this field are mostly inhabitants of the colony, employed and sustained by the Missionary Society, but not sent out as missionaries. If we rightly understand the subject, all but two or three are of the African race, and the climate has proved so fatal to white men, that we presume their proportion to their colored coadjutors is not likely to become greater. Indeed, it seems to us a duty, clearly and providentially enjoined upon those who have the oversight of these operations, to devise some plan to increase the number and efficiency of colored missionaries and teachers. It will probably be necessary, so long as Liberia shall demand a large outlay of missionary funds, to employ one or two American ministers in this perilous field. It may be doubted whether public confidence can be fully secured on easier terms; but the whole history of the enterprise demonstrates that white men cannot labor in that climate. The question is not whether self-sacrificing ministers can be found willing to encounter the perils of this service. We have had a dear-bought experience, which assures us that they can be found; but it has further taught us the inutility of multiplying such costly victims beyond the demands of an absolute necessity. We must express our full conviction that the missionary spirit has been not a little shocked and retarded in the denomination by the great sacrifice of valuable lives in this malignant climate. In this view, it must be deemed unfortunate that our only foreign mission, now justly entitled to the name, has been prosecuted under circumstances, and in the midst of developments, that have not unnaturally led many to doubt our providential call to this work; and we have long desired, not to see this field abandoned, but others sought out and entered upon, where there might be some reasonable hope that our zealous young men may live and labor, as well as die, in the cause of the crucified Redeemer.

So far as our sources of information enable us to form a correct

judgment in the premises, the Liberia mission has satisfied all the reasonable expectations of its friends with a single exception—perhaps even without that. It was confidently hoped that its establishment would give entrance to the gospel among the pagan population of Africa. We are not prepared to express a confident opinion that more could have been accomplished in this work under all the disadvantages of the climate, of the want of fit agents, and of the constant distractions of petty wars among the savage tribes adjacent to the colony. Numbers of native children have been taught in the schools, and considerable successes in evangelization have, from time to time, been reported; but we must say, that the speedy defections which have so generally followed these encouraging announcements, as well as the frequent suspension or abandonment of native stations, have led us to fear that these conversions were mostly spurious, and that there may have been some want of system, diligence, and perseverance in following up these various attempts. It seems to us perfectly obvious, that the conversion of the natives to Christianity will only be rendered more difficult, and less probable, by all fitful, ill-directed efforts. The mission to Africa, however, does not profess to be chiefly and directly a mission to the heathen; and we are persuaded that in the prosecution of its more immediate objects, it has done good service to the cause of religion and humanity, and that it deserves, as it must for some time need, the fostering care of the church.

We have thus taken a cursory survey of the entire field of our missionary operations. We have already expressed our grateful admiration at the incalculable good which, under the divine blessing, the society whose labors we now consider has been enabled to accomplish in the United States, as well as of the inherent, undiminished efficiency of this branch of the evangelizing movement.

In regard to the foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we confess that the more distinct and lively perception of their actual condition, to which this examination has conducted us, has only served to deepen the emotions of sorrow with which we have long been wont to contemplate this painful subject. What is the actual amount of our efforts and sacrifices for the conversion of the world to God? The mission to South America has been abandoned, though one of the missionaries is still usefully engaged in preaching to a congregation of his countrymen. The Oregon mission, now embraced in our own territory, has been reduced to three or four missionaries, whose work is not likely to differ greatly from that on our frontier settlements, though it is hoped

that a few Indians may yet be gathered by their labors. Liberia employs fifteen missionaries, nearly all inhabitants of the country, and engaged within the colony. Two or three of the latter class are making some attempts to reach the native population; but so far as we can learn from the Report before us, not a single missionary sent out by the Methodist Episcopal Church is laboring in the foreign field for the conversion of the heathen. *We are not aware of it, if one of our foreign missionaries preaches the gospel in any other than the English language, or if one of them has translated, or is translating, the Bible, or any part of it, or any other book or tract, to aid in the diffusion of gospel light.* We make these statements with feelings of bitter regret, to which no words can give utterance. We remember that we are in the midst of the nineteenth century, surrounded by a cloud of witnesses, and a host of inspiring, reproachful examples. Every evangelical church in the land has gratefully recognized its obligations to co-operate with its Saviour in asserting his empire over the heathen still perishing, though purchased with his blood. They offer freely of their silver and gold, and of the choicest of their sons and daughters. The missionaries of the cross are already numbered by thousands; and, with the single exception of Japan, we believe there is no considerable nation on earth where they have not obtained a footing. They have been eminently successful in Persia and Turkey; they are found in force on the plains of Bengal, and among the interior mountains, where the great rivers of India have their sources. The shores of China, so recently made accessible, are already dotted with their stations. They travel unmolested among pirates and robbers; they are domesticated with cannibals, and many populous islands have been redeemed from pagan idolatry and converted to God with a celerity which has outstripped faith itself, and satisfied Isaiah's glowing prediction of nations born in a day. We are already near the close of the first fifty years of this missionary century—of this age of missionary sacrifices and successes; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, second to none in numbers and resources, has yet to send its first missionary to the heathen world across the sea—has still to form its plans and settle preliminaries—has even to determine the doubtful question whether it will take any decided part in the conversion of the world from paganism. Multitudes of her members burn with a desire to have some part in overturning the idol temples of India and China; but not one of the six hundred and fifty thousand can consecrate himself or his property to the enter-

prise through any channel provided by his own denomination. Thousands, we believe, there are among us fully alive to the reproach and the guilt of this interminable delay. We know there are many with whom this flagrant dereliction, on the part of the church, of its highest duty, is habitually felt as a burden on the conscience, that disquiets their night watches, saddens their sacraments, and even dims their visions of heaven. They cannot divest themselves of anxiety at the thought of being *participes criminis*, in a grievous offense against Christ and the human race; and they would not meet their last account without an endeavor to make some atonement for delinquencies of such fearful magnitude. We protest earnestly, and in the sadness of our hearts, that this is no picture from the imagination, and we express our deliberate conviction that the time has come when the church *must act*. It is bound to provide some medium through which its members can give expression to their irrepressible convictions of duty toward the perishing heathen, or else frankly to announce to them that it does not propose to deviate from its present policy, and so leave their consciences free to contribute their personal and pecuniary aid through other denominations more alive to this class of Christian obligations. A few, at least, have already resorted to this method of satisfying their sense of duty to the heathen, after waiting in vain from year to year to see some movement in that direction by their own Missionary Society.

Assuming that the Methodist Episcopal Church is about to enter the field of missions for the evangelization of the heathen, we devote the few pages that remain to us to a hasty glance at the chief obstacles to be met with, and some of the conditions to be observed in the successful prosecution of such an enterprise. It has for some time been our settled opinion that a great, perhaps the greatest, hinderance that exists among us to the commencement of missionary operations, for the conversion of distant and pagan nations, is found in one of the best features of our economy, in its admirable adaptation and urgent tendency to home evangelization. It hence occurs that all the missionary zeal and resources of the church spontaneously flow, as they are powerfully drawn, into the one channel through which the itinerant system delights to expend its energies. Itinerancy is the controlling element of our economy, and it easily assimilates every enterprise to its own nature. Frontier missions and Indian missions insensibly and irresistibly grow into circuits, and even the mission to Africa becomes an itinerant conference, under the potent influence of a principle of which they are but the natural expression. It is

worthy of observation, that the Constitution of our Missionary Society fully recognizes, as all its operations have illustrated, this inherent partiality for home missions. It "is established for the express purpose of enabling the several annual conferences more effectually to extend their missionary labors throughout the United States and *elsewhere*." True to its fundamental principle, this institution has made "the United States" the almost exclusive theatre of its benevolent action, while the "elsewhere" has been so strictly construed as to exclude the vast heathen world from the sphere of its charities; and whenever the church has become restive under a consciousness of disobedience to the great commandment, "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," an apology and an anodyne were at hand, in the fact that we have been eminently successful in our devotion to home missions—that Michigan, Illinois, and even Ohio, are only the matured fruits of our unparalleled missionary efforts and triumphs. It is important, as it is discouraging, to observe that this favoritism toward home missions, to the neglect of the heathen, was never more predominant than at the present time. Of this, the Report of 1846 exhibits but too ample proof. Let it be remembered, that at the time of writing this annual exposé, there was in the missionary treasury an unexpended surplus of some twenty thousand dollars, and that the society was free from debt. What new enterprise awakens the zeal of the grateful board with whom God and the church have dealt so liberally? Hear the Report:—"It is hoped, therefore, that instead of deviating from our former policy, even a larger appropriation will be made for this work (domestic missions) the ensuing year."—P. 96. Again,—"It is confidently hoped that the present state of our funds, and the increasing demand for help in our domestic department, will induce the missionary committee to make a larger appropriation for the ensuing year than they felt themselves warranted to do for the past. Such a course, we have good reason to believe, will receive the sanction of the board."—P. 97.

We may confidently trust in the society for the fulfillment of these reasonable hopes; but what hope for the heathen in this full treasury? None at all. The Report admits, as all its predecessors have, that it is the sacred duty of the church to send them the gospel—admits her "criminality" if she remain inactive—that she will be "recreant" to "sacred trusts," "unworthy of her parentage," "false to her own pretensions"—admits that China and the world are now accessible, and informs us that a good supply of well-qualified young ministers "are anxiously waiting"

to be sent out on a mission to the heathen. But after all these admissions, and at the conclusion of several pages of argument and remonstrance, it announces, that "until some satisfactory assurances are given that the church will sustain such an enterprise, they [the board] must hesitate in giving it encouragement." —P. 13. It, however, "affords us [the board] great pleasure to state, that a plan has already been projected, which, if sustained, and efficiently carried out, will probably meet the case in hand." —P. 15. The plan is this:—Some persons have promised to pay one hundred dollars each for ten years for the support of a mission to China. It is hoped that thirty subscribers may be found who will pay three thousand dollars per annum for that period, and it is added:—"If this amount were found to be *not quite* sufficient, it might, nevertheless, warrant the undertaking."—P. 15. The whole may be summed up in a single sentence. The twenty thousand dollars surplus, together with all the money that can be raised in the usual way, will be devoted to the enlargement of the work at home, and for the support of existing missions; and if Methodists will enjoy the luxury of attempting to evangelize the heathen, they must enter into good recognizances to indemnify the board against losses in this deviation from its appropriate work. Profound as is our mortification at this virtual denial of its obligations to extend its labors to the heathen, it is deepened by the recollection that the appeals of this society for pecuniary aid are always based on a recognition of these claims; and we do not hesitate to declare our conviction that missionary money is usually contributed with a vague expectation that it is somehow to contribute to the evangelization of pagans. Every one who hears or reads missionary appeals, knows that the wants of these outcasts, and the sacred duty of the church to enlighten them, constitute the burden of their argument. Under the head of "modes of raising supplies," the Report before us advises to "place before our people, generally, the deeply affecting state of the heathen—their intense and bewildering darkness—their cruel and ferocious habits—their revolting idolatries—their gross and disgusting superstitions—and their fearfully imminent perils. This picture of heathen degradation must be made to stand out in bold relief—its deep, dark shades must be made to appear in all the radiance of well-authenticated facts."—P. 106. We may ask, Is a Missionary Society, which gets its income on the strength of such affecting statements, at liberty to overlook them in its appropriation? Will they refuse to devote three thousand dollars a year to the relief of wants, on account of which the larger por-

tion of their funds are contributed? For ourselves, we must declare that we do not see how money can be properly solicited on such grounds, unless some respect is to be paid to the obligation thus incurred.

These strictures are made with no intention to cast censure upon the society or any of its agents, who, we are perfectly confident, have conscientiously discharged what has seemed to be their duty; but for the sole purpose of exposing the inherent and hitherto insuperable repugnance of our existing missionary arrangements to the uncongenial work of evangelization in distant pagan lands. The system rejoices and triumphs in the home field, which, for twenty-seven years, has presented an antagonism to the foreign interest strong enough to overcome the anxious wishes of the church, and the honest purposes of the society; and so adapted is the machinery, by which it connects itself with every part of the land, to perpetuate this narrow favoritism, that an application for aid from the missionary funds, by any rising or waning society of five and twenty members, is likely to be urged upon the board with an advocacy earnest enough to drown the Macedonian cry of the five hundred millions of heathen who perish in their sins between the Indus and the Sea of Japan. Is it premature to conclude that we shall never do anything valuable in the evangelization of these nations without some new arrangements better suited to the purpose? With us, opinion has ripened into a settled conviction that we must have a distinct board of foreign missions, responsible to God and the church for the zealous, faithful prosecution of that one work, leaving to the present society the field which it has cultivated so long and so well. This division of labor could hardly fail of being highly beneficial to the home interest, while it would open to the church a new and effectual door for the development of its energies in doing good. A more important subject than this will not occupy the deliberations of the General Conference at its session in 1848; and we devoutly hope that no other questions or interests will be allowed to postpone or supplant it. Under a better system, the church would soon roll away her greatest reproach, and regain confidence in her own resources and counsels. We should no longer hear of doubtful, mortifying discussions about extra efforts to send out one or two young men, commissioned to represent the entire zeal of six hundred thousand Methodists for the salvation of five hundred millions of pagans. We doubt not that ten or twenty messengers of mercy might be dispatched in a single year, and that we should eventually, and very soon, assume our just proportion of the great

work which Christ has assigned to his church. When we consent to doubt this, we shall doubt the substantial piety of the denomination; for we heartily concur in the statement of Dr. Harris, that "to decline the missionary cause, or look coldly upon its progress, is to merit the execration of the world we are neglecting, and of the church we are refusing to assist."

The Report before us questions the steadiness of the church in the prosecution of missions to the heathen, and complains that it acts from impulse—and is too impatient of delays to be trusted in such enterprises. We submit, that the zeal and perseverance of the church have not been tested; and till the experiment shall have been fairly made, we will hope and believe better things of our Zion. Present some worthy opportunity for the manifestation of the missionary spirit in its highest function—trust God and the power of his grace in the hearts of his people—send forth twenty young men into the bosom of the pagan world, and lay upon the church's conscience the responsibility of sustaining, or of recalling them, or of leaving them to starve, and there will, there must be a response as deep and as incessant as her devotion to Christ. We repeat it, we have confidence in the sons of Wesley, who are of one spirit on either side of the Atlantic; but we earnestly deprecate the tantalizing, hardening processes by which our sympathies for the heathen have been evoked so often, while no way has been devised to give to this holy sentiment any appropriate sphere of manifestation. Propose to the church some intelligible enterprise, some worthy, well-defined field for the display of its activities—*give the church something to do*, and then if her Christianity proves mere impulse and vapor, let Ichabod be written on all her tabernacles. It will be worth more than all such an experiment will cost to know in season that ours is but a spurious form of Christianity, which has no part in the mission of Christ's church.

In favor of our proposal for the establishment of a separate board for conducting foreign missions, we may add, that such a change is recommended by the practice of every Christian denomination in this country. Ours, we believe, is the only attempt to concentrate under one administration the management of interests at once so distinct and so important. The example of the British societies is inapplicable to our circumstances, as they have comparatively little concern in domestic missionary operations.

If, in addition to this indispensable change, to which we are unable to perceive any reasonable ground of objection, we might borrow from our Canadian brethren an improvement that has

vastly increased their missionary resources, we should confidently expect to see the church of our choice enter upon this long-neglected field of Christian duty with brightening prospects and fresh impulses, and under a system well adapted to foreign, no less than to home, evangelization. Every presiding elder in the Canada Conference is charged with the care of the missionary interest in his district; and it is made his duty, in concert with the churches, to organize missionary societies, and provide for the collection of funds, and to hold annually, and in all suitable places, missionary meetings, for which he has authority to detail the preachers at his discretion, providing, mean time, for their pulpits by the aid of local preachers, or otherwise. The introduction of such a feature into our missionary system—of such an element of power, of efficiency, and *order*—could not fail of producing the most important results. It would diffuse missionary spirit and activity throughout the entire connection, and, at the same time, strongly tend to combine more closely the different sections of the church under a common system, and for the prosecution of common enterprises—objects of the highest value, which are often counteracted, especially so, we think, in the missionary work, by the subdivision of the church into so many conferences, each the centre of a distinct sphere of operation, and liable, therefore, to fall under the influence of sectional interests and views. The change proposed would unquestionably impose new and onerous duties on the presiding elder, who would need to be a man of bodily and mental vigor, as well as of great industry and zeal; but the office would, we think, find its compensation for the additional burden in its vastly increased usefulness and respectability. Of this modification, as of the first proposed, we are ready to say that we can perceive no good reason against its adoption. It would harmonize perfectly with our itinerant economy. It would be a glorious recognition of the importance of the missionary work, of its identity with Christianity itself. It would make of our denomination, in fact, what it has ever claimed to be, and what it confessedly is for all the purposes of domestic evangelization, an essentially missionary church.

To the changes here proposed, and to all attempts to adapt our arrangements more fully to meet the exigences of missionary efforts among distant pagan nations, we are sorry to know that there exists, with a few excellent men, an objection which is not met by any of the arguments and explanations here adduced. They see in the admirable adaptations of our itinerant system to home evangelization, and not less in the unskillful movements of the church

in foreign enterprises, a providential intimation that we are not called to engage in the distant field of labor. We are not about to enter upon a formal refutation of this opinion, which is confessedly in conflict with the nearly universal sentiment of the denomination, as well as with that of the entire Christian church. We have referred to this objection for the purpose of throwing out an idea which we conscientiously entertain. We believe that in the present state of piety among us, and in any state of piety that can coexist with a neglect of evangelizing efforts for the conversion of the heathen, little or no advantage can accrue from any great increase of our expenditure of money and labor on home operations. Let us suppose each annual conference to be able to send out and support a hundred additional preachers;—what reason should we have to expect any appreciable increase of numbers or piety from their labors, without some new endowment of heavenly power and grace? We might expect just the reverse of this by the subdivision of responsibilities already but too feebly felt, and the more leisurely performance of a work which is effectual only where it is done with "all the might." In truth, the offers of salvation have already been borne around and around throughout the great mass of our home population, and pressed upon the individual conscience with whatever force our love to Christ, and the souls purchased with his blood, is able to exert, aided by all the divine assistance which is wont to be conceded to such a standard of piety as now prevails among us. There is work to be done, we admit, everywhere, and especially in new and distant settlements; but it is vain to hope that a more thorough and comprehensive evangelization can be generally attained without influences from on high, not to be expected by any church that in this day of light and urgent convictions shall continue to treat with neglect the Saviour's last great commandment. History and observation are at hand to confirm these conclusions. What a revolution has taken place in several of our American churches since they engaged earnestly in the evangelization of the heathen! What new efficiency! What unwonted activity! What pecuniary sacrifices! What new life and energy in the laity! Tahiti and Ceylon are evidently reacting upon Boston and New-York. It was probably necessary that Christian benevolence should contemplate the worth and the degradation of blood-bought souls in the presence of false gods and abominable rites, ere it could acquire momentum sufficient to force its purifying tide along neglected lanes and wretched habitations at its own doors, so long forgotten or spurned by its sympathies. All the eminently missionary churches are now receiving into their own bosoms an

ample recompense for their outlays. Every agent in the foreign field is represented at home by half a dozen colporteurs, tract distributors, and domiciliary visitors, while an unexampled baptism of zeal and power has transformed all of God's people into prophets. And this is just such a result as we might expect from missionary efforts under our Christian economy, for they eminently fulfill the two great commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets—love to God and to man, loyalty to Christ and sympathy for souls.

While the genius of the gospel concurs with experience in thus pointing to the missionary field as that on which are to be won the spiritual discipline and gracious resources indispensable as instruments for a more general and searching evangelization at home, the example of the apostles throws contempt on that theory of Christian benevolence which refuses to put forth an effort to save remote nations, so long as there is so much sin and impenitence in our own. Had this been the gauge of their zeal and charity, the first disciples would never have crossed the boundaries of Judea, not one in a hundred of whose inhabitants were converted when the gospel was carried into remote idolatrous lands. The Holy Spirit dictated a very different policy to those who implicitly followed its guidance, and we find them passing rapidly from country to country, erecting the standard of the gospel in all the high places of the earth—in the great centres of intelligence and power, of wealth and trade,—in Rome, in Athens, in Corinth, in Philippi, in Antioch, in Damascus.

In emulation of such authoritative examples, and with some measure of the impartiality of Him who is no respecter of persons, ought the Christian church in all its branches to hasten the movements of its benevolence, till every nation under heaven shall have its day of merciful visitation. Though thousands and millions at home shall continue to "judge themselves unworthy of everlasting life," let them still turn to the heathen, for so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, "I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth."

Our task will be completed when we have added a brief paragraph upon the means, pecuniary and personal, likely to be at the disposal of the church for the performance of its high duty to the pagan world. In regard to the former, the income of the Missionary Society for the last year exceeded the expenditure necessary under the existing scale of its operations by twenty thousand dollars; and yet the whole amount divided by the number of our church members gives a quotient of less than fourteen cents. To doubt the

willingness of the denomination to quadruple that insignificant average, under any system of finance and administration that shall commend itself to the intelligence and the conscience of the great body of our people, would be a grievous reflection upon their piety, in which it is at least premature to indulge. It is a fact well known that the vast majority of Methodists contribute nothing to missions, and that no earnest, systematic endeavor is made to interest them in the enterprise; while those who actually give, do it in amounts which, if equaled by the mass of their brethren, would swell the society's revenue to hundreds of thousands. Now, in forming our estimate of what may be accomplished in the department of funds, we are entitled to reckon on American Methodists as a Christian people, and on the great body of the preachers as men of God, and *we know* that under a system of applications at once energetic and comprehensive—under any system not greatly defective—carried to the doors and consciences of a pious people by a zealous, laborious, evangelical ministry, results may be reached far more satisfactory than any which we have hitherto ventured to propose. What has been done by others *can* be done by us; and it is an historical fact that much more than we have suggested as attainable by the Methodist Church, is from year to year accomplished by the Wesleyans in England, and in Canada; and by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians, in this country. What we have said of money may, with some change of terms, be said of men—the actual supply does, to an extent at once painful and embarrassing, exceed the demand. While the board speaks doubtfully of sending two or three missionaries to the heathen, five times that number of unexceptionable, well-qualified young men are competitors for the post of honor. Well does the Report warn the church of its "fearful responsibility," in restraining the grace of God, which urges so many of her devoted sons into the missionary field. We trust that this gratifying fact will remove an apprehension which we believe has hitherto silently operated to deter many excellent men from lending a cordial support to foreign missions. It has been apparent to them that a good degree of literary preparation would be indispensable in preachers set apart to a work for which new languages must be acquired, and where strange forms of blended religions and philosophical error must be combated by a higher science, as well as a purer theology; and they have not seen how this manifest urgent want could be satisfied without some infringement on what they deem the true Scriptural method of ministerial training. As if to remove this practical objection from all sincere minds, God has been

pleased to awaken these convictions of duty in regard to going to the heathen, especially, if not exclusively, in young men already possessed of competent intellectual advantages; and His faithfulness is pledged, in answer to the prayers of his people, to pour out his Spirit more and more upon this large and growing class of young preachers. Should the church, however, in the prosecution of this great work, be ultimately called upon to make special provision for the training of its missionaries, this can never be deemed a good reason for withholding obedience to the great commandment, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." In the primitive church the missionary was miraculously endowed with a knowledge of the language in which he was called to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. Now the indispensable qualification must be reached by providential, not by miraculous, means; and the toilsome season of preparation, whether spent on the shores of China, or at home, has become one of the conditions under which the missionary and the church, whose messenger and agent he is, must be content to offer an acceptable sacrifice to the Saviour of the world.

While, then, we gratefully accept the facilities so opportunely presented for an immediate entrance upon this long-deferred enterprise, we ought ever to hold ourselves ready to follow the leadings of Providence in all arrangements for the maintenance and future enlargement of the work. That the instruments hereafter to be provided, like those who now voluntarily offer themselves to the board, must be *young* men, we may thus early conclude without trespassing upon the prophetic function, or giving a too hasty interpretation to the intimations already vouchsafed to us. Young men alone can learn and *speak* a foreign language with facility. This consideration of itself conclusively determines the question. In all ordinary cases it will require twice or thrice the time for a man of forty years of age to learn a difficult language, which, after all, he will never use effectively, that will suffice for one of twenty-two or twenty-five, to obtain good facility both in writing and speaking it. In addition to this, young men alone adapt themselves to new climates, and habits, and new states of society, with little risk and inconvenience, and with the utmost readiness and tact. We have felt some surprise at hearing the question raised, whether the church can trust young men in a work so responsible as the establishment and superintendence of a foreign mission. The history of, we believe, every successful enterprise of this sort answers in the affirmative; for no church, that we are aware of, has thought it wise to deprive the home work of the

influence and counsels of middle-aged and aged ministers, in order to employ them in distant fields of labor, for which they are not qualified, and can by no effort become so. It occurs to us that the Methodist Church ought to be the last to withhold confidence from her young men, whether for this or any other department of usefulness. From the day when Methodism was first planted on our shores, young men have been its pioneers in every enterprise involving toil or sacrifice. The same thing has been exemplified both in the west and the east; and the venerable fathers who still remain to counsel and bless us, gained their greenest laurels in their youth. Providential circumstances thrust them into the most trying and responsible positions, at an age when the fullest development of bodily, as well as mental power was favored and hastened by the magnitude of the trusts confided to them. Francis Asbury was only twenty-seven years of age when Mr. Wesley appointed him "general assistant," and "constituted him the head of all the preachers and societies in America, with power to station the preachers," &c., under his own direction. Mr. Asbury, it is readily conceded, was an extraordinary man, but his example, nevertheless, illustrates a general principle; and if he, at so early an age, proved himself eminently qualified for duties and trusts so difficult and responsible, may not young ministers of the present day, selected for their piety and discretion, and always acting under the instructions of the board, be safely trusted to take care of themselves during the incipient stages of a mission, while they must be chiefly employed in learning a new language, and afterward, and with the lights of growing experience and years, to take care of the work in which they are expected to be, under divine guidance, the sole efficient instruments? We should not dwell upon a question which appears to us so very free from difficulty, but for the fact that the want of suitable men of mature experience and established ministerial reputation, to go out as superintendents of the enterprise, is believed to constitute no slight obstacle to the early establishment of missions to the heathen. We verily believe that this maturity of years and ministerial experience will be found to constitute a precise *unsuitableness* for the strange field of labor. Shall the middle-aged or veteran preacher be sent forth with his youthful coadjutors, attended probably by a numerous family, to swell the expense of the enterprise? He cannot learn the language, or not till the advance of years shall have robbed him of opportunities to use his new acquisition with the greatest benefit to the cause. Shall he follow at the close of the period which must be devoted to preliminary measures, that he may superintend

the active evangelizing operations? He can only act upon the knowledge gained by his predecessors in the field. He must inevitably be superintended by them, or only embarrass and mar plans which they alone are competent to form.

Long as this article is, its limits have compelled us to exclude several topics, and many reflections and suggestions, which it was our anxious wish to present. To the large class of our readers, who think silence should be observed in regard to deficiencies and errors such as we have dwelt upon, we submit in all humility that, in our opinion, great harm has already been done by the want of the disclosures which the Report under review contains; and that it is a first principle with us to trust unreservedly the candor and discretion of the church, in all that concerns the church's interests and responsibilities. To this and all other objections we offer as our final reply, that we have been led into the train of remark which terminates with the present sentence, by a sense of duty as clear and constraining as any to which we ever yielded a reluctant obedience.

ART. VII.—*The Life and Correspondence of John Foster: edited by J. E. Ryland. With Notices of Mr. Foster as a Preacher and a Companion.* By JOHN SHEPPARD, Author of "Thoughts on Devotion," &c. In two vols., 8vo., pp. 306, 385. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1846.

JOHN FOSTER was a man of great and extraordinary qualities. His "Essays" are among the most masterly productions in the English language. They have made a deep and indelible impression upon the age, and given immortality to the author's name. That a man who lived so long, and was so extensively known and admired, should have left behind him a multitude of letters and private documents which would illustrate his character, is what might be expected, and their publication would naturally excite deep interest.

The present work is almost wholly composed of Foster's productions. The editor gives us a rapid sketch of the life and labors of his subject; but even in this he weaves in passages from his letters and other documents in great abundance: so that there is scarcely a page that is not adorned by the scintillations of his genius. It is rare, indeed, that the letters of a shining character, written to his intimate friends, serve to elevate their author

in public estimation. There are many sad evidences of the truth of this remark in the numerous biographies which are extant. By this means a multitude of things freely and carelessly written, which their authors never intended for the public eye, are handed over to posterity as part and parcel of the evidence upon which a correct judgment is to be formed of their spirit, talents, and character. All this would be right, if the world is entitled to an acquaintance with the secret workings of men's minds, and to gaze upon the sanctuary of their private communings with their intimate friends. This is a question upon which we have strong doubts: for it is rarely the case that the world, for generations after a man has been dead, is competent to judge correctly of his private and confidential communications. They are generally made upon the assumption of a state of mind, and a knowledge of facts, upon the part of those to whom they are addressed, which are peculiar to them as individuals, and consequently cannot, with perhaps a few rare exceptions, be transmitted to others, even those who live in their own times; and much less to such as shall live generations afterward.

There are several of Foster's letters to his confidential friends which we regret to see. We should infinitely prefer to have known him only through his published works, illustrated by such private letters and papers as breathe the same spirit and speak the same language, to the vexation of a labored effort to reconcile *John Foster* the *essayist* with *John Foster* the *correspondent*.

We are aware it may be urged that impartial history requires that everything which is tangible, that goes to illustrate a man's character, should be brought out. And we confess there is force in the plea, and it would be perfectly conclusive, provided we could have his own explanations and qualifications, just as he would have made them if he had been writing for the gaze of the world. In his private communications he supposes these explanations and qualifications to be unnecessary; but if he had imagined himself in communication with millions of minds, extending down through countless ages, he would have judged them indispensable; or, possibly, would have withheld altogether the matter, which, if published to the world, would require them.

We have been led into this train of reflections by the perusal of the work now before us; though the matter which we deem exceptionable occupies comparatively but a small space. The letters, as a whole, rank among the most spirited and instructive compositions of the class. The exceptions are like spots upon the sun; and we confess we are grieved to see them. Indeed, we most

heartily wish, as we have no doubt the author *now* does, that they were annihilated. But before we proceed to particulars, we must give our readers a brief sketch of Mr. Foster.

John Foster was born Sept. 17, 1770, of poor, industrious, honest, and pious parents, in the parish of Halifax, between Wainsgate and Hebden-bridge, England. He says of himself, that "when not twelve years old he had a painful sense of an awkward but entire individuality." In his youth his manners and his observations upon men and things were such that he was characterized by his neighbors as "old-fashioned." His early years were spent in weaving coarse fabrics,—a business for which he had no relish, and in which he manifested little skill. He was retiring and studious. His biographer says: "While residing with his parents he studied closely, but irregularly; he would often shut himself up in the barn for a considerable time, and then come out and weave for two or three hours, 'working,' as an eye-witness expressed it, 'like a horse.'" In his eighteenth year he became a member of the Baptist Church. He commenced his studies under Dr. Fawcett at Brearley Hall, and after about three years was admitted into the Baptist college, Bristol, where, it seems, he remained only about one year. In 1792 he entered upon his first engagement as a preacher in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Here his success was small, and he only remained about three months. Next he engaged "to a Baptist society, meeting in Swift's Alley, Dublin." Here he remained but about a year. He next undertook school-keeping, taking charge of a classical school in Dublin. But he says: "The success did not encourage me to prosecute it more than eight or nine months." In 1797 he "was invited to become the minister of a General Baptist Church at Chichester. He remained there about two years and a half, and applied himself with greater earnestness than at any former period to his ministerial duties;—usually preaching three times on the Sunday, and in various ways striving to promote the piety and general improvement of the congregation." After this he spent one year "with Mr. Hughes at Battersea;" and "in 1800 he removed to the village of Downend, five miles from Bristol, where he preached regularly at a small chapel erected by Dr. Caleb Evans." After he "had resided about four years at Downend, in consequence chiefly of the high testimony borne to his character and abilities by Mr. Hall, he was invited to become the minister of a congregation, meeting in Sheppard's Barton, Frome." "It was during his residence at Frome that the 'Essays,' by which Foster attained his great celebrity, were published." Mr. Foster held the office of pastor at Frome a little

more than two years, when he became a regular contributor to the Eclectic Review; and henceforward gave himself almost entirely to literary pursuits. The occasion of Foster's giving up his pastoral charge at Frome was a disease in the throat, which was much aggravated by public speaking. In 1808 Mr. Foster married. In relation to this event he remarks:—

"We are thoroughly well acquainted with each other's character, tastes, and habits; and both of us believe there is a singular, even an extraordinary, degree of mutual adaptation, in all our views, feelings, and wishes. Perhaps I might have mentioned that my dear friend is about six years younger than myself. Two months hence I shall be thirty-seven years of age. . . . . Our acquaintance has now been as much as seven years, and our avowed connection about five. I regret that the union has been, though unavoidably, deferred to so advanced a period of life, but I never wish I had been married very young. My general health is very good. The state of my eyes is not worse, nor the complaint which has compelled me to desist from preaching."—Vol. i, p. 192.

After his marriage he settled at Bourton; and though when he relinquished his pastoral duties at Frome, he supposed his labors as a Christian minister had closed, yet, "within little more than a year after his marriage, the morbid affection in his throat had so far diminished as to allow of his once more speaking in public." He seems for about nine years to have preached whenever an opening occurred, in all sorts of places: for he says in relation to this period, "I am become accustomed to pulpits, desks, stools, blocks, and all sorts of pedestal elevations." "Toward the close of 1817 Mr. Foster left Bourton, and became once more a resident and a stated preacher at Downend;" but "scarcely six months had elapsed when the failure of his efforts was so evident, that he could not hesitate on the propriety of relinquishing the situation." His "mode of exhibiting religious subjects" did not meet the taste of the people, and he was not much disposed to change it: for he says,—"I cannot feel the duty of making a laborious effort to change my manner for the sake of attracting persons, to whom, after all, it would be less attractive than the crudest exhibitions at the Methodist meeting." Dry, hard, intellectual essays, in the shape of sermons, without evangelical life or fire, never were and never will be "attractive" to people who feel that they have souls to be saved.

In 1821 Foster removed from Downend to Stapleton, within three miles of Bristol. In the following year he complied with the solicitations of his friends in Bristol to deliver a lecture once a fortnight at Broadmead chapel. These lectures he continued until

Robert Hall's settlement in Bristol, in 1825; when, out of deference to this prince of Christian orators, he discontinued them. He continued his residence at Stapleton until his death, which occurred Oct. 15, 1843.

Foster, as a *thinker*, was slow but profound and majestic in his evolutions. His mind was of a peculiar mold. No theme was too deep and mysterious for his adventurous and powerful genius. He seems even to prefer dwelling upon inscrutable mysteries. His disappointments in endeavoring to perforate the veil which separates between the present and the future world did not discourage his repeated efforts; and he often seems uneasy under the restraints which the wisdom of God has laid upon the mind of man in his best estate.

He was a careful and critical observer of nature. In his rambles in the field he was constantly storing his mind with minute facts, which served him as illustrations in the consideration of the laws of the universe. The following passage from his Journal shows how minutely and accurately he analyzed the most trivial matters :—

"Observed a long time, through a small opening in a completely built and closed shed, a cow and calf. The cow advanced her head to the opening to observe *me* too. We looked at each other's face, at a very short distance, a long time, and I indulged in a kind of wondering about the nature of our mutual consciousness and thought of each other. (By the way, the mutual recognition of beings of any order is a very strange and mysterious thing.) I observed the great difference between the degree of intelligence expressed in the eyes and looks of the cow, and in those of the calf. Yet vastly less difference than between the looks of a *human* infant and a mature person.

"Observed the beautiful appearance of the numerous shining flexures or wrinkles on the neck and shoulders of the cow. Noticed, also, an exquisite beautiful cerulean appearance within the eyes of the calf, in the half-darkness (more than half) of the shed.

"Observed that the cow's *attention* was much more *excited*, (even when the calf did look at me,) and much longer fixed and continued, than that of the calf."—Vol. i, p. 235.

In the same manner he remarked upon rocks and hills, plants and flowers. The "butter-cup" was with him an object of as absorbing interest as a kingdom was to Napoleon. He had a strange sympathy for flowers—seldom plucking them, not being willing to hasten the period of their glory.

As a *writer*, Foster was copious, nervous, and majestic, though not remarkable for beauty or correctness. The following critique upon the style of his "Essays," by Robert Hall, is measurably

applicable to all his writings; but the faults noted are less frequent in his correspondence than in his other compositions.

"We are far, however, from recommending these volumes as faultless. Mr. Foster's work is rather an example of the power of genius than a specimen of finished composition: it lies open in many points to the censure of those minor critics who, by the observation of a few technical rules, may easily avoid its faults without reaching one of its beauties. The author has paid too little attention to the construction of his sentences. They are for the most part too long, sometimes involved in perplexity, and often loaded with redundances. They have too much of the looseness of a harangue and too little of the compact elegance of regular composition. An occasional obscurity pervades some parts of the work. The mind of the writer seems at times to struggle with conceptions too mighty for his grasp, and to present confused masses, rather than distinct delineations of thought. This, however, is to be imputed to the originality, not the weakness of his powers. The scale on which he thinks is so vast, and the excursions of his imagination are so extended, that they frequently carry him into the most unbeaten track, and among objects where a ray of light glances in an angle only, without diffusing itself over the whole. On ordinary topics his conceptions are luminous in the highest degree. He places the idea which he wishes to present in such a flood of light, that it is not merely visible itself, but it seems to illumine all around it. He paints metaphysics, and has the happy art of arraying what in other hands would appear cold and comfortless abstractions, in the warmest colors of fancy. Without the least affectation of frivolous ornaments, without quitting his argument in pursuit of imagery, his imagination becomes the perfect handmaid of his reason, ready at every moment to spread her canvass and present her pencil."—*Hall's Works*, pp. 247–8.

As a *politician*—for he, from principle, meddled with the affairs of the state—he was a rigid dissenter and a democrat. Early in life he imbibed a profound horror of "religious establishments," which with advancing years grew into a passion as obstinate and relentless as death. The state of Ireland, the condition of the poor in the manufacturing districts, the extravagance of the nobility, and their cold indifference to the sufferings of the operatives, raised his ire to a fearful pitch. His scorching sarcasms upon the English clergy and gentry are now made public, and will haunt those classes like ghosts of darkness. Even "the evangelicals" do not escape his terrible inflictions. He gloried much in the act of "Catholic Emancipation," but lived long enough to see

that it strengthened Romanism in England without diminishing the power of the privileged orders, or affording a morsel of bread to the poor. His three numbers on "The Ballot," addressed "to the editor of the Morning Chronicle," are powerful, and, doubtless, truthful, exhibitions of the corruptions of the elections. They show most conclusively the impossibility of maintaining popular rights against a moneyed aristocracy. He declares it a notorious fact that "it was absolutely impossible to obtain an honest election," and quotes with approbation the language of one who said, "The Reform Bill is not worth five farthings here, so inveterate, so despotic an ascendency has the tory corporation, combined with the high-church, acquired over the interests and fears of the inhabitants." —*See Letters*, vol. ii, pp. 178–190.

As a *Christian*, Foster does not appear to have been deeply experienced. The subject of religion pervades his correspondence: but his explanations, his reasonings, his doubtings, his gloomy retrospects and anticipations, indicate a want of deep communion with God, and assurance of his own acceptance. He seems to have reached little beyond the experience described in the seventh of Romans—the mere legal state of an awakened conscience. The triumphant language with which the next chapter opens reflected no light upon his vision. He never seems to have been rid of a *sore conscience*—never to have escaped a sense of condemnation.

His life was serious, and his deportment always consistent with the proprieties of the Christian character. But his *faith* was *weak*. He resolved to keep God's holy law—he failed—he condemned himself in unmeasured terms, and resolved again—again he failed. He talked and reasoned like a philosopher of *faith*—of the atonement—and declared that here was his only hope, and yet how to *believe* so as to make the atonement available for present deliverance from spiritual bondage he never fully learned. He was like a giant in prison, looking up and around for some way of escape,—believing that there is some way, and often hoping to find it—ever and anon dashing against the terrible barriers by which he is encircled, but making no sensible impression upon them, and hearing no voice but the echo of his own sighs and groans. "At some moments of life," says he, "the world, mankind, religion, and eternity, appear to me like one vast scene of tremendous confusion, stretching before me far away, and closed in shades of the most awful darkness;—a darkness which only the most powerful splendors of Deity can illumine, and which appears as if they never had yet *illumined* it." A confiding and commanding *faith* would have "illumined" and gilded with glory this "vast scene

of tremendous confusion." The faith of Fletcher or Mrs. Rogers would have totally changed the aspect of Foster's whole field of vision. But we must pass.

As a *preacher*, Mr. Foster fell far below the grade which the world had reason to expect and demand of one of his talents. We should judge, from all we can gather, that his thoughts were too profound, his style too massive, and his discourses, in general, not sufficiently hortatory and evangelical for the wants of the age. "Methodism"—a thing which he castigates and caricatures so dreadfully in his letters to his friend, Mr. Hill—had made too deep and wide an impression about Bristol for the popularity of such dry, hard essays as Foster dealt out to his congregations.

It will have been noticed in the sketch which we have given of his life, that he never remained long in connection with any one congregation. And in some instances he was so conscious of a total failure, that he resigned his place after an experiment of a few months only. The whole history of his ministry seems to exhibit the absence of a conviction of being "moved by the Holy Ghost" to take upon him the sacred office. In one of his letters he says, "While in Dublin I preached not once during the whole year." He discarded the Scriptural authority of "ordination," and held that ministers ought to have "some other sources of emolument than the precarious one of their ministerial employment." This was the result of *his* experience. And, doubtless, if he had not had "some other sources of emolument than the precarious one of his ministerial employment," with all his transcendent endowments, he must have starved. But Foster might have been asked what other "source of emolument" Robert Hall wanted besides that which arose from his "ministerial employment." It will not always do for a man to measure others by himself. Foster's sermons, doubtless, had extraordinary merit, but they were over the heads of the great mass of the people. A man might as well talk Greek to the people, as to talk English that they do not understand, or that they cannot feel.

As a *pastor*, we scarcely know what Mr. Foster did. But we have too much evidence as to what he did *not* do. Though he was a Baptist he *never administered the ordinances*. His views of "church institutions" were exceedingly radical and most dangerous, as will be seen from the following:—

"The wish he avowed 'to have a chapel of his own, without even the existence of what is called a church,' was not a transitory ebullition of juvenile sentiment. At a much later period, on the occasion of a violent dissension between two religious societies, which came under

his immediate notice, he speaks of 'obtaining plenty of confirmation, if he had needed it, of his old opinion, that churches are useless and mischievous institutions, and the sooner they are dissolved the better." —Vol. i, p. 41.

To this, his friend Mr. Hughes very pertinently replied:—

"I think your conclusion strange. To be sure, if there were no churches, there would be no ecclesiastical squabbles; and, it may be added, if there were no states, there would be no civil broils; and if there were no vegetable productions, there would be no deadly nightshade; and if there were no water, no one would be drowned; and if there were no fire, no one would be consumed; and if there were no victuals, no one would be choked. Church-framers may egregiously err; but when you scout the whole tribe, and all their works, tell us how we ought to proceed; make out a strong case, and say at least that the way you would substitute would be free from the objections that cling to the old ways, and would secure greater advantages."—Ib. i, pp. 41, 42.

As a *theologian*, Mr. Foster was still more faulty than in any other respect. He early expressed a desire to become "a preacher in an Arian congregation;" but subsequently declared, that, "as to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, I do not deny that I had once some degree of doubt, but not such a degree even as to carry me anything near the adoption of an opposite or different opinion." In the year 1800 he says:—

"My opinions are in substance decisively Calvinistic. I am firmly convinced, for instance, of the doctrines of original sin, predestination, imputed righteousness, the necessity of the Holy Spirit's operation to convert the mind, final perseverance, &c."—Vol. i, p. 84.

How far he carried his notions of "predestination" will be seen in the following statement of them:—

"My melancholy musings on the state of the world have been much consoled by the famous maxim, 'Whatever is, is right.' Yes, I believe that the whole system taken together is the best possible—is absolutely good: and that all the evil that ever has taken place, or that now prevails, was strictly necessary to that ultimate good which the Father of all intends. Believing that he has in view an *end* infinitely and perfectly good, I must believe that all things which take place among his creatures are means, proceeding in an undeviating line toward that end, and that, in decreeing the end, he decreed also the means. As nothing can take place beyond the sphere of his power, nothing can take place against his will: therefore the evils, the wickedness of mankind, are not against his sovereign will."—Vol. i, p. 62.

It is no wonder that with such views of *predestination*, Foster embraced the fatal error of *Universalism*. Early in life he de-

clared that he had "discarded the doctrine of eternal punishments," asserting at the same time that he could "avow no opinion on the peculiar points of Calvinism." We have long believed that the strong views of predestination maintained by Calvin and Edwards naturally run into Universalism. But it would seem from all we can find, that Foster became settled in the doctrine of universal salvation before he had become fully established in the doctrines of Calvinism. His course of progression is the reverse of that which is the ordinary one. Instead of first making his stand-point the position that God has foreordained, and brings to pass, all events, and the legitimate result that "whatever is, is right;"—and from this position inferring that God cannot, consistently with his attributes, eternally punish any of his rational creatures for doing "his sovereign will;"—he first "discarded the doctrine of eternal punishments," and then proceeded to settle the basis of his skepticism. It matters not whether the mind begin with the premises and go on to the conclusion, or, *vice versa*, commence with the conclusion and work back to the premises; since it is the relation of the two which constitutes the important point. It was by the latter process that the two dogmas, of universal divine decrees and efficiency, and of universal salvation, met in the irregular but powerful mind of Foster. In his "Letter to a Young Minister," dated "Sept. 24, 1841," he urges his views on this point, for this reason among others, that "no man can become good in the Christian sense, can become fit for a holy and happy place hereafter, but by this operation [special operation of grace] *ab extra*"—and that "this is arbitrary and discriminative on the part of the sovereign Agent, and independent of the will of man." Again, in his letter to Dr. Harris, he says,—

"How self-evident the proposition, that if the sovereign Arbiter had *intended* the salvation of the race, it must have been accomplished!" —Vol. ii, p. 291.

Mr. Foster fell into these vagaries by reversing the natural order of things. Instead of going to the Bible for his theology, and then making his philosophy bow to divine authority, his philosophy takes the lead. He makes out by "moral reasoning" what is truth, and then concludes that it must be in some way consistent with what God has revealed, but leaves that matter to those who are willing to endure the toil of a philological investigation of the language of the Bible. He says,—

"I acknowledge myself *not* convinced of the orthodox doctrine. If asked *why* not? I should have little to say in the way of criticism,

of implications found or sought in what may be called incidental expressions of Scripture, or of the passages dubiously cited in favor of final, universal restitution. It is the moral argument, as it may be named, that presses irresistibly on my mind—that which comes in the stupendous idea of eternity."—Vol. ii, p. 263.

Was ever a great mind so palpably at fault in its processes? He does not ask "what saith the Scriptures," but what is the result of "the moral argument."

We should exceedingly like to examine at length this "moral argument," but our space will not allow. We also intended to present many fine specimens of elevated thought and sentiment, which we had marked for the purpose; but for the same reason we must omit them. In conclusion, we must say we have seldom read a book with such mingled emotions of pleasure and pain. Of course the reader will by this time conclude that we are prepared to recommend the work with reserve. This is true. It is a pot of most excellent "ointment," but the "dead flies" in it well nigh give the whole an offensive odor.

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Witness of the Spirit: a Treatise on the Evidence of the Believer's Adoption.* By Daniel Walton. 18mo., pp. 228. New-York: Lane & Tippett.

The author of this work is a distinguished minister of the Wesleyan connection. The subject is one of great importance, and yet one upon which evangelical Christians still differ in opinion. The author brings to his aid, in its discussion, candor, ingenuousness, acuteness, and learning. He rests his argument upon the word of God; but in its illustration he draws upon the experience and observations of wise and pious men. We see in a contemporary Review, a work upon this subject noticed, which professes to show that the doctrine, "as taught by the Rev. John Wesley," is "unscriptural, false, fanatical, and of mischievous tendency." And the reviewer thinks this work is wanted to correct "a very mischievous error, and to open the eyes of the Christian public to the leaven of fanaticism which entered into the original composition of Methodism, and which," he seriously thinks, "it is to be feared is by no means purged out."

We will send a copy of Mr. Walton's work to our brother; and we hope he will look a little further into the subject before he gives up the Methodists as incurable fanatics. The doctrine has been maintained by many learned and pious Calvinists, as all who are read in the theology of the Puritans, of Old and New England, very well know. Every Methodist family especially should have this little book.

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2. *Resurrection of the Dead: a Vindication of the literal Resurrection of the human Body; in Opposition to the Work of Professor Bush.* By Calvin Kingsley. 18mo., pp. 159. New-York: Lane & Tippett.

The doctrine of the resurrection from the dead has ever been regarded, by orthodox Christians, as a doctrine of the Bible, and as vital to Christianity. Infidels and semi-infidels have always denied it as wholly "incredible." Some, who repudiate both the above characters, have fallen into their modes of reasoning upon the subject with much apparent honesty. Among these Professor Bush has lately become enrolled. His book upon the subject has done much harm, and is likely to

do much more. The answer by Professor Kingsley, of Allegany College, is an admirable specimen of fair, manly argument; and, we hesitate not to say, a complete refutation of the learned effort which Professor Bush has put forth to bring into doubt and discredit a plain doctrine of God's holy and blessed word. We need not attempt to analyze this work, as its size, and the intrinsic importance of the subject of which it treats, will suggest to all who see this notice the importance of procuring and reading it for themselves. We have seldom read an argument upon any theological subject with which we have been so entirely pleased. Let every family wishing to preserve the purity and simplicity of the Christian faith free from the admixture of a vain philosophy, immediately procure this little volume, and keep it constantly at hand.

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3. *A General History of the World, briefly sketched, upon Scriptural Principles.* By the Rev. C. Barth, D. D. 12mo., pp. 374. New-York: Lane & Tippett.

The following, from the editor's preface, will give the reader a correct view of the character and importance of this work:—"This work is a brief universal history, sketched upon Scriptural principles. It was written by the Rev. Dr. Barth, of Wirtemburg, in the German language, and translated into English by Rev. R. F. Walker, A. M., for the use of the Religious Tract Society of London. By that institution the work has been extensively circulated in Great Britain, and even published in other languages.

"The want of such a book has been felt in this country, and we take pleasure in offering to the public a carefully revised edition.

"It is designed to serve two important purposes connected with the reading and study of history. 1. It will answer for beginners, as a useful introduction to more detailed and voluminous works. 2. It will scarcely be found less valuable as a summary of historical events, to which the extensive reader of history may resort for a review of his studies, and for a well-digested analysis of the leading events which have transpired in our world.

"The importance of historical knowledge is universally admitted, and the time has come when we may reasonably expect it to be more extensively cultivated among sabbath-school scholars and teachers. To contribute to this end is the special object of the present issue, while it will be found equally valuable for every other appropriate use."

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4. *Incidental Benefits of Denominational Divisions; an Argument for Christian Union.* By B. P. Aydelott, D. D. 18mo., pp. 135. Cincinnati: 1846.

This is a work for the times. A portion of its title would seem to promise "an argument" *against* "Christian union;" but the scope of the author, as the whole title-page taken together intimates, is directly the reverse. The author admits the differences of the church to be in themselves evils, but maintains that there are great incidental and providential advantages resulting from them. In this we fully agree with him. And we also agree with him in maintaining, that, under existing circumstances, the *amalgamation of the evangelical churches would not be safe or desirable.* This object is wholly disclaimed by the *Evangelical Alliance*, and constitutes no part of the object of the great movement in favor of *union* now in progress. The distinction made by our author between "denominational *division* and denominational *difference*" is an important one.

He says,—"By the former is intended not merely a separation in the church, but such a separation as leads multitudes to seek their own peculiar denominational interests mainly, if not entirely, instead of keeping an eye single to the glory of God in the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

"By denominational difference we understand all that distinguishes from each other the various denominations professing the same essential truths of the gospel. While the spirit of division is always wrong, attachment to denominational differences is not necessarily so, because it may be entertained consistently with the exercise of the most enlarged charity."

In view of this distinction and definition, would not the title of the book be more in harmony with the scope of the author's argument if it were, instead of "incidental benefits of denominational division," &c., incidental benefits of denominational *differ-*

ence? He tells us that "wherever this spirit of *division* exists, it necessarily dwarfs the soul of man. His piety is but of a weak, sickly growth at best." Surely, it is difficult to see how *division*, if such be its effects, can be *beneficial* to the church. We merely suggest this difficulty as, at least in appearance, somewhat marring the harmony of the book, while we award to the spirit and general scope of it the highest praise. We hail *Dr. Aydelott* as an able colaborer in the great and blessed cause of real Christian union, and most cordially recommend his work to our readers.

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5. *Cyclopædia of English Literature: a Selection of the choicest Productions of English Authors, from the earliest to the present Time; connected by a critical and biographical History.* Elegantly illustrated. Edited by ROBERT CHAMBERS, editor of the "Edinburgh Journal," "Information for the People," &c. In two vols., royal octavo, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. New-York: Burgess, Stringer, & Co.

THIS work is described as "a concentration of the best productions of English intellect, from the earliest Anglo-Saxon to the present times, in the various departments headed by Chaucer, Shakspeare, Milton; by More, Bacon, Locke; by Hooker, Taylor, Barrow; by Addison, Johnson, Goldsmith; by Thorne, Robertson, Gibbon,—*set* in a biographical and critical history of the literature itself." The work is issued semi-monthly in numbers, and will form two volumes of 700 pages each. The plan is admirably calculated to provide those who have not access to large libraries with an introduction to the great masters of English literature. The work is got up in a style creditable to the enterprising house from which it emanates, and is entitled to a large public patronage.

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6. *A Universal Pronouncing Gazetteer; containing topographical, statistical, and other Information of all the more important Places in the known World, from the most recent and authentic Sources. With a Map.* By THOMAS BALDWIN, assisted by several other gentlemen. 8vo., pp. 544. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blackstone.

WE are highly gratified with this work. Its principal peculiarity is the pronunciation of the names of all the places. To teachers, and public speakers, and indeed, any class of scholars, this feature of the work is highly important. There are many names of places which few know how to pronounce correctly, who have not had access to the sources of information which Mr. Baldwin has, with great industry, sought out. We most heartily recommend the work to our literary friends.

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7. *Hooper's Physician's Vade-Mecum; or, a Manual of the Principles and Practice of Physic: considerably enlarged and improved, with an Outline of General Pathology and Therapeutics.* By Wm. A. GUY, M. B., &c., with Additions by JAMES STEWART, M. D. Harper & Brothers.

THIS work addresses itself primarily to our medical friends; and as an acknowledged authority in professional matters, will commend itself at once as invaluable to practitioners and chemists, as well as to students. The American editor says of it: "No better evidence can exist of the great practical utility of Hooper's Vade-Mecum, than the many editions of it which have been published in Great Britain. The distinguished Dr. Guy has greatly enlarged and improved the original treatise by adding an outline of the advances made in medical science, at the present day, and but little more is left for the American editor than the additions of such facts as appeared to him most interesting to the American practitioner.

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8. *The Use of the Body in Relation to the Mind.* By GEORGE MOORE, M. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS work has received, as it undoubtedly deserves, the universal commendation of the press. The author exhibits an excellent spirit in the management of his subject, and we predict that no work on this important topic will confer so much

practical good on the community as this. The treatise is prepared for the popular reader, and on every page we find some useful hint or valuable fact, which, if it is not new, is presented to us in so striking an aspect, as cannot fail to enlist our interest, and enrich our stores of knowledge. In some of his views, the author is as original as the most curious reader could desire; yet his aim is evidently to benefit his readers, both as regards their bodies and their spirits—their temporal as well as their eternal interests. The work is well worthy a place in every library.

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9. *The Treatment of Insanity.* By JOHN M. GALT, M. D., Superintendent and Physician of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, Virginia, &c. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

DR. GALT has achieved a valuable service to physicians, and especially those who devote themselves primarily to the study and cure of that most dire of human woes—insanity. He has brought together at one view the best opinions and experience of the writers and practitioners of about a century on this important subject, adduced under every variety of circumstance, and therefore exhibiting every condition and modification of mental disease. To the popular reader there will be found a vast amount of very affecting and interesting matter: to the student the work must become exceedingly valuable as a guide in all contingencies that may arise. In a country like our own where insanity is so sadly prevalent, the utility of a work like the above cannot fail of being apparent to every one; and as prevention is better than cure, especially in a matter so momentous, we hope the fullest advantages will accrue from the circulation of this work.

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10. *The Philosophy of Magic, Prodigies, and Apparent Miracles. From the French of Eusebe Salverte: with Notes illustrative, explanatory, and critical.* By ANTHONY THOMPSON, M. D. In two vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS work has long been regarded in the original as a production of high merit. The theory which the author aims to establish is, that the improbability of the prodigies and assumed miracles related by the ancients is not sufficient to authorize their being regarded as fabulous, "if that improbability be proved to be only apparent." The reasons by which this hypothesis is sustained are ably managed; and are founded in the fact that the degree of scientific knowledge was greater than is usually supposed in early times, although confined to the cells, and cloisters, and temples of the "initiated few." The translator has added many valuable notes and expositions, which render the author more *safe* as well as more lucid upon the subject of miracles. The two volumes combine a rare collection of curious facts and phenomena, which cannot but be read with deep interest, and not without advantage also.

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11. *The Farmer's Library.* Vol. I. *Petzholdt's Chemistry. Thür's Agriculture.* 8vo., pp. 551. New-York: Greely & M'Elrath. 1846.
Monthly Journal of Agriculture. Vol. I. JOHN S. SKINNER, Editor. 8vo., pp. 612. New-York: Greely & M'Elrath. 1846.

THE two important volumes above were issued in monthly numbers, in connection, and are now bound in separate volumes, and constitute a noble beginning of a complete library for farmers. We have also received several numbers of the work for the present year. Each number contains a portion of Stephens' "Book of the Farm, with explanatory Notes, by J. S. Skinner," which is designed to be bound by itself at the close of the year. The publishers are really laying the agriculturists of our great and rising country under great obligations—obligations which, we trust, will be duly appreciated and discharged by a liberal patronage. The agricultural interests of our country are constantly and rapidly rising in importance. Our farmers need more scientific knowledge—they want the best books upon the various branches of agriculture, and, so far as we are able to judge, they cannot do better than to furnish themselves with Greely & M'Elrath's series. The work is well got up, and illustrated with numerous plates, in the best taste and style.

12. *Sermons of Christmas Evans. A new Translation from the Welsh. With a Memoir and Portraiture of the Author.* By Rev. Joseph Cross. 8vo., pp. 302. Philadelphia: J. Harmstead. 1846.

The fervid eloquence of the native Welsh preachers has often called forth the highest commendations. This, however, is comparatively a small matter. The moral effects of this eloquence, inspired and sanctioned by the divine Spirit, upon the hardy inhabitants of their native mountains and valleys is what stamps it with its highest importance. Evans is the author of the famous "Specimen of Welsh Preaching" which has been so often quoted and admired. The volume before us is well executed, and will constitute a valuable accession to any man's library. In the "Advertisement" Mr. Cross says:—"The writer does not wish to be held responsible for the theological views put forth, either in the extracts alluded to, or in the sermons. Christmas Evans was a Calvinistic Baptist, and several of his sermons inculcate, to some extent, the peculiar doctrines of that denomination; though they are generally free from sectarian bias, and may be read with advantage by spiritual Christians of all evangelical creeds."

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13. *The Pictorial History of England: being a History of the People, as well as a History of the Kingdom.* Illustrated with several hundred wood cuts. By G. L. Craik and Charles Macfarlane, assisted by several other Contributors. Vol. I: pp. 857. Royal 8vo. Harper & Brothers.

This History of Great Britain is one of the most important and valuable issues of the American press. It presents numerous features of attraction and novelty, besides being the most accurate and complete portraiture of the people, as well as the progressive civilization and governmental acts and records of the kingdom. Emanating under the auspices of the "*Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*," of which Lord Brougham was the head, it comes before the world as an accredited and authentic work; its several departments being deputed to persons eminently qualified for their discussion. It is, in fact, the first instance of the kind, with which we are acquainted, in which the history of the *people*, and their daily life, combined with their civil and military operations, are made to form the staple of the history of a nation. This is the true idea of a history, and no other model can be adopted to give a correct notion of the rise, progress, and power of an empire. In the work in review, each book, or period, is, accordingly, divided into seven chapters, embracing a detailed account of: 1st. Civil and military transactions. 2d. History of religion. 3d. Government, constitution, and laws. 4th. History of national industry—a very valuable and interesting chapter. 5th. Literature, science, and the fine arts—full of valuable and curious matter, and a treasure to the scholar, antiquarian, and historical student. 6th. The manners and customs, costume, furniture, and domestic life of the people. 7th. The condition of the people; embracing what could not well be inserted under the other heads; as the national civilization of the period; statistics of vice and crime; punishments; health of the people, &c.

The illustrations are of singular value, being fac-similes of curious relics and monumental remains, coins, costumes, portraits of princes and distinguished personages, remarkable events, and historic scenes, etc., in many instances copied from ancient MSS. in the British Museum, &c.

As a work for private and family use, it is truly a desirable book, and unlike the numerous issues of the modern press, there is an intrinsic and permanent value as well as interest in its contents.

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14. *History of the Thirty Years' War. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller.* By Rev. J. A. Morrison. Harper & Brothers.

This celebrated work—a classic in historic literature—forms No. 19 of *Harper's New Miscellany*. The fame of this great writer is so well known that little need be said respecting this, his favorite production. It treats of a most interesting era, made renowned by the splendid deeds of Gustavus Adolphus, Wallenstein, Turenne, and the great Condé. The work must possess peculiar interest for those who desire information in regard to the contests in which the religious sentiment had so powerful an influence.

15. *Eclectic Moral Philosophy: prepared for Literary Institutions and General Use.* By Rev. J. R. Boyd, author of Elements of Rhetoric. Harper & Brothers.

This work is a convenient compend of the best thoughts and illustrations of the best writers on moral science. Since the work of Dr. Paley we have had a host of authors on ethical philosophy, each offering some new hypothesis or modification of doctrine. The discrepancies of the various theories our author has reconciled or collated, and in so doing he has accomplished an arduous and valuable service for the student, saving him a prodigious amount of research and of money. We commend this comprehensive volume, as one of great utility, to all teachers and students especially, and also to the private reader, as an admirable epitomized system of moral philosophy.

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16. *The Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England: with a Treatise on the Popular Progress in English History.* By John Foster, of the Inner Temple. Edited by J. O. Choules. Harper & Brothers.

This elegant volume is embellished by a series of portraits, which impart additional interest as well as beauty to its contents. Mr. Foster is an impartial and able writer; his delineations of character are characterized by great fidelity and research, and in his biography of Cromwell, especially, he exhibits his full power. His view of the Protector is undoubtedly just, although it is less flattering to that great man than the sketch by Carlyle and several other biographers. The lives of Sir John Elliot, John Pym, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, John Hampden, and Sir Henry Vane—those prominent actors in that struggle for civil freedom which agitated England during the seventeenth century—form a theme of profound interest, and one that cannot fail to affect the warmest sympathies of every true lover of his country and the onward cause of civil and religious liberty. This work ought assuredly to find a lodgment in every public and private library.

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17. *The Christian's Daily Treasury: a religious Exercise for every Day in the Year.* By Ebenezer Temple, Rochford, Essex. From the second revised London edition. 12mo., pp. 412. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1847.

The "Exercises" are based upon passages of Scripture. The passage selected for the day is analyzed, expounded, and applied to practical purposes. The exercises are short, containing the elements of a sermon which will be found useful in suggesting topics for meditation, and in applying the Holy Scriptures to the purposes of experimental and practical godliness. So far as we have examined this work, it is constructed upon truly catholic principles, and may be safely recommended.

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18. *The Scripture School Reader, consisting of Selections of Sacred Scriptures, for the use of Schools.* Compiled and arranged by W. W. Everts, A. M., author of Bible Manual and Pastor's Handbook, and W. H. Wycoff, A. M., late Principal of the Collegiate School. 12mo. Pp. 348. New-York: Nafis & Cornish. 1847.

This work is composed of selections from the Scriptures, arranged under appropriate heads, to be read in schools. The Bible is now quite generally out of use as a reading book in our schools. It is designed by the compilers of the present work to obviate the objections to an indiscriminate reading of the Scriptures in schools, by presenting, in a harmonious arrangement, in paragraphs, uninterrupted by the divisions into verses, appropriate passages upon the same theme. The work is divided into three parts. The *first* contains *didactic* Scriptures; the *second, historical* and *biographical;* and the *third, poetical.* We like the plan of this work much, and most ardently hope it may find a place in all our primary and public schools, especially in such as do not use the Bible as a reading book, under the directions of discreet teachers.

19. *The True Believer: his Character, Duty, and Privileges, elucidated in a Series of Discourses.* By Rev. Asa Mahan, President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, Oberlin, Ohio. 18mo., pp. 280. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1847.

This work is evidently designed, and, so far as we can judge from a cursory examination, calculated, to do good. The author delivers his sentiments in a fervid, evangelical spirit, and with great force and felicity of diction. The discourses, with one exception, have appeared before in the Oberlin Evangelist, and are now revised and put into a small convenient volume. We earnestly hope they may be the means of promoting vital godliness. The author's aim is high. He pleads for full redemption, with the zeal and earnestness of conviction and experience. We wish him many stars to deck his crown in the day of his rejoicing.

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20. *Classical Antiquities; or, a Compendium of Roman and Grecian Antiquities; with a Sketch of Ancient Mythology.* By J. Salkeld. Harper & Brothers.

This convenient little manual is designed for such as are uninitiated in the Latin and Greek, it being divested of all classical quotations, and so arranged as to be intelligible to youth. It seems to us admirably adapted for use in academies, common schools, and for the private instructions of the domestic circle.

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21. *A Scriptural Defense of the Doctrine of the Trinity, or a Check to Modern Arianism, as taught by Campbellites, Hicksites, New Lights, Universalists, and Mormons; and especially by a Sect calling themselves "Christians."* By Rev. H. Mattison. 18mo., pp. 162. New-York: Lewis Colby & Co. 1846.

This is a thorough refutation of a plausible but most dangerous form of error. The author thinks with great precision, and writes with perspicuity and force. This work will furnish the reader, who has not the time or means for consulting more elaborate ones, with very satisfactory replies to the principal objections against the orthodox doctrine, employed by modern Arians, and an unanswerable refutation of their theory.

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22. *The Pre-Adamite Earth: Contributions to Theological Science.* By John Harris, D. D., President of Cheshunt College, Author of the "Great Teacher," "Great Commission," "Mammon," &c. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1847.

We can at present say little in relation to this work, except that it seems fully to sustain the author's high character as a scholar and a divine. In his Preface he tells us that, "the present volume is intended to be the first of a short series of treatises—each complete in itself—in which the principles or laws hereafter deduced, and applied to the successive stages of the pre-Adamite earth, will be seen in their historical development as applied to individual man; to the family; to the nation; to the Son of God as 'the second Adam, the Lord from heaven;' to the church which he has founded; to the revelation which he has completed; and to the future prospects of humanity."

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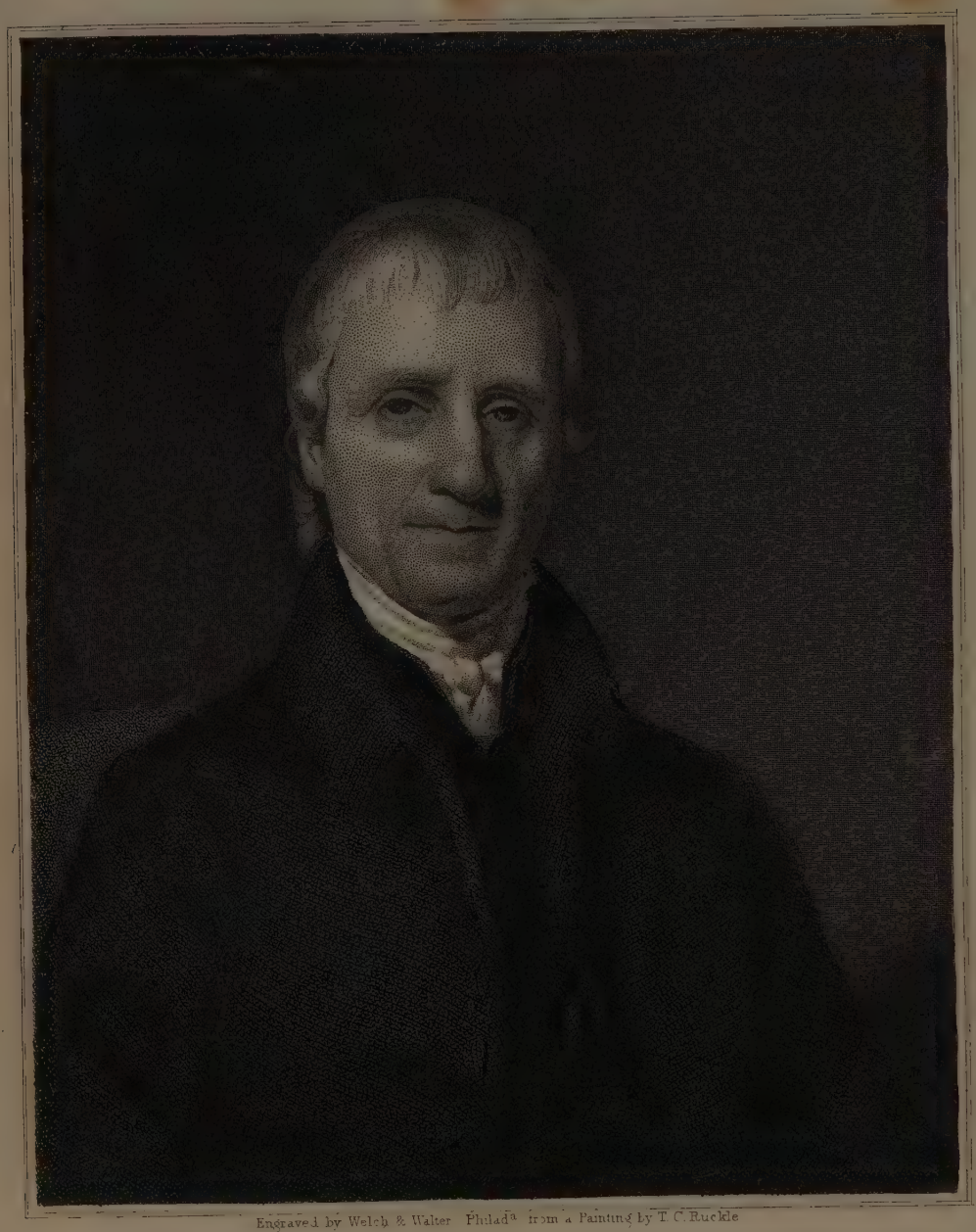
23. *A Hebrew Reader; or, a New and Practical System for the Acquisition of the Hebrew Language.* By Eli Noyse, A. M., Author of the "Introduction to the Hebrew Language." 12mo., pp. 204. Boston: Waite, Peirce, & Co. 1846.

The elements of the Hebrew language are, in this small book, clearly presented, and, in the hands of a competent teacher, the work will answer all the purposes of a Grammar and Reader. But we would warn all against the experiment of an attempt to learn Hebrew from this, or any other book, without the aid of a living teacher. Those who do this will find themselves wofully disappointed, or will be led into the notion that they have made themselves Hebrew scholars, when, before they can ever be such, they will be obliged to unlearn nearly all they have learned. The work before us is a beautiful specimen of Hebrew typography.



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REV. HENRY SMITH

BALTIMORE CONFERENCE

Published at the Methodist Book Room 200 Mulberry St. N. Y

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1847.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Theology; explained and defended in a Series of Sermons.* By TIMOTHY DWIGHT, S. T. D., LL. D., late President of Yale College. *With a Memoir of the Life of the Author.* In four volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

IN estimating the character of a great man we naturally take into view not merely the original elements out of which the character has been formed, but the various influences by which those elements have been molded. It not unfrequently happens that great powers, owing to unpropitious circumstances, are scarcely developed at all; and a mind which, under adequate training, might have shone as a star of the first magnitude, never gives forth anything beyond a feeble and sickly light. On the other hand, it is no uncommon case to find an individual whose faculties originally scarcely come up to a respectable mediocrity, who, under the influence of favoring circumstances, reaches a commanding intellectual stature, and ultimately leaves behind him a bright and honored name. But the noblest specimens of human character are those in which eminent talents and propitious circumstances meet, always supposing that the moral qualities are, in some good degree, in harmony with the intellectual. It must be borne in mind, however, that it is not always that the circumstances which *appear* most favorable to intellectual development, are really so; for not unfrequently the mind is awakened to the most vigorous effort by the greatest obstacles, and it finds itself possessed of energies which, perhaps, might have remained dormant through life if those obstacles had not existed. It is the moral state of the soul that chiefly decides whether the particular circumstances in which our lot is cast are to operate favorably or unfavorably, in respect to the growth and useful direction of the intellectual faculties.

There are instances, it must be acknowledged, in which men of exceedingly limited powers and superficial attainments are carried by the influence of circumstances, particularly of wealth or family, into stations of high responsibility, and for a season they become the objects of no small consideration; though every one but themselves perceives that it is the station, and not the man, to which the world are rendering their homage. They may acquire a name in the use of "a little brief authority," but it can never be an enduring name. Do what you will to embalm it, you cannot; for it has not within it a single element to render it imperishable. On the other hand, take a really great man—one who is great in his intellect—great in his sense of obligation and his love of right—great in his achievements for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, and when he dies, you can scarcely call it death; for he lives and works still in a thousand influences of his own originating; and it is not in the power of detraction ultimately to obscure the glory into which his memory will be thrown. The probability, indeed, is, that however envy and malice may aim at him their envenomed shafts while he is living, they will keep still after he is gone; for it is the ordinance of Heaven that goodness and greatness, when they come to be contemplated in connection with the grave, become enshrined in the gratitude and veneration of the world.

In introducing to our readers the great work, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, we propose to sketch a brief outline of the life and character of its author; and, in doing so, we shall, if we mistake not, bring out a most striking instance of great original powers, molded and guided by singularly auspicious circumstances.

Timothy Dwight was the son of Timothy and Mary Dwight, and was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, May 14, 1752. His mother, who was the daughter of the illustrious President Edwards, and who inherited, in no small degree, her father's matchless vigor and strength of intellect, had the chief superintendence of his education during several of his earliest years. From the very beginning he discovered an uncommon precocity of intellect, which, however, did not in his case, as it too often does, prove the harbinger of bare mediocrity in mature life. His improvement in the various branches to which his attention was directed was almost unexampled; and yet it promised nothing which his subsequent years did not fully realize.

His immediate preparation for college was under the direction of the Rev. Enoch Huntington, of Middletown, in whose family he resided. In September, 1765, just after he had completed his

thirteenth year, he became a member of Yale College; and the two years which immediately succeeded, owing to various circumstances, constituted the most critical period of his life. He found little occasion for intense application in order to sustain himself in his class, as he had anticipated in his preparatory course most of the studies of the first two years. The discipline of the college had become sadly relaxed; and gambling was not only practiced to a great extent, but was generally practiced with impunity; and an acquaintance with it had come to be regarded as a desirable accomplishment. The fine manners, and open and generous dispositions of young Dwight rendered him uncommonly attractive; while his immature age put his principles and character in peculiar jeopardy. Under these circumstances, though he seems never to have contracted any decidedly vicious habits, yet he so far yielded to temptation as to lose, temporarily, his relish for severe study, and to mingle freely in scenes which were adverse alike to his intellectual and moral improvement. His tutor, the late chief Justice Mitchell, of Connecticut, perceiving his perilous circumstances, and fearing the development of wayward tendencies, expostulated with him in regard to his course with an affectionate and almost parental solicitude; and, happily, the effort had its effect in separating him from the untoward influences to which he had begun to yield, and of bringing him again to an active sense of duty, and to a diligent improvement of his time.

From the commencement of his junior year, he was a model of earnest application and of exemplary deportment; and, in 1769, he graduated at the head of his class. The two succeeding years he was occupied as teacher of a grammar school in New-Haven, during which time he was also a most diligent student, and greatly enlarged his acquisitions in various departments of knowledge. In September, 1771, when he was but a little more than nineteen, he was chosen to the office of tutor in Yale College, the duties of which he discharged with great dignity and success for a period of six years. Some time during this period he was inoculated for the small pox; and though he had the disease lightly, yet in consequence of prematurely returning to his studies, after the disease had abated, he so far impaired his power of vision as to occasion him the most serious embarrassment as long as he lived.

In 1774 Mr. Dwight connected himself with the church in Yale College. Of the history of his previous religious experience, no record, it is believed, has been preserved; but as the genuineness of a supposed conversion is to be tested rather by the fruits that follow it, than by the circumstances or exercises that precede or

attend it, and as those fruits, in the present case, were of the most decisive and unquestionable character, we can afford to be in ignorance of the earliest stages of his religious history. At the time of his making a public profession of religion, he appears to have contemplated the law as his ultimate profession; but he subsequently changed his purpose, and was licensed to preach in the summer of 1777, shortly after the college had become disbanded, in consequence of the commotions occasioned by the revolutionary war.

He early imbibed a spirit of lofty patriotism; and from the commencement of the struggle for independence, he had the deepest conviction that we were in the right, and that our counsels and arms would ultimately prosper. Accordingly, he resolved on leaving college, and entering the army as a chaplain; which he did within a few months after he received license to preach. In this capacity he served with great fidelity, popularity, and usefulness, for somewhat more than a year; when he was induced to leave the army by reason of circumstances that seemed to make a strong demand upon his filial and fraternal regard. Accordingly, he returned to his mother's family at Northampton; and notwithstanding he had in the mean time a family of his own, he remained there nearly five years, showing himself, in every respect, a model of a son and a brother. During this period, the amount of labor which he performed, especially when considered in connection with the great imperfection of his sight, would seem almost incredible. He conducted a school for the instruction of both sexes, which was very extensively patronized, and which was probably unequaled in its advantages by any school in New-England, of a similar kind, at that day. In addition to this, he spent more or less time every day in laboring upon a farm; and, during a considerable part of the time, supplied one of the neighboring pulpits every sabbath. He was also employed, to some extent, in civil affairs; and during the two years that immediately preceded the close of the war, he rendered important services as a member of the legislature of Massachusetts.

In 1783, after having declined several eligible invitations to settle in the ministry in Massachusetts, he accepted a call from the Congregational church in Greenfield, Fairfield county, Connecticut, and was accordingly ordained as pastor of that church in the month of November. Finding his salary altogether inadequate to the support of his family, his expenses being increased not a little by the large amount of company which his distinguished character and talents drew to his house from all parts of the

country, he resolved to make up the deficiency by establishing a school; and he did this the rather as it was an employment to which his taste inclined him, and for which his talents eminently qualified him, and in which he could labor to good purpose for the public benefit. Accordingly, he opened a school, which soon acquired great reputation, and which was resorted to by many youth from remote parts of the country. In conducting this school, he by no means neglected his work as a minister; but besides rendering due attention to pastoral duties, he preached regularly twice on the sabbath, always to the edification, often to the admiration, of his hearers.

When the presidential chair in Yale College was vacated by the death of Dr. Stiles, the eyes of the literary and religious world were very generally turned toward Dr. Dwight (for he had previously received the degree of doctor of divinity from Princeton College) as the person best fitted to succeed to that responsible station. He was accordingly appointed to it with great unanimity, and was inaugurated as president in September, 1795.

In this office Dr. Dwight continued till the close of life; not merely, however, discharging its appropriate duties, but connecting with it an amount of labor belonging to other departments, which we marvel that any one man could have performed. Besides instructing the senior class, as his predecessors had done, he was really professor of belles lettres, and oratory, and theology; and in this latter department he was accustomed to instruct a class of resident graduates who were preparing for the ministry. He was also, to all intents and purposes, the pastor of a church and the minister of a congregation; in which capacity he was accustomed to preach in the college chapel twice every sabbath. It was in the discharge of this duty that he prepared and preached the invaluable course of sermons which has given occasion to the present article.

Dr. Dwight's intellect was a rare combination of the more brilliant with the more solid qualities. We do not suppose that he possessed the reasoning faculty in so much vigor and strength as his illustrious grandfather, the immortal Edwards; but still his mind was unusually discriminating, and could penetrate the depths of an obscure subject with far more ease and certainty than most minds, of which this faculty is the predominating characteristic. But, along with this, he possessed an imagination the most brilliant and excursive; a taste, which, though perhaps less exquisite than that of Robert Hall, was still, in a high degree, exact and delicate; and it was from the union of these faculties that many

of his descriptions seemed like reflections of the beauty and glory of the third heavens. His judgment, also, was uncommonly clear and sound; and his memory was like a vast storehouse, in which everything was arranged in perfect order, and from which anything could be drawn, as occasion required, without the semblance of effort.

Dr. Dwight's social character was what might be expected from this rare assemblage of intellectual qualities. He edified and delighted every circle into which he was thrown. His vast acquisitions, relating to almost every subject within the range of human observation, made him at home equally among all classes; and if the statesman, and the professional man, and the scholar, always listened with profound attention to what he had to say in their respective departments, the husbandman and the mechanic were no less sure of hearing something from him which they, in their several callings, might turn to good account. If he had not talked so well, perhaps it might be said that he talked too much; but there was in his remarks so much brilliant, and entertaining, and useful thought, that, let the company into which he was thrown be what it might, he was almost always, by common consent, put forward to take the lead in the conversation.

His religious character exhibited the various Christian graces and virtues in most attractive combination. Perhaps we could not describe it better in a single word than by saying that it was eminently consistent. It had its foundation in a well-digested, deeply evangelical view of the Christian system—that view of it which recognizes man as a guilty and polluted sinner, and the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and the influence of the Holy Spirit, as the only ground of his hope of salvation. In the faith of this system, he was serious, without being austere; fervent, without being enthusiastic; humble, without being sanctimonious; zealous, without being ostentatious or obtrusive. Religion with him was an all-pervading principle and feeling—it was not like a garment to be put on and laid aside as convenience might seem to dictate, but it was the fixed and uniform habit of his life. It regulated and sanctified not only the relations which he sustained to his Creator, but those which he sustained to his fellow-creatures also; rendering him strictly just, and honest, and charitable, as well as devout. We are far from saying that there were, especially to the all-seeing Eye, no defects in his Christian character; but we do say, and without the fear of contradiction from those who knew him well, that there are few examples of higher attainments in religion than he exhibited.

It was a favorite maxim with him, and one which he repeated almost with his last breath, in reply to an inquiry that was made concerning the state of his mind in the near prospect of eternity—that the character of a man is to be judged, not by his death, but by his life. Nevertheless, where there has been a devoted Christian life, it is delightful to know that its close has been in harmony with its progress; and of this, Dr. Dwight was a beautiful illustration. For many months previous to his death he was struggling with a most painful malady; but his faith and his fortitude never yielded to it for a moment. Not only during the intervals of freedom from pain, but often while he was suffering pain that bordered upon agony, his mind was vigorously engaged, sometimes in devising plans for promoting the extension of the gospel, sometimes in illustrating and proving some great theological truth, for the benefit of his class; and then again in dictating to his amanuensis great and beautiful thoughts, some of which, we trust, yet remain to be given to the world. On his deathbed, though there was evidently the most unqualified trust, and the most fervent devotion, and the deepest submission and humility, yet there were no airs of artificial sanctity—nothing but what seemed as simple and natural as childhood. As an illustration of this, it is said that he observed some friend by his bedside, to whom he thought that his family, who stood weeping around him, had omitted the civility of offering a chair, and he instantly indicated his wish that his friend would be seated. His politeness was itself a Christian virtue, being founded in Christian principle and feeling; and, hence, it deserted him not, so long as he was able, and there was occasion, to exercise it. His death was full of dignity, and calmness, and patience; and those who saw him die, as well as multitudes to whom the tidings of his death were communicated, felt that earth had given back to Heaven one of the most illustrious minds which she had been privileged to educate for immortality.

It is no easy matter to estimate the amount of service which such a man as Dr. Dwight renders both to his generation and to posterity; and the reason is, that a large part of the influence which he exerts is so silent and invisible that we feel it, the world feels it, without being conscious of it. A glance, however, at the different fields in which this great man labored, and the success by which his labors were crowned, must satisfy any one of his widely extended usefulness.

We have already had occasion to advert to the fact that he took a deep interest, even from early life, in the prosperity and honor of his native land. This spirit was, no doubt, wakened and fos-

tered by his own observation of the causes in which the revolution originated, and by the deep sense of injury which he felt as an inhabitant of this bleeding country. It was in this spirit that he entered the army himself in the capacity of a chaplain, and remained in it till he felt called upon to bow to the superior claims of filial duty; and afterward his voice was heard and heeded in the councils of the state, and in reference to matters of the highest moment in their bearing upon our national interests; and though he persevered in his purpose to make the pulpit, and not the senate house, the ultimate theatre of his labors, yet he never forgot that he was a citizen of this republic, never ceased to feel the deepest interest in her prosperity, or to labor in every legitimate way for its promotion. His political views were strong and decided; he was a federalist of the Hamilton school; and though he sometimes uttered his sentiments with a degree of freedom that subjected him to reproach from his political opponents, yet no person of judgment or candor could ever doubt that he was moved by an honest and lofty patriotism. We are not aware that he ever preached anything which could fairly be considered in the light of party politics; and yet he sometimes did preach in a way which it seemed must well nigh move heaven and earth, on subjects in which he considered the interests of the country as specially involved. We remember (for we are so fortunate as to have it a matter of personal recollection) his fast sermons preached during the war of 1812, in which he spoke out his mind on various subjects with great freedom, and with an overpowering eloquence, which, while we are referring to it, reproduces itself to our minds in most vivid and glowing impression. In the recitation room, still more than in the pulpit, he was accustomed to discourse upon the politics of the nation; and there, particularly, his opponents were likely to be comfortable somewhat in proportion as they held their tongues. We can figure to ourselves at this moment a poor fellow who was not greatly gifted with the power of being modest on these occasions, and the consequence was, that no small part of his time in the recitation room was spent upon a gridiron; for though the doctor would hear patiently what was said respectfully and modestly, yet when a different manner was assumed, he had a whip of scorpions at his command. Several of his published sermons were called forth by occasions more or less political; and at this period, they will probably be universally acknowledged to be among the finest exhibitions to be found of a lofty patriotic spirit. We have in our eye particularly his sermon at the general election, his sermon on the celebration of American independence, his

sermon before the Society of Cincinnati, and especially the beautiful tribute which he paid to the memory of Governor Trumbull, in a sermon preached in consequence of his death before the legislature of Connecticut. And, indeed, we may go back to the earlier periods of his ministry, and mention two sermons which he preached and published anonymously during the revolution, which are now rarely to be met with, but which are said to have acted with great power upon the public mind in aid of the cause of our independence.

Dr. Dwight, as a preacher, has had few equals in this or any other country. In the earlier part of his ministry he was accustomed to preach, not indeed without mature preparation, but from short notes, trusting to his feelings, for the most part, to suggest the appropriate language. It was his own opinion, as well as that of many other competent judges, that his preaching at this period was more effective than at any other period of his life; but after his presidential career commenced, he thought it desirable to be more exact in the delivery of his thoughts, and therefore betook himself to the use of his pen, or, rather, called to himself the aid of an amanuensis. His sermons speak for themselves; and we hazard nothing in saying that they are, by general consent, among the finest specimens of that kind of writing which the language affords. His manner was altogether becoming one who realized that he was an ambassador of God. His voice was commanding and sonorous; his attitudes, full of grace and dignity; his countenance, noble and benignant; his eye, bright and piercing; and his whole bearing in the pulpit of the most impressive and majestic character. Not only was he above everything like the tricks of oratory, or attempts to display himself, but he rarely gestured at all, and never but in the simplest manner. We have more than once heard from him protracted strains of the sublimest eloquence, which well nigh drew his auditors from their seats, when he did not so much as even move his hand.

We must not omit to advert, in this connection, to the character of his devotional exercises. His prayers in the college chapel from day to day were characterized by little variety, except in regard to the order in which the petitions occurred; there were many favorite expressions in his prayers which occurred uniformly, and which, we venture to say, few of his students have, to this day, forgotten. But, when occasion required, no man was more able than he to move off in an entirely new track, accommodating himself most perfectly to the circumstances which he wished to recognize. We recall, at this moment, several instances in which

he comes back to our thoughts like a seraph before the throne; with his mind evidently overpowered with a sense of the divine majesty, and yet breathing forth thoughts and emotions which seem worthy to have been conceived and felt in the third heavens.

It has appeared, from the sketch already given of Dr. Dwight's life, that he was engaged during almost the whole of it in the instruction of youth; and in this field he was distinguished, perhaps, beyond any other individual of his time. His engagements as a teacher at New-Haven, Northampton, and Greenfield, constituted the most desirable training for the higher office which he ultimately held as president of the college; so that, when he came to the presidential chair, he brought with him the advantage not only of a richly endowed mind, of a noble and philanthropic spirit, and of polished and attractive manners, but also of many years' experience in the business of teaching. And his success fully equaled the hopes which these concurring favorable circumstances had awakened. The college, during several years preceding the commencement of his presidency, had, for various reasons, been in a somewhat languishing state; its discipline had been feebly administered; a spirit of insubordination had become prevalent among the students; and last, though not least, not a small portion of them were the avowed advocates of infidelity. The new president set himself with great firmness, and yet with great prudence, to remedy these evils; and it was but a short time before he had succeeded in establishing a far more efficient system of *regime* than the college had ever before known, and, withal, had given a blow to infidelity among the students from which it never recovered. He allowed questions involving the divine authority of Christianity to be freely discussed in the class, only requiring that the subject should always be treated with respect; but as he reserved to himself the privilege of closing the exercise, the right side of the question always came off with a glorious triumph. It was shortly after his induction to the office of president that he addressed to the senior class his celebrated baccalaureate sermons on infidelity; the effect of which was powerfully felt, not only beyond the walls of the college, but beyond the limits of the country. Perhaps it is scarcely too much to say that they contain the most luminous and overpowering argument on that subject to be found within the same compass in the language. We can scarcely imagine a better service to the present generation of students than would be rendered by the republishing of these discourses, and the distributing of them freely through every college in the land.

We have adverted to the discussions which were carried on by the students in the presence of Dr. Dwight: this was a semi-weekly exercise during the senior year, and certainly among the most profitable exercises of the whole college course. The question was always previously agreed upon by the disputants; and, after both sides had been heard in written essays, the president concluded by presenting a comprehensive view of the whole subject, and then stating his own opinion, with the reasons on which it was founded. On some of these occasions he shone with an almost matchless splendor; and, if we were to look back for the most eloquent efforts which we heard from him during the course of four years, we should fasten upon some of these extemporaneous *decisions*, (as they were called,) thrown out not unfrequently under the influence of strong excitement, rather than upon his most mature and elaborate productions to which we ever listened from the pulpit.

It is not easy to say whether Dr. Dwight's influence as president of the college, or as an author, is destined to be the greater; but certain it is, that in the latter capacity he will be remembered the longest; for while, in the former case, his great thoughts were committed to other minds to become elements of character, and to be transmitted by a thousand nameless channels to future generations; in the latter, they found not only a permanent but palpable record, which will no doubt go on, multiplying itself, as it has done, indefinitely perhaps, to the end of time.

As Dr. Dwight possessed uncommonly diversified talents, and was at home in almost every department of knowledge, it was to be expected that the productions of his pen would be characterized by a corresponding variety. Accordingly, we find that some of his first effusions were poetical; and though this certainly is not the department in which he will be held in most lasting remembrance, yet it was an indication of no ordinary success even here, that the immortal Cowper should have spoken of one of his poetical productions in terms of very high respect. His principal works in poetry are his "Conquest of Canaan," which was finished when he was only twenty-two years old, and his "Greenfield Hill," written during his residence at the place from which the poem takes its name. Besides these, there were many smaller productions, particularly hymns; some of which, for beauty of thought, and tenderness and elevation of spirit, are almost unrivaled. Leaving the department of poetry, we come to that of statistical history, biography, &c., to which he has made a highly important contribution in his "Travels in New-England and New-York;"—a work,

which, though it has been thought to evince in some of its statements a share of credulity, must have been the result of much minute inquiry, and much accurate observation. But it is in theology that his name is destined to wear the brightest lustre. His occasional sermons, which were published in pamphlet form during his life, are among the best of that class of productions of which the American press can boast; and some of them are to be accounted gems even among their author's own works. The two volumes of miscellaneous discourses published chiefly from his MSS., since his death, if there were nothing else to bear witness for him, would constitute an imperishable monument both of his greatness and his goodness. But his *chef d'ouvre*—the work by which, above all others, he is to be known to future generations—is his system of Theology; a work of which we may speak now with freedom, because it has already well endured its probation, and its title to immortality has been confirmed.

In estimating the character of this work, we are to bear in mind one peculiarity which distinguishes it from most other professed systems of theology, viz., that it consists of a series of sermons which were delivered from sabbath to sabbath in the ordinary course of public ministerial instruction. We have occasionally heard them spoken of as being less profound than some other works devoted to theological science; but those who thus speak of them are to bear in mind that they were originally addressed to a popular assembly, and that if they had been of a less popular character, they must have failed in a great measure of accomplishing the immediate end for which they were designed.

But the complaint to which we have referred has, after all, much less foundation than those who have indulged it have seemed to imagine; for we venture to say that we can point to as lucid and cogent, and, for aught we know, original, argumentation in these discourses, as the disciples of the more profound school can show us in their oracles. It was one of Dr. Dwight's chief merits that he reasoned with perfect clearness—when the nature of the subject would admit, he always chose to deal with men's common sense, and keep them in the region of acknowledged and palpable realities; but when there was occasion for metaphysical disquisition, he could accommodate himself to it with perfect ease, and would sometimes, by a few words, throw an intricate and involved subject into the light of day. If we mistake not, there will be found, in his discourses on the existence and attributes of God, specimens of reasoning which could never have been produced by any other than a mind characterized by very high powers of discrimination.

But with much bold and powerful reasoning, these discourses combine much true and lofty eloquence; and in this respect they are, perhaps, among the finest models in the language. We do not say that the style may not be sometimes rather diffuse; but there is, after all, even in those parts that are most liable to this objection, a richness, a mellowness, a surpassing grandeur, which is fitted not only to disarm, but well nigh to entrance, the critic. The sermon on the comparative influence of atheism and Christianity, the sermons on creation, on the angels, on heaven, &c., may be referred to as among the most splendid specimens of eloquence, which this or any other work, with which we are acquainted, furnishes.

Of the system of doctrine maintained in this work, we cannot express our idea better than by saying that it probably unites as large a portion of the evangelical world as any other system in any language. And the great secret of this is, that it does not run to extremes in anything. The author was an orthodox Congregationalist—a Calvinist of the less rigid school; and though he honestly states and defends the views by which he is distinguished from other evangelical denominations, yet he does not treat these points as among the weightier matters of the law; and those who differ from him in respect to them, still find themselves greatly edified by his system as a whole. Everybody knows, for instance, that there are some points of difference between the different bodies into which the Presbyterian Church is split in Scotland; and a still greater difference between them and the various branches of the dissenting church in England, not to speak of the evangelical party in the Established Church itself. But among all these various sects Dr. Dwight's system has free course; and it is a fact worthy to be recorded, that its circulation in Great Britain has not only been greater than that of any other similar work during the same time, but that it has been much greater there than it has been even in the country that has been honored to produce it. It is, however, only fair to state that this may have been partly owing to the fact that in the absence of copyright privilege, on the other side of the water, it could be sold at a much cheaper rate than their own native publications.

It is one of the chief excellences of this system, that it exhibits all the doctrines of the gospel in their practical bearings. In reading it, we find something more than a dry detail of moral and spiritual truths—we find ourselves in contact with motives as well as principles; and we are never suffered to forget that Christianity is in the highest degree a practical system. It is in this view, par-

ticularly, that we can recommend it not merely to those who study theology professionally, but to Christians of every condition and every capacity—while it gives them a thoroughly systematic and lucid view of the great truths of religion, natural and revealed, it shows them that each particular truth is designed to produce its effect, and that there dwells in the whole system a completely renovating and quickening influence. There is danger even that ministers of the gospel will, from the very nature of their pursuits, come to regard Christianity too much as a system of abstractions; and while they give all diligence to ascertain the precise meaning of the revelation, they too often need the vital warmth which a more practical view of the truth would be fitted to awaken. These discourses furnish an admirable antidote to all such tendencies; and if every minister in the land were occasionally to read through the whole series, we doubt not that it would be a security for great improvement in respect both to good preaching and holy living.

We are glad to be able to state that this work, which is now in the hands of the Messrs. Harper & Brothers, is sold at so reasonable a rate, as fairly to bring it within the reach of a very large portion of the religious community. We have no expectation that the time will soon come, if ever, when it will be said that Dwight's Theology has had its day—we confidently expect that it will be read by the light of the millennial morning; and if this rapid notice of it, in connection with the life and character of its distinguished author, shall contribute to bring it into the hands of any, who otherwise would not have read it, we shall feel that in rendering a tribute to the memory of our once venerated teacher, we have also rendered some service to the cause of human improvement. S.

ART. II.—*The Christian Professor addressed, in a Series of Counsels and Cautions.* By JOHN ANGELL JAMES. New-York: Appleton & Co.

THE name of JOHN ANGELL JAMES is, perhaps, almost as familiar in this country as it is in England. Few authors are read with more avidity; and probably few with more profit. His writings are no less distinguished by beauty and attractiveness of style than by power of thought and purity of evangelical sentiment. He is thoroughly and always in earnest; throwing around, and diffusing through his writings, a warmth and energy which cannot fail to awaken and sustain kindred emotions—emotions of holy delight, or, at least, of deep interest, in the bosom of the pious reader.

But of all he has written, no book seems better adapted to do good than the one whose title is given at the head of this article. It is most timely. The state of religion in the Protestant churches, no less in America than in England, calls loudly for such an admonitory address. Now that unwonted harmony prevails among them, and unprecedented efforts are being made by them to spread religion over the face of the whole earth, it seems all-important that the nature of the Christian profession, and the obligations thence resulting, should be more fully and definitely understood: otherwise many may be induced to offer themselves for membership in the church of Christ with a very imperfect appreciation of what is, directly and indirectly, involved in such a step.

Some have, doubtless, already done this. Perceiving that the Christian profession has become comparatively honorable, and wishing to enjoy the hopes and prospects supposed to be the exclusive inheritance of the church, they have sought and found a connection with the household of faith, without, perhaps, scarcely adverting to the terms of the gospel covenant. Very possibly they *intended* to deceive nobody: they were governed by no bad motive. Regarding the church as the depository of grace, and the place of safety, they desired a lodgment within her hallowed precincts, and accordingly offered themselves. The incautious porter gave them admission; and now they dream on, secure of heaven.

Others, possibly, came into the church with a distinct, vivid, and affecting perception of what was implied in the transaction; they knew that they were committing themselves to high and holy obligations. They trembled in view of the solemnity of the step; and yet it was deliberately taken. But they have backslidden. Either wholly, or in part, they have lost their first love; and, thus backsliding, if they have not entirely forgotten that they were once purged from their old sins, they have lost those just views, and deep, heart-felt emotions, under which they identified themselves with the family of Christ.

There is yet another class of persons found within the courts of Zion. They have been truly converted, and wish to do their whole duty; but they need instruction. They are measurably ignorant of what is incumbent upon them as Christian professors. Though enjoying the instructions of a tolerably enlightened ministry, and submitting to be governed, in the main, by an evangelical discipline, they still have confused and indistinct notions of the strictness and amplitude of their Christian obligations—obligations necessarily connected with the Christian profession.

To each, and to all, of these classes the Address of Mr. James

is most admirably suited. While it can hardly fail to tear the mask from the hypocritical and self-deceived, it furnishes the information, admonition, and advice needed by those who are sincerely disposed practically to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

What were the views of our author in respect to the prevailing state of religion in the transatlantic churches will be seen in his preface. If his estimate correspond to the existing facts, as most probably it does, there is, we should think, a remarkable similarity in the state of religion in England and America. He says,—

"That evangelical piety is advancing and spreading over a wider surface, I have no doubt; but what it is gaining in breadth, it is losing, I am afraid, in depth. Politics, and their accompaniments, party strife and animosity; trade carried on as it has been, with such rage of competition, and upon such a basis of credit, and to such an extent of speculation, together with that worldly spirit to which an age of growing refinement and luxury usually gives rise, are exceedingly adverse to a religion of which the elements are—*faith*, *hope*, *love*. The church of Christ, in all the sections of it, is sadly mixed up with the world as to its spirit, and many of its customs; and the great body of the faithful are far less marked in their separation from the followers of pleasure, and the worshipers of Mammon, than they ought to be. '*Ye are dead*, and your *life is hid with Christ in God*,' is the description of a religion too rarely to be seen in the present day."—Pp. 3, 4.

But what is implied in the Christian profession? What does the man do who becomes a member of the family of Christ—who voluntarily takes upon himself the obligations of our holy religion? These questions respect a subject in reference to which there is not only much ignorance in the church, but much neglect where there may not be so much ignorance. It is well, then, calmly and deliberately to review the whole matter; closely and impartially to survey the position occupied by him who has the vows of God upon him. The case is stated by Mr. James with great force and perspicuity. He says,—

"To profess, means to declare, publicly and solemnly, something that we believe, or that we intend to do; so that a profession of Christianity signifies, *a public, solemn, and emphatic declaration that we believe the truths, and submit to the obligations, of Christianity*. The translators of the Scriptures have given, in our English version, two renderings of the same word; sometimes construing it *pro*fession, and sometimes *con*fession. In this they have conformed to a difference which modern use has established, and by which *pro*fession means the declaration of our religious faith in the ordinary and tranquil circumstances of the Christian church, without any reference to persecution;

while *con*fession means, the avowal of our belief in times of danger, and before persecuting rulers. A *con*fessor is synonymous with a martyr: while a *pro*fessor means, simply, a person publicly declaring himself a Christian. Still, however, it must be admitted, that as there is no difference of terms in the original Scriptures, so there is none in reality; for he who makes a profession of religion declares, if he be sincere, his intention, if required to do so, to seal his testimony with his blood."—Pp. 13, 14.

In this profession

"we declare that the rigid, refined, severe morality of the sermon on the mount, and the law of charity laid down in the Epistle to the Corinthians, are, and shall be, the rule of our conduct; and that, as Christ has enjoined it, we will, by God's help, follow whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report. And, since he has instituted various ordinances of religion for his own glory and our benefit, such as the sabbath, the sacraments, and other public services, we declare that we will punctually, seriously, and constantly observe them.

"We profess that we receive Christ as our *pattern* and *example*, and that we are determined, as God shall assist us, to conform ourselves to him in our spirit, temper, and conduct. That we will strive to come, as near as our circumstances will allow, to HIM who was so dead to this world that he renounced wealth, rank, ease, fame; so holy that he could appeal to the most malignant of his foes for the sinless purity of his conduct; so submissive to the divine will that he drank the deepest, fullest, bitterest cup of human wo, without a murmur; so meek and lowly as to bear the greatest injuries and insults with unruffled serenity and placability; so full of benevolence as to pray for his foes, to die for them, and save them. Yes, we say to the world, 'Look at Jesus of Nazareth in his holy and beneficent career, and in his ignominious death; see him whose character was a compound of purity and love—and there is *my* model."—P. 17.

But solemn as are the nature and obligations of such a profession, we are bound to make it; provided, only, we have reason to believe that we have passed from death unto life. It is not a mere matter of discretion with us. We *must* let our light shine. We have no liberty to conceal it. The man who does so, classes himself with the enemies of the Saviour. Not to confess him is, to all intents and purposes, to deny him. "He that is not with me," says Christ, "is against me." God forbids not only open enmity, but secret love; not only public rebellion, but concealed allegiance; if, indeed, such a thing can possibly exist. "Christ has commanded a profession, and made it one of the laws of his kingdom, under the peril of our being disowned by him; and he who refuses to comply with this command, puts his salvation in jeopardy." We may, to be sure, be placed in circumstances which

do not admit of an outward connection with the church of God: but even then we must, on our own separate responsibility, openly proclaim our allegiance to the King eternal. We must, boldly and independently, stand up for God and his cause.

Profession is, however, to be regarded in the light of a *privilege*, as well as of a duty. It secures to us the fellowship of the saints, pastoral oversight, access to the table of the Lord, and all those guards against sin, and all those helps to a life of piety and usefulness, which are always found, in a greater or less degree, in every branch of the true church of Christ.

"Profession gives us a right and title to all the privileges and comforts of communion with his people. It is our saying to them, 'I come into the house in the Master's name, and take a seat at his table, invited and accepted by him. He has given me a share in all the immunities of his family.' It is, therefore, our act of association with his people, our title of admission to the fellowship of the faithful. Till we profess, they have no warrant to receive us; and when we do, they have no right to reject us. We have then a claim upon their confidence, their sympathy, their affection, and their prayers; and they on ours. How cheering the idea that we have thus acquired an interest in the hearts of the brethren, the communion of the church, and the supplications of those who have power with God to prevail! . . . Trees grow best in plantations and forests; so do Christians in church fellowship. Christ has gathered his people into churches that they may enjoy the benefits of reciprocal watchfulness, care, help, and love. Christians do, or should, rally round one another, 'to warn them that are unruly, to comfort the feeble-minded, to support the weak.' They are commanded to exhort one another daily, lest any be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. Profession draws many friendly eyes upon us, and many affectionate arms around and underneath us." —P. 32.

But then we must be very careful upon what grounds we make a profession. There is danger of self-deception. This is evident, as well from the language as from the facts of the New Testament. "Be not deceived"—is an admonition thrice repeated by St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. The Laodiceans said, "We are rich, and increased in goods;" when, in fact, they were "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." It is possible for us to mistake the forms and restraints of a religious education, or a little temporary excitement of the feelings, for a real change of heart. And the danger of self-deception is greatly increased by the present external peace and unmolested liberty of the church. A man can now make a profession of religion without putting his life, or property, or personal liberty, or even honor, in jeopardy. Another incentive to an ill-grounded profession

exists in the wide and easy access to communion which is afforded by some modern churches. It cannot be said of them, as it is of the prophetic church, that their "gates are open continually," not being "closed day or night;" for they can hardly be said to have any gates at all; or, if they have, there is no porter to ask the sign of him that enters.

The consequences of such self-deception are dreadfully malign and ruinous. It corrupts and weakens the church. Mere nominal professors are the "wood, hay, and stubble" in the walls of the spiritual temple, which disfigure its beauty and impair its strength. They are the disease of the spiritual body, which, though they may swell its bulk, destroy its health. Instead of acting as the salt of the earth, they bring corruption into the kingdom of Christ. To themselves, the issue of such deception is most disastrous. They not only live destitute of true spiritual comfort, but go to perdition when they die. But on this point, let us transcribe a startling passage from Mr. James:—

"A professor in hell!! Tremendous idea! Horrifying thought! After spending his time on earth in the nominal communion of saints, to spend his eternity in the real fellowship of devils in hell! After belonging to the society of God's people; joining in all their services and their privileges; transacting with them the business of the kingdom; uniting with them in the expulsion, as well as the reception, of members—then to be sent away into the prison of lost souls! O how dreadful would it be to be separated from the church of God now, to pass under the sentence of excommunication, to be exscinded as a corrupt member of the body, and given over to Satan! But what is this to the sentence of excommunication from the church triumphant, pronounced by Jesus Christ himself at the last day? O to hear HIM say—'*Depart!*"—P. 53.

In the fourth chapter the author addresses most excellent advice to "the young professor;" by which phrase he means "the person lately converted," whether in the morning or meridian of his days. The first part of the chapter contains the beautiful letter of the late President Edwards to a young lady, who had just commenced the life of faith. Of this letter, the following paragraphs are worthy of special notice:—

"If at any time you fall into doubts about the state of your soul, into dark and dull frames of mind, it is proper to review your past experience; but do not consume too much time and strength in this way: rather apply yourself, with all your might, to an earnest pursuit after renewed experience, new light, and new lively acts of faith and love. One new discovery of the glory of Christ's face will do more toward scattering clouds of darkness in one minute, than examining old

experience, by the best marks that can be given, through a whole year. . . . In all your course, walk with God, and follow Christ, as a little, poor, helpless child; taking hold of Christ's hand, keeping your eye on the marks of the wounds in his hands and side, whence came the blood that cleanses you from sin, and hiding your nakedness under the skirt of the white shining robes of his righteousness."—Pp. 62, 64.

Bating the rather indefinite recognition of the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's *personal* righteousness, the directions are most apposite and striking. How far they quadrate with the alledged infallible "perseverance of the saints," is a question, the solution of which belongs rather to Mr. Edwards' Calvinistic admirers than to us. After this quotation from President Edwards, Mr. James himself gives sundry excellent advices to the young convert, among which the following deserves to be written in letters of gold:—

"Do not neglect religious duty, because you suppose your feelings are not right at the time. Action begets emotion; and the right *feeling* comes with the right *doing*."—P. 66.

The author next gives us a most edifying chapter on the character of professing Christians of the present day, as compared with those of former times. In some respects, he supposes the balance to be in favor of modern professors. It is thought that there is now "a more marked and decided tone of religious sentiment—a more public and explicit avowal of evangelical doctrine," than formerly. Says Mr. James,—

"I do not mean merely a belief in the doctrine of the trinity of persons in the Godhead, and the great fundamental truth of the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ; but, in connection with these, the all-important doctrines of justification by faith alone, and the regeneration of the heart by the Holy Ghost. These are not only held by the great body of orthodox Dissenters and Wesleyan Methodists, but by a large proportion of the Church of England; and are put forward, without hesitation or reserve, in bold and striking relief in their preaching. From the Restoration till within the past thirty years these glorious and fundamental truths, so far as regards the Church of England, lay enshrined in the Prayer-book; but they have now obtained a resurrection from the desk, and an ascension into the pulpit, from whence they are exhibited and preached with divine success. A life-giving system of doctrine has taken the place of a dead theology and a cold morality: and the sentiments of Wiclif, Cranmer, Hooper, and Ridley, are again heard in the scenes which formerly resounded with their voices. . . . Our land is vocal with the joyful sound of the preaching of Christ crucified, calling the dense population of our cities and great towns, and the inhabitants of our smaller towns and villages, to the cross for

salvation. The church and the meeting-house echo to each other 'the Name that is above every name;' and the worshipers of both commingle with each other, as they pour forth from their respective places of worship, with their souls thrilling with the notes of the same heavenly music of redeeming love."—Pp. 70, 71.

Had it been pertinent to our author's object—for certainly he is no bigot—he, doubtless, would have noticed the agency of Mr. Wesley, and his self-sacrificing coadjutors, in bringing about this most auspicious state of things. The American, no less than the British churches, are under obligations to these men of God, which can be discharged only by a more perfect consecration of themselves to the lofty purposes contemplated in the Saviour's mission.

Mr. James supposes, also, that the professors of the present age are distinguished by an unprecedented "spirit of holy zeal for the propagation of religion, both at home and abroad." The following paragraphs, in this connection, are eloquent and impressive:—

"The Puritans and Nonconformists, it must be admitted, did little in this way; for, indeed, they had little or no opportunity. The ruthless, bloody, and remorseless spirit of persecution, left them no other way of diffusing Christianity than by giving an example of suffering patience, or flying before the storm of oppression, and carrying the gospel into the land of their exile. This they neglected not to do, and the gigantic republic of the United States of America is, in great measure, the result of their migration—a country destined to share with the fatherland the honor of converting the world to Christ.

"But coming forward half a century in the history of the churches of our own order, we find them, when protected by the Act of Toleration, drawing the curtains around them, and lying down to slumber upon their newly obtained liberty. More than a century was given to their inglorious repose; more than a century was lost to the world; during which, probably, two thousand millions of immortal souls went into eternity unpitied and unsanctified. It is melancholy now to look back and think of the silence and inactivity which reigned over the Christian world before the present missionary spirit arose. The valley of dry bones spread out before our forefathers, but none went forth to prophesy to the slain. There were no Sunday schools, no tract societies, no Bible societies, for our own country; and no missionary societies for foreign nations, except such as had little else than the name. The state of the poor at home, and of heathen nations abroad, was almost as well known then as now; there were printing presses then as there are now; and also ships, colonies, and commerce—but next akin to nothing was done for the conversion of the world.

"Blessed be the God of love and truth, things are different now: he has poured out the beginnings of his grace upon this age, and has

awakened and called his people to the work of evangelizing the world. They *begin* to feel and to understand that the spirit of Christianity is essentially a proselyting spirit; that to diffuse the gospel is no less a duty than to embrace it; and that no man can really fulfill all his duty as a Christian who does not, in some way or other, seek to make his neighbors such. Look around on the Christian church. Every denomination has its missionary society, and every congregation its missionary organization. Every object on which the eye of benevolence can rest, which needs its exertions, has its separate and appropriate confederacy of mercy for its relief; so that it is almost difficult to mention a subject of sorrow, ignorance, or wickedness, which is not found in its own special classification, with a provision for relief suited to its peculiar circumstances. Let any one visit our metropolis [New-York as well as London] in the month of May, that beautiful season of the year, so wisely selected to harmonize the appearances of nature and of grace; when the budding hopes and springing prospects of both are put forth together: let him witness the signs of holy activity which are conspicuous even amid the teeming population and multitudinous pursuits of that wondrous city: let him read the long list of public meetings, occupying a large portion of the whole month: let him sum up the number of societies for diversified objects, all connected with the spread of religion through one channel, and over one part of the world or other: let him count the stations occupied, and the agents employed: let him compute the money collected, and hear the reports read: and then let him say if God, in his sovereign mercy, has not granted one rich and glorious distinction to the professors of the age in which he lives."—Pp. 76–78.

It is a pity to spoil this picture, so beautiful, so lovely, so graphic; but other and different characters crowd themselves upon the canvass, and we cannot, if we would, turn away our eyes from them. If Christians of the present day have much gold, it is painful to reflect that so much alloy should be mingled with the precious metal. To all of their distinguishing excellences, there are many humiliating offsets and counterbalances. The modern church, as contrasted with the church of an earlier day, has its painful defects, and its obvious blemishes. In too many instances, the professors of the present time substitute a *social* for an *individual* piety. Wrapped up even in schemes of Christian benevolence, the heart is neglected. Hence, the want of that high-toned piety and deep devotional feeling which characterized the Christians of some past ages. This leads to a sinful conformity to the world and other kindred evils; it leads to the neglect of family religion, a prevalent deficiency of the modern church.

"In addition to the devout and regular performance of family religion night and morning, the evenings of the sabbath were by our fore-

fathers a consecrated season for the catechetical instruction of the children. The father, with patriarchal grace, acted as the prophet, as well as the priest and king, of his household; and, as a consequence naturally to be looked for, the churches were principally replenished from the families of the righteous. Is it so now? Are the communicants at the Lord's table, either in the Church of England, among the Methodists, or the Dissenters, chiefly composed of 'the children of the kingdom?' How is this but from a relaxation of domestic religion? Family prayer, though in few families omitted, is not performed with that constancy, solemnity, and fervor, which are calculated to interest and edify; parental authority is not maintained with that steadiness which is adapted to inspire respect, and that affection which is likely to secure obedience; and as to the judicious, diligent, and engaging communication of religious instruction, which is necessary to inform the mind, to enlighten the conscience, and to form the character, it is in some families almost entirely neglected."—Pp. 87, 88.

From this just view of the existing state of things, it is plain that there is a loud call for a greatly increased amount of piety in the church. There should be a higher and more discriminating regard for what may be called *evangelical sentiments*—those sentiments which are vital to the existence of a pure and elevated Christianity. Equally necessary is it that there should be more spiritual mindedness, more deadness to the world, more living by faith, more perfect consecration to God. Till the church is brought up to this, we can hardly look for that exquisite tenderness of conscience, that high-toned morality, that liberality for the cause of Christ, that scope of Christian charity, that living and laboring for God and the salvation of the world, which are characteristic of our holy religion. And then it is this symmetrical union of all the varieties of Christian excellence that forms moral beauty; the character that ascends the mount to commune with God, and then comes down to reflect the light of the excellent glory in moral virtue; the blending of the dispositions that prepare us for heaven with those which fit us to adorn our stations and bless our species on earth.

Apart from the intrinsic excellence and moral beauty of such eminent religious attainments, there are the strongest possible motives to engage us in the pursuit of them. God commands it in the strongest terms. "Be *filled* with the fruits of righteousness." "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and might, and mind, and strength." "Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." "What manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness!" Nor are these mere arbitrary precepts. A compliance with them

is essential to our true and permanent happiness. In the language of our author,—

"It is joy, and peace, and bliss—the sunshine of the breast, the sabbath of the soul, the resting place on which the heart lays down its load of cares, and anxieties, and sorrows. There is happiness in faith, but it must be strong faith; happiness in hope, but it must be lively hope; happiness in love, but it must be fervent love. The religion of many professors is useless to them. It does nothing for them. They derive no good from it. They are neither comforted in trouble, grateful in prosperity, nor sustained in anxiety by it. They hear some talk of their joys, and hopes, and seasons of communion with God; but they are strangers to these things. In short, their religion is a mere dead form. In the case of some other professors, their religion is an actual incumbrance, a hinderance to their happiness, rather than a help. They are spoiled for the world, without being fitted for the church. They cannot go to fashionable amusements; and yet they have nothing in the place of them. Their soul dwells in a wilderness, a bleak and cheerless desert, where no pleasant plant grows, not even the deleterious plant of sinful pleasure. The happiness of religion is reserved for those whose piety is sincere, and the higher degrees of its happiness for such as have large measures of holiness."—Pp. 101, 102.

Besides, without constantly aiming at these eminent attainments in religion, there is no safety to the Christian professor. Everything relating to his spiritual state is exceedingly precarious and uncertain. The plant of feeble growth is easily trodden into the earth. If we would "revive as the corn, and grow as the vine," we must come out into the broad sunlight of God's approving smiles. In religion, if anywhere within the wide range of human action, we must "attempt great things, expect great things." To stand still even—supposing the thing to be possible—is to jeopard the soul. But, in truth, we cannot stand still: we must, in the very nature of things, go either backward or forward. The soul that is not growing is declining in grace. Such is the emphatic teaching of inspiration. St. Peter, after exhorting "the saints that were scattered abroad," to the diligent accumulation and cultivation of the Christian graces—virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, charity—says, "For if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things"—that is, fails to accumulate them—"is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if"—IF—"ye do these things, ye shall never fall."

2 Peter i, 5–10. Our only safety is in going forward. There is nothing behind us but the wrath of God.

"Begin, then, Christian professors, from the perusal of these pages, to seek after higher degrees of personal religion. Be not satisfied with present attainments. Even the apostle Paul resolved to forget the things that were behind, in a desire to press on to greater excellence. And can you be satisfied? Beware of making the perilous, yet too frequent, experiment of ascertaining with how little piety you can reach heaven. They who are seeking just religion enough for this purpose will find out, to their eternal confusion, that they have *not* enough. The love of God, like the love of money, is never satisfied with its possession. You must grow. It is your solemn duty. God demands it; your happiness and safety require it. It is as much *your* duty to be eminent Christians as it is that of others. No reason applies to them for this, which does not equally apply to you. A higher degree of holiness is attainable by you. The grace that is necessary for this is within your reach. You are not to imagine that there is any peculiarity in your case which forbids the hope of improvement. Gód's grace is all-sufficient; the Holy Spirit is omnipotent. You are commanded as matter of duty, invited as matter of privilege, to be eminent in religion. O take up the wish, the purpose, the determination! . . . Adopt the Bible afresh as the Book of books; let nothing supplant this precious volume! One great cause why the piety of this age is so feeble and so languid is, because the Bible has in many cases been swept away by a flood of uninspired publications. The pure milk of the word has been neglected, or has been so diluted as to leave but little nourishment in the mixture; and the new-born babe, as a matter of course, has remained dwarfish and sickly. Even the biography of the most distinguished saints, which ought to form a part of the Christian's reading, and is eminently calculated to fan the flame of devotion in the soul, ought not to be allowed to displace the word of God."—Pp. 107, 108.

Being thus deeply pious, and giving up ourselves *wholly* to God and his blessed service, we shall be prepared to shun even "the appearance of evil." Much is comprehended in doing this. Christian professors must abstain from all those beginnings of wrong, those first buddings of sin, which, though they might not be noticed in others, will be very apparent in *them;* just as the smallest speck will be quite visible on the otherwise perfectly clean garment. They should, therefore, not only avoid all experimenting to see how near they can come to sin without committing it, but keep as far within the boundaries of holiness as possible. Be all eye, all ear, all watchfulness. Even virtues may be so exercised as to have the appearance of evil. The manner of doing a *good* deed may be so exceedingly exceptionable as to have all the practical effect of doing a *bad* one.

"A professor, eminent for her earnest solicitude about her soul, in her anxiety to grow in grace, and keep up the vitality of religion, will, perhaps, neglect all the duties of her household, and leave a sick child to the care of servants, in order to attend a prayer meeting or a sermon. A second, in his zeal for the cause of Christ, will give that property for its support which belongs to his creditors. A third, in his hatred of sin, will be guilty of all kinds of rudeness in reproving transgressors. Mercy sometimes degenerates into pernicious weakness, justice into harshness, spirituality into cant, humility into meanness, devotion into superstition, and a tender conscience into a diseased one."—Pp. 112, 113.

What Christ said to his first ministers is, in some sense, applicable to all Christian professors: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." They should cautiously unite great discrimination of judgment with great innocence of purpose. When any course of action is proposed to the mind, it must be referred at once to the understanding and to the moral sense. In some instances it may be very difficult to determine what is right and what is wrong. The matter may, however, be settled with a good degree of probable accuracy. On this point the following remarks of our author are worthy of special attention:—

"Doubts about the propriety of an action are strong presumptive evidence that it is unlawful; for they must have their origin in the perception of some appearance of evil. Still there are persons of such a timid and nervous constitution, of such a physical incapability of coming to any conclusion that shall be free from all scruples, that if they never acted till they had got rid of *all* doubts, they would never act at all. The following rules may, perhaps, be of service to such persons, and indeed to all.

"When in the proposed action all the doubts lie on one side, there need be no hesitation.

"When one action will promote our interest, and the other oppose it, the probability is that the way of duty lies in the course which is disadvantageous to us.

"It is always best, in doubtful cases, to take the safer side; that which, as far as we can judge, will involve the least risk of our own reputation, and of the comfort and well-being of others.

"It is well, in some difficult cases, to suppose the affair to belong to somebody else, and to look at it, as far as we can, as theirs; and then to ask ourselves the question, 'How should I judge for them?' And, *vice versa*, to suppose them looking upon us, and to say, 'What will be *their* opinion how I ought to act?'

"In all cases we should consult the Word of God; but not, however, to find passages which will favor that side of the question to which we are, perhaps, already inclined, but with a desire to know the will of God; and, at the same time, accompanying this exercise with fervent prayer to God for direction.

"If, after all, we should be still in doubt, we may then ask the opinion and advice of some discreet Christian friend or friends, on whose judgment and conscientious impartiality we can rely.

"When we have thus endeavored to know what is right, we are to proceed to action, and should not allow ourselves to be checked, interrupted, or distressed by any speculative doubts, or by the fears and misgivings of a sensitive and somewhat morbid imagination. We must be led by judgment, and in some cases against the doubts and fears that arise from other sources. There is frequently an apprehensiveness which makes some persons pause and hesitate, and almost resolve to turn back, even when their judgment urges them on; just like that groundless fear which makes a timid traveler doubt and ready to return, although the finger-post over his head, and the mile-stone by the wayside, tell him he *is* right."—Pp. 113, 115.

The stern, unyielding integrity of the Christian should be seen everywhere, and on all occasions. It may be his duty to concern himself in the civil government of his country. He is by no means disfranchised by the fact that he is a follower of the Saviour. "He does not cease to be a citizen when he becomes a Christian; nor does he go out of the world when he enters the church." His political rights and obligations continue just what they were before. He is, by his representative, the maker of law, as well as the subject of law.

But he must take heed in what spirit he performs his political duties. He must not allow himself to fraternize with the mere demagogue and partisan. To do this is greatly to injure, if not totally to destroy, his Christian character; especially as matters now stand in the political world. If he find it necessary to attend preparatory meetings, he must go to them, as well as to the polls, with feelings and motives kindred to those which take the benevolent physician to the hospital, where he is surrounded with the dying and the dead, and where he is obliged to breathe the very atmosphere of disease, putrescence, and death. He must go, not to contract, but to cure, disease; not to diffuse, but to neutralize, contagion. Principle, pure, lofty, Christian principle, must govern him. His whole bearing should be that of a disciple of Christ, a candidate for immortality and eternal life. Everything he does, in this regard, must be done religiously—done in such a manner that no one can justly say, "This is contrary to his profession." If the pious reader desires to see more on this subject, we would refer him to the ninth chapter of the book now under review, where it is largely and ably discussed.

But in nothing should professing Christians more distinguish themselves from the world lying in wickedness, than by their ten-

der and ardent love one to another. In the days of Tertullian their reciprocal affection was proverbial. Even the heathen were forced to exclaim, "See how these Christians love one another!" Lucian, a satirical Greek writer of the second century, though not intending it, passed the highest possible encomium upon them when he said, "It is incredible what pains and diligence they use by all means to succor one another. They have an extreme contempt of the things of this world. Their legislator made them believe that they are all brethren, and since they have renounced our religion, and worshiped their crucified leader, they live according to his laws, and all their riches are common." This is paganism bearing testimony to the social character of primitive Christianity. Then, as at an earlier day, the followers of Christ were "of one heart and of one mind." And thus should it be now. They should love one another, not in word and tongue only, but in deed and in truth. There is, doubtless, a gradual return of this spirit to the Protestant churches; but there is still large room for improvement. Hear Mr. James:—

"Permit me, then, to enjoin very earnestly an attention to this interesting and most important duty—a duty which, above many, brings in the performance its own reward. Love is happiness; hatred is misery; and selfish indifference, at best, midway between both. And, while on this subject, I would dwell upon the singular emphasis which Christ lays on this duty in the following injunction: '*This is* MY *commandment, that ye love one another.*' Every leader of a sect both among the Jews and heathen, it has been said, had appointed some rite or speculative opinion, the belief or observance of which was the badge of distinction of his followers, and by which they were known to be his disciples. Thus Pharisees, Sadducees, Platonists, Pythagorians, and Epicureans were distinguished from each other. Each had his leading principle, his favorite opinion, to which he was warmly attached, and by which his party was easily known. With allusion to this custom, the Saviour of the world, the head of the heavenly sect, says to *his* followers, 'This is *my* commandment, that ye love one another; and by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' I am incarnate love: none have loved like me: I am the type and pattern of love; and you are the objects of my love. If, therefore, ye would prove yourselves the disciples of Him who came to teach love, and who taught by his example, you must love as I have loved, and must love whom I love."—Pp. 171, 172.

Thus loving one another, their influence will be most salutary. If members of the same communion, they will contribute to each other's heavenly-mindedness, and aid each other, as far as they can, in every work and labor of love. Nor will their influence be less salutary upon the church catholic. There is, indeed, a con-

tinual action and reaction going on between the different branches of the Christian family. When a revival takes place in one, it soon extends to the others. It ought, therefore, to be felt by each party to be a solemn obligation to promote the spirit of pure and undefiled religion, and that not only for its own sake, but for the sake of all. On this point Mr. James has a most striking paragraph :—

"Wherever and on whomsoever God bestows his gifts and graces, he intends them as the common blessings of the church: and it is impossible for prejudice and bigotry altogether to restrain or resist their influence. We get good, in some cases, unconsciously to ourselves, from the very men whom we oppose; just as we should catch a sweet and rich perfume, with which an individual might be scented, by wrestling with him. The lamp that lights my neighbor's house, though he be an enemy, lends its friendly illumination to mine. There is a communion of spiritual benefits, where there can be none of persons. I want a greater revival of religion among the Dissenters that it might do good to the Church of England; and I want a greater revival of it in the Church of England, that it may do good to the Dissenters; I want it in the Methodists, to do good to both the others; and in both the others to do good to the Methodists. Wherever it begins, it will not, cannot, stop there. The Spirit of God will not be limited by our narrow views and selfish policy, but will make us blessings to each other in spite of ourselves!"—P. 190, 191.

If Christians do their whole duty, they will not only bless each other,—they will bless their families, their relatives, their neighbors, the world. They are the salt of the earth—the light of the world. In prosperity and adversity, at home and abroad, in life and in death, they may exhibit the power of an evangelical faith, and the blessedness of the Christian character; and thus convince the world that religion is not a cunningly devised fable.

Though we have but partially passed over the range of topics descanted upon by Mr. James, yet we are impressed that our remarks should be brought to a close. The volume is one about which the pious mind must love to linger. No one can read it without feeling that the Christian profession involves vast responsibilities; and, if he be a Christian professor, without resolving to be a better man. As a systematical portraiture of *practical* Christianity, it probably has no superior in the English language. In this respect, it sustains about the same relation to the theological literature of the present day, that Prof. Upham's "Interior Life," and the "Life of Faith," do, in the department of experience. A character formed upon the model furnished by Mr. James,—and no one will undertake to say that it is not a Scriptural model,—must

be faultless, so far, at least, as such a quality is predicable of fallen humanity. Indeed, the book might be, not unaptly, entitled, "*An Essay on Practical Christian Perfection.*" Possibly such a title would rather startle the author: at any rate, it is such a one as *he* would not be very likely to prefix to it. And yet hear how he speaks of Christian perfection:—

"Now the end to which we are walking forward, is a perfect conformity to the image of God; a perfect love to our fellow-creatures; a perfect freedom from the lusts of the flesh; a perfect separation from sin; a perfect emancipation from the love of the world, and everything that is contrary to the love of God; perfect knowledge, humility, and holy felicity. In these things, therefore, we ought now to increase. If we are not continually advancing toward this perfection; if we do not find a gradual influence of divine light, life, and power; more discernible impressions of the divine image; a greater suitableness, so to speak, for God, a closer acquaintance with him, a higher delight in him, a more entire devotedness to him, how can we imagine we are *walking* in the Spirit? We may keep moving, but if it be in a circle, a round of empty duties, heartless ceremonies, and cold formalities, what proof have we that we have life; or, if we have it, that it is not in a state of disease, and sinking back again into death?"—Pp. 328, 329.

"It is, I think, extremely probable that great injury is done to the Christian character and profession, by an abuse of the commonly admitted fact, that there is no perfection on earth. By the aid of this humiliating concession, it is to be feared that many reconcile themselves to far more and greater *im*perfections than are in any case compatible with consistency, and in some with sincerity. There *is* no perfection. But is there no command to us to seek after it? The man who does not make it the object of his desire and pursuit, who does not wish and endeavor to obtain every kind of holy excellence, and in every possible degree, has reason to doubt the reality of his religion. *A professing Christian ought to be a character of universal holiness*, in which no degree, not even the smallest, of any kind of known imperfection should be allowed to remain. It should be with him as to holy character, as it is with persons of much neatness and nicety as to dress, who are not only rendered uncomfortable by great defilements, but who are uneasy till every speck of dust is removed, and the whole garment presents an unsullied surface. There is such a thing as *moral neatness*, which, in addition to freedom from and abhorrence of greater sins, maintains a sensitiveness to lesser ones, and a studious effort after universal purity. Perfection is our duty; perfection should be our wish, and perfection our aim; by which I mean to say that a Christian is not to allow himself to practice any degree of sin; and is to seek every possible degree of every holy virtue. How different an aspect would the Christian profession present, if all who made it were to set up perfection of character as their aim; and, according to apostolic exhortation, were to '*perfect holiness in the fear of God*,' and to stand forth before the world, 'blameless and harmless, the unrebukable sons of God!'"—*Preface*, pp. 5, 6.

From this last quotation it is evident that the author does not believe perfection attainable in the present life. He says, in terms, "There *is* no perfection." But what does he mean by this? Why, we apprehend, simply, that Christians cannot reach a state of *absolute* perfection. To understand him otherwise is to involve him in the absurdity of teaching, and of saying that the Scriptures teach, that we are to aspire after and aim at what is absolutely out of our reach! In other words, that God commands us to do that for which we have no capacity! But certainly a man of Mr. James' good sense, mental discrimination, and theological attainments, could never deliberately advance such a position as this. Our construction is strongly supported by what he says in another place. Urging those who think they have experienced a gracious change to make a public profession, he says, among other things, "Not that I mean to insinuate that justification is by works, or that *absolute* perfection is essential to salvation; but what I mean is this:—God requires obedience in *all* cases of known duty, and where we make exceptions, he may be so displeased as to give us up to ourselves, and leave us to turn back again to the world."—P. 39. "Absolute perfection" is one of the characteristics of the uncreated Godhead; and is not only unattainable by mortals, but by the highest order of angels and archangels that surround the throne of light. But is there not a lower kind of perfection—not "absolute," not angelic, not Adamic even—to which the Christian *can* attain in the present life? We think there *is*. It is what, in Methodistic theology, is called *Christian* perfection. It is what the Bible denominates "perfect love"—the loving God with "all the heart, might, mind, and strength!" Nor can we believe that Mr. James meant to call in question the attainableness of such perfection as *this*. The whole drift of the most excellent performance now before us would lead to a different conclusion.

Our author is a Congregational minister, and holds, we presume, to what is technically denominated "the perseverance of the saints." We infer as much from sundry passages found in different parts of his book. And yet the whole subject is *practically* treated in much the same way that it would be treated by an evangelical Arminian. He speaks of "sinking back again into death," —of "turning back again to the world,"—of "drawing back to perdition," and the like. Addressing the backslider, a character he admits it possible to have been born again, he says:—

"But consider the imminent danger you are in of falling into future temptations, of sinking deeper into the mire of sin, and departing further and further from God. You cannot stop where you are, but

must come back in the character of a penitent, or go on to that of the apostate. You are in danger of eternal damnation. The object at which sin aims, whether in believers or unbelievers, is DEATH, eternal death; and to this it has a natural and direct tendency. And if it does not come in all cases to this issue, it is not because of its being different as to its nature or tendency in some persons, to [from?] what it is in others, but because a timely stop is put to its operations. Only let it go on till it has *finished* its work, and eternal death will be its issue." —P. 307.

This differs but little from the teaching of the prophet Ezekiel, who, speaking of the incorrigible backslider, says,—"In his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die." Chap. xviii, 24. We know how "moderate Calvinists," as they are called, attempt to reconcile such teaching with the doctrine of the final and infallible perseverance of the saints. To us, however, the whole effort looks much like a total failure. But however we may fail to recognize the consistency of the teaching with the doctrine, we rejoice that the impenitent backslider is fully admonished of the danger of his ways. Here, then, we meet again not only as brethren, but as faithful watchmen on the walls of Zion.

It would seem, indeed, that the points of *real* difference between evangelical Arminians and evangelical Calvinists are gradually, and perhaps almost constantly, diminishing. The volume under review furnishes other evidence than that which we have already adduced, that such is the fact. It is well known that the kindred doctrines of "personal assurance," and "the direct witness of the Spirit," have been resisted—particularly the latter—with a zeal and tenacity that would do credit to a martyr. Mr. Wesley's theological opponents arrayed themselves, in all their strength, against these doctrines; doctrines, which, in their opinion, were heretical beyond all sufferance. Almost anything else could be endured better than these. Here, no doubt, they honestly thought enthusiasm reached its very acme. But as calm investigation has gone on, opposition has gradually died away. And now, strange as it may seem, Mr. James, if we rightly understand him, fully and distinctly recognizes these doctrines. With regard to personal assurance, or "the assurance of faith," as it is sometimes called, speaking of those who have made great religious attainments, he says,—

"They have scarcely need to ask, 'Am I a child of God?' for the proofs of it are ever within them. Blessed state! Happy Christians! And all are invited to become such."—P. 57.

Again, speaking of the experience of a member of his church, who died a most triumphant death, which he does in strong terms

of commendation, he says she remarked to him on one occasion,—

"I have lain awake, night after night, examining the foundation of my faith, but I cannot find a single flaw. I depend entirely upon the sacrifice of Christ for acceptance with God, and not at all upon my own works. *I have not a doubt or a fear.* I have had my seasons of spiritual distress, but have been enabled by God's Spirit to be faithful." —P. 348.

With respect to the witness of the Spirit, addressing the Christian professor, he says,—

"Seek to possess and retain a comfortable sense of your interest in the blessings of salvation, *even the witness of the Spirit* that you are a child of God."—P. 64.

Such being our deliberate convictions touching the book under review, we regret exceedingly to learn, that, though two or three editions have been published, it is now out of print. In our opinion, it should be extensively diffused throughout the Protestant churches, on both sides of the Atlantic. There is certainly no branch of our American Zion, perhaps scarcely a single professing Christian among us, that might not be profited by the perusal of it; and we should think any Christian minister to be well and appropriately employed in giving it circulation. Will not the enterprising publishers, then, issue, with all convenient dispatch, a new and large edition? If pains be taken to give the Christian public information in regard to the character of the publication, there could be, we imagine, scarcely a possibility of overstocking the market. P.

Cazenovia, July, 1846.

ART. III.—*Poems.* By WILLIAM W. LORD. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1845.

WE have often mused upon the fate of those many volumes of poetry that have been put forth in our land; and which, although heralded by the teeming praise of friendship, or recommended by popular subjects to the national feeling, have yet died, and been utterly forgotten by after generations. While the emprise was fresh in the minds of men, there have been those who, in insulting anticipation of the verdict of time, have even twined the poet's sacred laurel about the brows of the adventurers, their authors, and placed them high up amid the throng of doughtiest vassals of

song. Time has, however, in every instance vindicated its prerogative by a far different award, and the fragile erections of quackery have long since tumbled into ruin and forgetfulness. Thus it is, that their brightness has departed for ever from those who were hailed as the "morning stars" of our poetical day.

Of those excellent men, but bad poets, who, in the infancy of our nation, ranked with Homer, and Virgil, and Milton, in the estimation of their countrymen—by whom they were considered "exempli poetarum," patterns of all poetical accomplishment—one thing is especially noticeable, that is, the grandeur of their pretensions as contrasted with the quality of their productions. Indeed, their daring knew no bounds; noblest forms of poetry—ode, epic, and satire—gushed from their pens in rich abundance. Milton's magnificent egotism, in default of his sublimer and untransferable qualities, was reproduced in them. Their ability to perfect whatsoever they undertook they felt to be undoubted. The magnitude of a subject never deterred them; although it must be allowed that the gorgeous epic garb was often to be discerned sweeping its ample folds around the spindle-shanks of wretchedest pigmies. Nor is it to be doubted—if the effort made be any measure of the meed looked for—that these fledglings had visions of success as brilliant as ever cheered the fancy of Milton or of Dryden; that to each of them his bantling seemed as perfect a man-child, as free from speck or deformity, as either of theirs; that labor and art were as steadily evoked by them; and yet their doom is to slumber in dirty-yellow, grave-suggesting paper, in dusty garrets, and forgotten corners. If their works are ever sought after, it is to throw light upon some trivial matter of local or personal history, or to illustrate our poetical progress; but scarcely a spark of the fire of poesy illumines their cold and common-place pages.

This low state of poetry was induced by these, among other causes. The nobler class of minds was exclusively absorbed by the deeply interesting questions that then agitated the colonies and the mother country. Ours being a new country, there were few, comparatively, capable of dealing with those momentous topics which were to guide and shape the destiny of a nation; and these, to a man, devoted their complete talents to that point. All their wisdom and eloquence, all their powers, were turned to the investigation and exemplification of practical questions, nearly affecting their rights, their property, and their personal security. It was a time unfavorable to scholarlike or poetical study; the wants of the people were urgent; and utilitarianism triumphed over fancy

and imagination. Action was demanded at their hands by duty; and thus those were debarred from following their bent, who, from mental idiosyncrasy, or by habits of reading and study, were inclined to, or capable of, poetical flights.

Again: the discussion which terminated in the revolutionary war, with those articles of food and raiment, of luxury or mechanism, that were, in great part, derived from the mother country, also cut off the supply of intellectual nourishment. Thus all the noble ensamples of poetry, which will for ever glorify England's story, were confined as positively, as if by enactment, to the hands of the enlightened few who already held them. The people were preoccupied with subjects immediately affecting their condition; and their excitement upon these points, coupled with the scarcity of money, was unfavorable to the enterprise of republishing the British classics. It is, indeed, to be doubted whether any publisher would have felt warranted to undertake the reprint of any, even the noblest of them, had all other circumstances been favorable, because of the stern feeling of animosity which possessed the public mind upon all matters savoring of England and their oppressors. Newspapers were the channels chosen by the great minds of that day through which to diffuse a principle of unbending attachment to liberty, and large and liberal notions of man's dignity. Indeed, they were the principal medium of intelligence for the masses, and were caught up with avidity by a people anxious to canvass the questions that convulsed their country, and to discover their own position as individuals and as citizens—these stayed their cravings for intellectual food, and they were satisfied for the time. But as the war progressed, and the original issues were lost in the strife for independence; when the question was of force against force, and not a rivalship in logic, men's minds required other and new nourishment. Like starving men, they eagerly grasped what was offered them; coarse husks tasted sweet as corn and wine. To such a people, any verse was poetry; and poetry was a god-send. And so the ambitious failures of our early poets found admirers and panegyrists.

Since then there have appeared, at irregular and short intervals, other spurious versifiers, who have ambitiously claimed the name and honors of poets; and who have been confirmed in their delusion by the partiality of friends, or by national pride. Does a young man write fluently, perhaps eloquently; does he diligently observe the rules of art, and avoid any palpable incongruities or glaring vulgarisms; is he distinguished by a style novel and pecu-

liar, and an erratic fancy? straightway he is heralded to the world as a genius, a poet!

> "A present deity, they shout around:
> A present deity, the vaulted roofs rebound:
> With ravish'd ears
> The POET hears,
> Assumes the god,
> Affects to nod,
> And seems to shake the spheres."

Papers and Magazines twaddle the praises of the youthful Homer. Every village boasts its prophet, whose rapt vision dwells upon the splendor of the poet's glory; critics run hither and thither, gone mad with the national epidemic, boasting. Long ere his bantling sees the light, they prepare the public mind to be dazzled by his inspiration, and a party to his success. Antiquity is ransacked for immortal names that are to abase themselves before the modern Apollo. Hoary England is tauntingly challenged to find his equal; and that unhappy nation mourns over the displacement of her once glorious sons by the youthful conqueror of the west. And so poets spring up and wither away with the mushroom: they are born amid a stunning din of trumpets, and in the flickering glare of waxen tapers; their fate is a swift silence; their fame is the stink of a smoldering candle: time's perspective dwindles away the proud proportions of their pretensions; and the eye aches in the effort to discern them.

Such is neither the course nor the fate of real genius. Genius abhors quackery—nature is its affianced bride. It is as a brooklet in the mountains, that flows with a pure harmony over its pebbly bottom, and dances to its own music as it goes; now it is kissed by banks that are soft with the springing grass; now sweet flowers breathe over it their fragrance, and are laved in return by its invigorating waters; and now it is ministered to by the gentle whisperings of the forest wind. But no blandishments can allure or check it. On it flows, wayward, and yet not aimless, dashing over rocks, bounding over deep chasms, and playfully overcoming the barriers that are interposed. Now it leaves its first youth in the mountain, and meanders away over meads and through valleys, gradually gaining new volume and strength, till at last it rolls on with the free, proud march of a mighty river, or the more majestic swell of the billowy ocean. This is genius; which forces the world to know it, but never sues for its notice. Such is genius; which, like the sun, is discovered by its own intrinsic brilliancy,

and not by the glare of a farthing rushlight held by a menial hand.

It is not because we do not love our country and her myriads of noble sons; it is not because we deny to her an exalted station among the dynasties of the earth; or because we do not cherish the hope and the belief that her children will one day range themselves beside the stateliest of the first-born of other lands, not only as successful warriors and wise statesmen, but as true poets. It is not from any so unworthy sentiment that we utter these harsh truths; for, to speak in Milton's sonorous voice, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her, as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling their undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling their long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and, in their envious gabble, would prognosticate" her decay and dissolution. But the vision is of the future; our lot is with the present. And as "flattery corrupts both the receiver and the giver," so patriotism disdains to withhold a single necessary truth, however unpalatable, and at whatever cost. It has ever been the course of the purest patriots to scan the faults of their own nation most closely; diligently to ferret out the evils that molest it; frankly and boldly to point to the spots that disfigure its proportions or dim its lustre, in order that comprehensive remedies might be wisely proposed and vigorously applied. It is not only disingenuous, but it is the part of cowardice, to close our eyes upon our deficiencies, and to prate of our capacities and greatness; and if this be true of political affairs, how forcible is its application to literary character! How unwise, how destructive to all prospect of advancement, is it to unduly laud our poets; to boast vainly of their matchless inspiration, when it is an undeniable fact that our country has not yet produced a single poet of the highest rank! For of all that army of poets who have trooped past with the lusty youth of our nation, and who have, in their day, and by their generation, been heralded as the Alexanders and Cæsars of song; of all this numerous array, how few may be justly placed upon the same page with even Carew, or Young, or Cowley! How limited is the band that may rightfully claim fellowship with Campbell or Rogers, with Moore, Byron, or Scott! How lamentably small is the number that fame ranks beside Collins, and Gray, and Thomson; with Burns, Herrick, and Dryden! While there

is no man so stolid, no critic so perversely daring, no poet so arrogant, but will gladly do obeisance before the awful names of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton. Yes; although Sidney Smith's taunting question, "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?" may now be more satisfactorily answered than when it was first propounded; although we can produce a Hamilton, a Henry, a Clay, a Webster, and an Adams, to range alongside "their Burkes, their Sheridans, their Windhams, their Horners, their Wilberforces;" although "their Arkwrights, their Watts, and their Davys," would be proud to hail as brethren our Fulton, our Bowditch, our Whitney, our Morse; although, in this western world, history puts forward Prescott; painting, Allston; and sculpture, Powers, to contest for the laurel with their Hume, their Lawrence, their Chantry; and although, in poetry, we hold Bryant and Longfellow to be the equals of "their Scotts, Rogers, Campbells, Byrons, Moores, or Crabbes," still we bow reverently before the majesty of that glorious quatrain, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton.

And why is this? Is it not chiefly because the American poet chooses his theme, not from the noble epic subjects which his own land furnishes, but draws them from the universal realm of letters? Is it not because he is a Cosmopolitan in literature that his song is not impregnated by that spirit of life which men call fame, and which is as essential to a poet's existence as the breath of his nostrils is to the vitality of man? Certainly the poet is, in a great degree, the child of the world, and not of any particular zone. But his genius must draw its vigor and inspiration, must gather its images, from man or nature, as both, or either of them, are exhibited before him. And nowhere will these be found so bountifully displayed; nowhere may he contemplate them so leisurely, and with such perfect freedom from the distractions of curiosity, the allurements of novelty, and the blandishments of art, as in his own land.

But our poets are Cosmopolitans, not of nations, or of nature; they are not children of the world, whose hearts are gushing over with song upon themes that are theirs jointly with all mankind, in all ages and climes; but they are Cosmopolitans of written literature. They, almost wholly, draw their inspiration from books. Forgetting the command of the hero-poet's muse,—

"Fool, look into thy heart, and write,"

they study man and the workings of his complex nature through the *writings* of man. They are not close and accurate observers

of our common humanity. They would delineate mountains and lakes, and all the glorious face of nature, in their studies and closets. They do not

> "Go forth under the open sky, and list
> To nature's teachings."

Not like hoary Chaucer are they, who, indeed, gave full faith and credence to books, and in his heart held them in so deep reverence that no game or pleasantry could draw him from them; but who, nevertheless, when the month of May had come, and fowls began to sing, and flowers to deck the turfy mead, as heartily said,—

> "Farwell, my boke and my devotion

They cannot, with the remembrance of their communings with nature fresh upon them, say like him,—

> "I rose anone, and thought I woulde gone
> Into the woodes, to hear the birdes sing,
> When that the misty vapour was agone,
> And cleare and faire was the morning,
> The dewe also like silver in shining
> Upon the leaves as any baume* swete,
> Till firy Titan, with his persante† hete,
>
> Had dried up the lusty licour new
> Upon the herbes in the grene mede,
> And that the floures of many divers hew,
> Upon hir‡ stalkes gan for to sprede,
> And for to splay out hir leves in brede◊
> Againe the sunne, gold burned in his spere,
> That doune to hem cast his beames clere."

We burn to go on with the description of that loveliest of walks; to peep, with the poet, in the river, whose water was as "clere as berell or cristall;" to listen, with him, to

> "the birdes song,
> Which on the braunches, both in plain and vale
> So loud sang that all the wood rong,
> Like as it would shiver in peeces smale;"

to breathe in the air so balmy, and laden with fragrance from the "blosomes white;" and to linger beside the little well,

> "Under an hill, with quicke‖ stremes cold,
> The gravel gold, the water pure as glasse,

---

* Balm. † Piercing. ‡ Their. ◊ Abroad. ‖ Living.

> The bankes round, the well envyroning,
> And soft as velvet the yonge grasse
> That thereupon lustely came springyng,
> The sute* of trees about encompassing,
> *Hir* shadow cast, closing the well around,
> And all the herbes growing on the ground."

It was the study of man, as well as nature, in this wise, that has stamped with unfading colors Chaucer's brief, but diversified, prologue to the Canterbury Tales. This it was which enabled him, in so small compass, to embalm the manners and habits, the appearance and character, of almost every class of his countrymen. And it was this which also impowered Shakspeare, by a single dash of the pen, to picture forth, for the gazing wonder of man in all ages, those awful cliffs of Dover, from whence

> "The crows, and choughs, that wing the midway air,
> Show scarce so gross as beetles: half way down
> Hangs one that gathers samphire: dreadful trade!"

There is no lack of themes—noble as any that poet ever dreamed or sighed for, suggested by our country's condition or story, and commensurate with her grandeur—that only await the poet's utterance to hand them over to immortality. The "shadowy race" that peopled our hills and valleys ages ago; their mythology and traditions; their origin and their works; their vision of a fair people who visited these shores in winged barks, which instinctively, and without aid, traversed their creeks and bays; whom their fancy hailed as emissaries from the Great Spirit—beautiful and good; but whom, alas! they found to be bloodthirsty and rapacious, treacherous and cruel, and before whose breath they melted away like men stricken by poisonous blasts. Imagination delightedly hovers around the Toltecs and the hero-poets of Tezcuco. A terrible earnestness invests the prophecy, which prevailed throughout Anahuac, of the advent of a destroyer. Fancy sports around the brink of those youth-endowing founts of Florida. Even the "bare Was" of history kindles into rapture as it narrates the story of Montezuma and of Cortes; of empires that grew hoary and sunk into ruin; of nations that sprung to life armed and full grown like Minerva; of heroic deeds worthy of Achilles; of sages and statesmen, the equals of Nestor or Ulysses. These are a few of the magnificent themes which lie in an unbroken chaos, waiting for some poet—or "maker"—to hale them into day. Perhaps some ballad-song has treasured up a romantic custom; or the lyre has

* Array.

been faintly struck to commemorate some wild legend, some heroic deed. But those who have touched upon themes sufficiently elevated have been better patriots than poets, and their feeble flutterings through "cantos dreary" awaken our pity and alarm our patience. Bryant alone has dared to assay subjects worthy of an American poet, and even his strong wing has faltered. Thrice has he struck the harp with all a master's power; but has ever been startled by the vision of his own temerity, and, like a man in sudden affright at the unwonted echo of his own footstep, has abandoned the stately strain.

These thoughts have been suggested by the appearance of a new aspirant for the title, poet, in the person of the young gentleman whose name and works head this paper; to whose début it covertly alludes, and whose pretensions it incidentally delineates under the guise of a general and rapid survey of our national poetical character. And yet, if a covert reference has been had to his rank and merit, and a plainly expressed dissent entered against the mode by which reputation was assayed to be manufactured for him, it is not our intention to apply to this talented young gentleman the title of compeer with those spurious poets who have used similar means; nor to prophesy that, like these also, his fate shall be to die speedily and be forgotten. Such as these are by no means our opinions; for if there be a few American poets who are superior to him, there are multitudes who are very far his inferiors. But the din and flourish of trumpets; the sound as of men arming, and of steeds champing, which preceded and introduced his work, was a most unfortunate movement. Expectation was aroused to be disappointed. Gold and jewels were indicated, and only baser metals found. And thus even the intrinsic value which was his due came to be denied the young poet. Had loquacious and injudicious friends—some of whom were better judges of political wares than of poetry, and who were safer guides for such "as do put their trust in almanacs," than for lovers of song—had these held their peace, and not classed their client with giants, the delinquency of his stature would have been less perceptible. Had they waited, his poetry—like water—would have inevitably found its level, and have ranged its author beside his peers; but either they or he could not afford to *wait*. They made haste unthriftily, forgetting that "genius is the heir of fame; but the hard condition on which the bright reversion must be earned is loss of life: that fame is the recompense not of the living, but of the dead. The temple of fame stands upon the grave; the flame that burns upon its altars is kindled from the ashes of great men. Fame itself is

immortal; but it is not begot till the breath of genius is extinguished. For fame is not popularity, the shout of the multitude, the idle buzz of fashion, the venal puff, the soothing flattery of favor or friendship; but it is the spirit of a man surviving himself in the minds and thoughts of other men, undying and unperishable. It is the power which the intellect exercises over the intellect, and the lasting homage which is paid to it, as such, independently of time and circumstances, purified from partiality and evil speaking. Fame is the sound which the stream of high thoughts, carried down to future ages, makes, as it flows, deep, distant, murmuring evermore like the waters of the mighty ocean." Thus spake, truly as well as eloquently, that acute critic, William Hazlitt; and thus, also, have the lives of all who have been "greatly great" testified.

And now, having had our say upon these points, we will proceed carefully to weigh, and honestly to pronounce upon, our poet's volume. He has preferred his poem "Worship," the "Ode to England," and the "Hymn to Niagara," before his other productions. The chief place is given to them, not only as being more ambitious in their pretensions, but because of the superiority of their conception and execution. And the preference is a compliment to his critical discrimination, which again, we dare believe, *jingled* with his inclinations.

"Worship" is a short poem, possessing as many rare beauties, and disfigured by as few blemishes, as either of its companions. The argument of the poem—which, in parts, strongly resembles that of Bryant's Thanatopsis and his Forest Hymn—is distinguished by no originality of invention, and may be likened to an outburst of merely animal spirits, rather than to the deep breathings or impetuous outpourings of an intelligent and poetical soul. It is in this wise:—Earth's "moving anthem" incites the poet to raise his voice in adoration of the Deity. Impressed with the insufficiency of nature's grandest manifestations to swell God's glory, he is led to reflect upon the insignificance of his own praises, and even of his being, and to contrast against them God's supreme majesty, and the depth of his condescension. Seized by a frenzied sentiment of adoration, which is engendered by this contemplation of God's attributes, he abruptly and noisily invokes all intelligences and things material—wind and storm, seraphim and laureled saints—to witness his belief and adoration. He sees in every hill and valley the courts of God, and recounts those his fellow-worshipers who, disdaining "temples built with hands," offer up to Him their natural worship; these are, the sun, the heavenly host, the earth,

nature, and all her manifold sights, and sounds, and meanings, the seasons, and their changes. Tracing in "all that we behold" a likeness and relationship to God, the poet declares that it is our own baseness which makes all things base; that this quality blinds us to the "awfulness of common things," and would turn even heaven's "floor of gold and jewels" to "base and earthly mold;" and that he who can discern naught of Heaven on earth, would find naught but earth in heaven. His Hymn of Praise, which has been the offspring of impulse, is suddenly checked, and turned to prayerful awe by his entrance into the "low portals" of God's house; where the voices of mortals, the "dark roof," and the "dim low-pillared aisle," afflict *him* with a sense of guilt, and shame, and awe, whom the mountains and stars transported to praise and exultation. And so the song ceases.

From our analysis of its argument, it will appear that this poem deserves no especial praise on the score of greatness or unity of purpose. It is erratic and episodical. There is no pervading principle brooding over it, which arouses our anxiety, and keeps alive our interest. The paltry nature of the ends reached are a satire upon the magnificent causes leading to them. If it be not aimless, its purpose is to awaken transient feelings for individual objects, each of which have indeed claims upon our concern, and exert powerful, separate influences upon our minds, but which wait to be converged upon some one sufficiently elevated and engrossing sentiment. We speak, as moved by the precise effect of the production upon the mind, without attending to any floating and undefined purpose of the writer; for we doubt not that his aim was to excite in the mind of the reader an enthusiasm of praise and adoration by the force of his own and nature's example. But although this design, on the part of the poet, is sufficiently visible, such is not the effect produced, and hence it cannot be called the governing principle of the poem. This want of unity or completeness is its great defect; and the numerous beauties which sparkle through it cannot mend it. Imperfection is painfully stamped upon it. It is like a dramatic representation in which each performer enacts a part without concert, and without reference to any complete action; like (if such an anomaly in reason will be allowed) a series of causes which do not lead to, or govern, effects; like a landscape abounding with charming "breaks," but which possesses no merit as a whole.

This poem is appareled in the most ambitious of all verse—heroic blank verse; and, in general, the stately rhythm and swelling cadence appropriate to it are successfully maintained, although the

sentiment more often belongs to that style which we would class with the beautiful or pretty, rather than with the grand and lofty. And so comes dissonance: for as the mail of the warrior ill befits the sylph-like limbs of lovely girlhood; as the tone of the clarion or trumpet mars the tenderness of a plaintive or warbling melody; so the grand stateliness of this proud verse cannot harmonize with thoughts that are simply fanciful or beautiful.

We remark, also, that the stateliness of the verse is marred, and taste is shocked, by the occasional introduction of such trivial lines as

"Rise with the river, with the torrent swell,"

which savor all too strongly of the extremely artificial rhyming couplets of Pope and Campbell; and whose principal attraction lies in their alliterative and involuted style.

Leaving the *vesture* of his thoughts, about which we desire to say very little, we will now proceed to deliver our opinion upon the character of the poet's mind, and to adjudge him his poetical rank, from the evidence furnished by this poem, which is a favorable type of his productions, and the one, perhaps, before all others, by which he would choose to be judged.

Mr. Lord is gifted with an intellect, quick, active, many-hued; guided by a taste, which, if not infallible, is yet, in the main, elegant and correct. He is often eloquent, sometimes fanciful, abounding in a love of the beautiful; but seldom—we had almost said never—grandly imaginative. Simplicity and magnificence—whether of thought or diction—which are unfailing attendants upon the highest poetical efforts,* do not mark his verse. An elegant critic has said: "Chaucer excels as the poet of manners or real life; Spenser, as the poet of romance; Shakspeare, as the poet of nature, (in the largest use of the term;) and Milton, as the poet of morality. Chaucer most frequently describes things as they are; Spenser, as we wish them to be; Shakspeare, as they would be; Milton, as they ought to be. The characteristic of Chaucer is intensity; of Spenser, remoteness; of Milton, elevation; of Shakspeare, everything." And these four poets, the noblest in the language, combine and exemplify all the various essentials of the highest poetry. As other poets resemble them, in proportion as they share their peculiarities and excellences, so is their rank; so is their claim to genius. But we are at a loss to designate what particular quality is in excess in our poet; which it is that gives its

* See Wordsworth's Essay supplementary to his Poems.

hue to his productions, and may be said to rule. No reigning characteristic marks his poetry. It is tame and characterless. It possesses none of the contagious madness of the "poet's frenzy," overturning or directing the reason at will; clouding the imagination with gloom, or fleckering it with tongues of flame. It never rouses the passions, deeply thrills the affections, startles the imagination. And, hence, failing to do that which the loftiest poets invariably do, we place him among the inferior poets—poets, not of nature, but of art. Nor will the bare fact, that natural objects are alluded to, or dwelt upon, in poetry, alter its character; for Dryden, Pope, and Cowper, do this in their poems, which, after all, are only the most beautiful of the conceptions of art. It is not the mere ability to recapitulate numerous beauties that gives rank to the poet; it is not a solitary enthusiasm which enrages his own bosom that measures his genius; but, superadded to all this, the power of expression, whereby he warms the fancy and arouses the faculties of the reader. Not mere fluency of expression, but the "power of moving and infusing the warmth of his own rapt mind into that of his reader;" (*Hazlitt;*) the ability to conjure up in the minds of men "passions, which are, indeed, far from being the same as those produced by real events, but which yet do more strongly resemble those passions, than anything which, from the motions of their own minds merely, other men are accustomed to find in themselves;" (*Wordsworth;*) the faculty of awakening, by his descriptions of nature or of man, sensations nearly similar to those produced by the real object.

Among the beauties strewn by the poet's art over the surface of his song are some that are beautiful in themselves, and also afford us a double pleasure, by reviving pleasant memories of our rambles with "young Herrick." Of such the following is a specimen, and it cannot fail to call vividly to mind portions of that sweet singer's pastoral effusions:—

> "Let my voice rise with the mingled noise
> Of winds and waters; winds that in the sedge,
> And grass, and ripening grain, while nature sleeps,
> Practice, in whisper'd music, soft and low,
> Their sweet inventions."*—P. 1.

The sole discord in these beautiful lines is that occasioned by the disagreement between the sentiment and the verse. By itself, the

* See also, in Bryant's Forest Hymn,—

> "The soft winds
> That run along the summit of these trees,
> In music."

sentiment is unexceptionable, admirable. Here is another gem, also valuable from its intrinsic qualities, and because it suggests strains of melody, listened to "lang syne." Speaking of the clouds, the poet says they are

> "The smoke of offerings, blended with the sweet
> Invisible incense of the golden flowers,
> And with the vapory tribute of the seas,
> That like a blessing falls in holy dews,
> Or in the rain like full libations pour'd."—P. 7.

Who has not sometimes seen a face, a glance at which has flashed upon us the features of an absent or departed friend, startling us with the unlooked-for resemblance, and awakening a long train of sweet associations? But even while we gaze in irresolution, the spell loosens, the vision fades, and we can discover no point of similitude. Some such operation takes place in the mind as we read these lines, and involuntarily we think upon Herrick's Invocation to "Music to calm his fever,"—

> "Fall on me like a silent dew,
> Or like those maiden showers,
> Which, by the peep of day, do strew
> A baptism o'er the flowers;"

and those other graceful lines to a bride,—

> "Come on, come on; and yield
> A savor like unto a blessed field,
> When the bedabbled morn
> Washes the golden ears of corn."*

While we are indulging in the pleasant occupation of tracing casual resemblances between beautiful things, we cannot forbear to present one which, while it suggests the style both of Herrick and of Chaucer to the mind, yet preserves them harmoniously distinct. The second and third lines of the following quotation remind us of the younger bard; the fourth, fifth, and sixth, transport us to Chaucer's picturesque haunts; the remaining lines, alas! break the illusion, and land us plump amid the "awfulness of common things:"—

> "And sometimes in the wood,
> At morn or even, or when the vernal rain,
> That fell thick-pattering among the leaves,
> Stints suddenly, the birds ring out a peal

---

* Compare this poem, "Worship," generally, with Coleridge's magnificent "Hymn in the Vale of Chamouni."

With such sweet chime and involution heard,
Of intricate swift strains, and jangled bells,
As oft surprises cold unwilling hearts
To worship unawares."—Pp. 9, 10.

From amid a loquacious and Pollok-like pouring forth of florid words, we select another real gem, whose pure lustre serves to show the false glare of its setting:—

"Break forth, ye winds!
That in the impalpable deep caves of air,
Moving your silent plumes, in dreams of flight
Tumultuous lie, and from your half-stretch'd wings
Beat the faint zephyrs that disturb the air."—P. 3.

There is no passage in the poem containing more pure poetry than these few lines. They are imbued with a romantic and dream-like indefiniteness, which engenders sweet thoughts and delightful images, without a tedious dwelling upon, or catalogue-like unfolding of them; their very unsubstantiality invests them with new beauties, the fancy being left to "prank and proyn" itself at pleasure.

Of quite an opposite nature is the following fine passage describing the stars. As the lines we have just considered are notable for their "romantic and dream-like indefiniteness," so these are remarkable for their downright reality. Both are finished specimens of the artificial style of poetry:—

"Thee, the bright host of heaven,
The stars adore;—a thousand altars, fed
*By pure unwearied hands, like cressets blaze**
In the blue depths of night."—P. 6.

We are apt to think that Mr. Lord hears more acutely than he sees, or, at least, that he takes more note of, and pleasure in, what he hears than in that he sees; we fancy that he is either a musician or has strong musical tastes, for it is very plain that nature's avenue to his mind is the sense of hearing. Most of the examples we have cited foster this opinion. He is delighted with listening to nature's "choir of bodiless voices;" the earth is to him one great instrument; the winds now soothe him with their "whispered music," now stir him by "fierce harmonies;" the waters have "motion and utterance," rising from a "gently murmured hymn," to "solemn and deep bursts of song." He never is so successful in suggesting truthful pictures of natural objects as

* See Spenser's "lamping sky"—Fairy Queen, b. iii, canto 3, ver. 1.

when he is describing these sounds; and the most continuous description of this kind in his whole poem is a striking and pleasing exemplification of the peculiarity:—

"The seasons are a solemn service;—spring,
Winter, and summer, and the harvest moon,
Each have their meaning, and each changing day
Its worship, of high import to the whole.
The heedful ear may hear in every field,
On insect-haunted banks, among the leaves,
And in the rills, a thousand tinkling sounds,
That here and there confusedly distinct,
Like some sweet strain dissever'd and unlink'd,
And broken into discords scarce less sweet,
Fill all the air—*then hush'd, then heard again,*
Like mystic sounds that in cathedrals vast
Order the service, call the thoughtful soul,
To worship meet. And sometimes in the wood,
At morn or even, *or when the vernal rain*
That fell thick-pattering among the leaves,
Stints suddenly, *the birds ring out a peal*
With such sweet chime, and involution heard,
Of intricate swift strains and jangled bells,
As oft surprises cold unwilling hearts
To worship unawares.
* * * * * *
The fields beneath the eye of heaven outspread
In worship lie; *nor do they lack a voice*
Of praise from lowing herds and bleating flocks,
And the perpetual hum, that, day and night,
Whoever listens with hush'd thoughts, may hear,
Rise like the deep and quiet breathing of the earth."

Pp. 9–11.

But lest we should forfeit our right to the title critic, and be justly chargeable with possessing the milk of human kindness in excess, we must leave the beauties with which we have been dallying, and undertake the less palatable task of pointing out defects—defects, which are yet, we are pleased to say, hindered by beauties.

Occasionally Mr. Lord gives way to fits of subtil over-refining, that would better become the dusty gown of a schoolman than the flowing, singing robes of the poet. Some of these are *simply* tedious; others complexly so; being remarkable for involutions of thought and sinuosities of expression, that resemble an interminable succession of wheels within wheels, which keep up a continuous hum, and are each moving to and fro at all angles, and

with every possible diversity of swiftness. The following is an instance in point, which, nevertheless, abounds with beauties :—

> "Let my voice rise with the mingled noise
> Of winds and waters; winds that in the sedge,
> And grass, and ripening grain, while nature sleeps,
> Practice in whisper'd music, soft and low,
> Their sweet inventions, and then sing them loud
> In caves, and on the hills, and in the woods,
> —*A moving anthem, that along the air*
> *Dying, then swelling forth in fitful gusts,*
> *Like a full choir of bodiless voices, sweeps—*
> *Yea, of the great earth that makes an instrument,*
> *Awakening with their touch, itself not mute,*
> *Each different thing to difference of tone,*
> *Long, harplike shrillings, or soft gush of sounds;—*
> *Water—to earth, as to the air the winds,*
> Motion and utterance, and that begin
> Even at their source the gently murmur'd hymn,
> Rise with the river, with the torrent swell.
> * * * * * *
> Yet what is all this deep, perpetual sound—
> These voices of the earth, and sea, and air,
> That make it seem to us as if our earth
> Into the silent and unruffled deep
> Led forth, with thunder-step, the choir of worlds?
> All these—what are they?—in the boundless void,
> *An insect's whisper in the ear of night,*
> *A voice in that of death—in thine, O God,*
> *A faint symphony* to Heaven ascending
> Amid ten thousand thousand songs of praise."—Pp. 1, 2.

Sometimes, also, our poet furnishes us with admirable specimens of *bathos*. The *finale* of his Invocation to the Winds and Storms is an example :—

> "Ye winds! ye storms! all sounds, all harmonies,
> O thither rise! be heard amid the throng;
> Let them that dwell within the gates of light,
> And them that sit on thrones—let seraphs hear—
> *A human soul knows and adores its God.*"

The insufferable littleness of the climax to so much preparation is here exhibited in one of the roughest, most unmusical, haltingly spavined lines that has ever had the fortune to be christened poetical.

Among the blemishes which tend to divert the gaze of the reader from his many beauties is the frequent use which our poet makes

of those stereotyped phrases that the fraternity of small scribblers by profession so much affect. These operate like colloquialisms in conversation or oratory, serving to mar the most poetical thought, and debasing them to the level of the vulgar and common-place. To give instances of them would be equally wearisome to the reader and the writer; and they are alluded to with the view of attracting the poet's own attention, and not with any purpose of detracting from his other substantial merits. Another defect, of a similar grade, is the one occasioned by his overweening fondness for that "best-abused" of all particles, the interjection "O!" Marvelous, as well as numberless, are the combinations into which it enters; and without stopping to enumerate them, we do not hesitate to use our legitimate privilege as a Yankee, and *guess* that it is oftener found in this short poem than in the lengthiest book of either Spenser, or Milton, or Wordsworth.

At times, too, we perceive appropriations of other poets' phrases,* and even thoughts; which custom of appropriation without credit —whether justly or not—does unconsciously prejudice us against the poet's originality, as well as his strict honesty. And in this day of hypercriticism—when old Chaucer, if he lived, and flowery Spenser, would be damned, as guilty of the plagiary's crime—it stands the youthful aspirant for fame in stead, to beware of those faults which these noble old leaders, in the plenitude of exuberant genius, carelessly committed. How plainly, for instance, is the couplet,

> "But for its soul of sweetness that supports
> And mightier harmony that builds them still,"

derivable from "glorious John's" "Song for St. Cecilia's Day!" The comparison at page 4, of the clouds to "swinging censers," is also borrowed from Wordsworth's noble rhapsody, "Devotional Incitements," and stands thus in the original:—

> "While incense from the altar breathes
> Rich fragrance in imbodied wreaths;
> *Or flung from swinging censers, shrouds*
> The taper lights, *and curls in clouds*,
> Around angelic forms," &c.

And then how powerful is the resemblance between these lines of Bryant,

* A poetical friend suggests, that the poet has not only followed brother poets closely, but that he is greatly indebted to that noble hymn, "The Song of the Three Children."

"Not a prince
In all that proud old world beyond the deep
Ere wore his crown so loftily as he
Wears the green coronal of leaves, with which
Thy hand has graced him;"

and those of our poet,

"who gemm'd thy zone with stars,
Around thee threw his own cerulean robe,
And bent his coronal about thy brows!"

Or, between those other ones,

"Making that common by the touch and sight,
Which, if as distant as the stars, would seem
As marvelous as they;"

and Campbell's often-quoted couplet,

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue!"

Or who that reads the lines,

"There is in nature nothing mean or base,
But only as our baseness thinks it so;"

and those others,

"He that has ear and vision, and can find
Of heaven naught, will find but earth in heaven,"

does not speedily recur to Milton's grand thought,

"The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven!"

We have dwelt thus long upon this poem, because, as we before hinted, it imbodies all the higher phases of Mr. Lord's poetry, and is the best specimen of his sustained effort. We shall now leave it, and propose to pass his other productions rapidly in review, pausing, chiefly, to pluck their beauties. The stanza, in the "Ode to England," describing Chaucer, is full of harmony and poetry:—

"How oft the first-born poet of thy soil
Comes with his antique rhyme and pilgrim's stole,
To charm my weary heart from thoughts of toil—
Sweet Chaucer! that makes morning in the soul,
And floods with silver light its firmament,
From clouds, like rubious breakers, lipp'd with gold:
Then, while the heart feeds on the dewy scent
Of new-waked flowers, sings the poet old,

Tales as the breath of April sweet,
And fresh in their antiquity;
Or, with 'difference discreet,'
Chaunts his pious legendry,
That at its warbled melody, the notes
Of list'ning birds die noiseless in their throats—
The winds in eager silence swoon around,
And all the green leaves tremble at the sound."

Saving the three concluding lines, the stanza which alludes to Spenser is also altogether admirable. The poet, raised by his enthusiasm to the temperament of the most "poetical of poets," catches all his golden imagery, and is imbued with all his airy and mysterious fancy; but suddenly, alas! he falls, "all platte," into the depths of the veriest common-place;—as far from Spenser's romantic heights as Satan fell, when he defied "the Omnipotent to arms."

"And, Spenser, like the sunset sky when bright
With golden isles, and silent seas of light,
That spread along the shore-like blue,
Laving some snow-piled mountain hoary,
Or stretching far, then lost to view
Behind some cloud-cliff'd promontory,—
While spires and battlements that rise,
And baseless turrets in the skies,
And silver swans and dragons there,
Suspended in the enchanted air,
With half-believing eyes I see—
Great Edmund! when thine inward glory
Lights up the cloudy allegory!
Such my soul is made by thee."

From the "Hymn to Niagara" we shall make no extracts. It is more compactly welded together than "Worship," and evinces a steadier purpose. It has fewer transferable beauties than either of its companions; and, we think, is inferior to both of them. We cannot forbear, however, to give a fine passage from "The Sky:"—

"Thou hast seen ocean, in the hour
When whirlwinds rouse its sluggish might
To wrestle with their viewless power;—
And more, hast felt, too vast for sight,
How far it stretch'd beyond the lower
Of that rude storm and scowling night,
In which the headlands seem'd to cower
Into calm realms and tranquil light."

Our swift pace brings us athwart two singular and Poe-like poems, "clad in rugged and miscellaneous gear blown together by the four winds," and which that carping demon, criticism, is at our elbow tempting us to hurl a blow at; but we hasten on, leaving the

"Isle, the island fair and pleasant,"

and

"The clear Castalian fountain,
(Silver fountain)—ever tinkling,"

slumbering profoundly on their own pools of platitude and alliteration; while we turn with pleasure to those modest children of his fancy, "Saint Mary's Gift," and the sweet "Song of a Dying Maid."* As the soul of the mother goes out to her puny and crippled boy, despite the proud proportions and manly strength of his brothers; as her spirit yearns fondly toward him, and her heart dances with transport while she gazes upon his eye, now beaming with strange intelligence, now lighted up by the mild fires of love and affection, or overflowing with tearful sympathy; so we, if we were the poet, would treasure these beautiful and unassuming poems far before their more pretending mates. "Saint Mary's Gift" is in the Spenserian stanza, so called; which it almost servilely imitates, even to the alliteration. It manifests an affectation of old-time words and phrases, a forced quaintness of thought, and an antiquated accentuation, all which are yet congenial with the legend, and invest it with a presence of beauty and harmony that add to its real and intrinsic merits. It and its humble companion are complete anomalies, when compared with his other productions, being radically dissimilar to all of them. There is a warmth about them which adds not only to the poet's stature, but to that of the man also. His other efforts are like a marble statue, beautiful, indeed, and faultless to the sight; but cold, deathly cold, to the touch. These are like the warm and living flesh, thrilling the heart and causing the frame to tingle as at the actual touch of

"A being breathing thoughtful breath."

The following charming picture is from "Saint Mary's Gift:"—

"Lo! she sees in humblest attitude
Before the shrine a maiden that adored,
With meek, uplifted eyes, the mother of the Lord.

The sun still stood upon the skyey shore
Of the blue east, and through the glistering air

* See also that fine ballad, "The Forest," page 100.

Threw his slant beams, that in the open door
Pencil'd with golden light her flowing hair,
And all her form: that she so meekly fair,
And still, and rapt as pictured saint might be,
Like saint-like seem'd as her she did adore."

From the same poem we transfer this life-like painting:—

"Unto the tomb wherein he deem'd she lay,
All unperceived of any eye he went,
And while they still misdeem'd him far away,
He stood before that ancient monument;
He knew not in himself with what intent.
Beneath the portal's crevice, from within,
Into the moonlight crept a golden ray
That made it seem more ghastly pale and thin;
He wrench'd the door ajar, and wonderingly stepp'd in.

And there within an open tomb was laid,
With lighted tapers at her head and feet,
That flicker'd in the blast, a lovely maid,
Whose youthful innocence and beauty sweet
Kept the flowers fresh upon her winding sheet,
And as the gusty wind did rise and fall,
From old armorial tombs with knights display'd,
Arm'd shadows seem'd to threat upon the wall,
As if to guard from harm her slumbers virginal.
He on his knees sank, awed and tremblingly,
Before that image of fair maidenhead,
While life and death changed looks dissemblingly;
For such a paleness in his features spread,
That she the live might seem, and he the dead;
And all around the shadows toward the maid
And flamy tapers blended semblably,
While he, with arms upon his sword-hilt stay'd,
And fix'd and marble look, bent forward half-affray'd."

We take leave of Mr. Lord with high hopes for him in the future, charging him at the same time to remember that

"Not on downy plumes, nor under shade
Of canopy reposing, fame is won."

And although we fancy that at five and forty he will have written less poetry than he would now fain call by that name, we yet augur for him an honorable rank among our native poets. D.

ART. IV.—*Christ the only Sacrifice: or, the Atonement in its Relations to God and Man.* By NATHAN S. S. BEMAN, D. D. *With an Introductory Chapter*, by S. H. COX, D. D. Second edition, revised, rewritten, enlarged, and improved. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1844. And a review of the work in the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, vol. xvii, No. 1.

THE atonement is eminently the great central doctrine in that system of truth contained in divine revelation; the only system of religion ever presented to man which can be regarded as containing ample provision for the salvation of his ruined race. The system is only healthful, vigorous, and efficient in proportion as this doctrine is clearly and scripturally apprehended and maintained in the pulpit and by the press. But enervation and inefficiency have ever marked the history of its action on community in just the same proportion as the atonement has been obscured, held in error, or wholly set aside by a misguided fancy, or a false philosophy. In just how far the teachers of religion depart from the long-established and well-defined Scriptural land-marks in regard to this vital doctrine, in just so far the gospel in their hands becomes another gospel; it is no longer "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," which is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." As well may we look for that mechanical system, combining the nicest adjustment of part to part, constructed and arranged with a view to a given result, to reach such result when the mainspring is either wanting, or its force in some way destroyed. If the vital organ in the organized body become diseased, or its action obstructed or suspended, paralysis will follow.

That the atonement is invested with mystery, is a complaint we sometimes hear even from cultivated, intelligent, and pious minds. That in connection with it there is a profoundness, vast and unfathomable, cannot be denied. But are not the same things predicable of every work and every attribute of the infinite and eternal Mind? In itself considered, we see no more reason for doubt or difficulty with regard to the atonement than there is with regard to the divine omniscience, or any other perfection of the divine nature revealed in the Scriptures, with equal clearness. The atonement is eminently a doctrine of divine revelation; and, apart from its benevolent design in making known its provisions, that man may enjoy its eternal benefits, the sufficient object of divine revelation would be left highly problematical. Viewed as expressly including this, revelation, with all it compre-

hends, stands forth as the sublimest expression of divine wisdom and benevolence.

The atonement may be contemplated in two regards. One, a view purely experimental and practical; the other, a view which may be called critical, philosophical, or metaphysical. In the former regard, which is that of simple substitution, it meets us as the ground of our hope, challenging our faith, in almost every page of the sacred volume. And if the truly awakened, unsophisticated, honest-hearted penitent seize upon the glorious truth that Jesus Christ "tasted death for every man"—resting alone here for pardon, holiness, and heaven—we see no reason why this elementary view of the atonement will not be sufficient for his salvation. In the latter regard, a wide range is taken; inquiry is instituted into its necessity, nature, extent, and the benefits derived from it. Its relations to the system of God's moral government are subjected to the rigid scrutiny of reason: nor has the doctrine always escaped injury from such an attempted analysis. This will inevitably be the case whenever *reason*, and not the declarations of the Bible, are made the criterion of judgment. A man can reason only about what he knows; all his knowledge of the atonement is derived from revelation; to its umpirage, therefore, all questions must be referred. In every step, then, let the inquirer not only act under a conscious deference to what the Holy Ghost teacheth, but bow unqualified submission to those inspired teachings, not mistaking the feeble flickerings of his own dim reason for the clear, steady, brilliant splendors emanating from the page of divine inspiration.

When an author devotes an entire treatise to the consideration of one subject, and especially when it has occupied his thoughts for some twenty years, and the treatise then comes to you "revised, rewritten, enlarged, and improved," he gives you the assurance that purchase and perusal will be richly compensated. Under these circumstances, the work under consideration makes its appearance. And as if to secure it a more favorable reception, and a wider circulation, it makes its appearance under the auspices of an introductory chapter by Dr. Cox. Of this chapter we will only say in this place, that our expectations were not fully realized. Adding little to the argument of the author, it abounds with epithets; and the style is in the writer's peculiar manner, following no model with which we are acquainted. Toward that class of opponents to the doctrines advanced called "restrictionists," his bearing is not a little severe. The views advanced by Dr. Cox will be considered in another connection.

The treatise before us, by Dr. Beman, is a 12mo. volume of one hundred and seventy-one pages, embracing five chapters, besides the introduction by Dr. Cox, just alluded to. One chapter is on the "necessity," one on the "fact," two on the "nature," and one on the "extent," of the atonement. As the chapter which treats of the "fact," or certainty that an atonement has been made, is directed against those who deny the atonement to be a Scripture doctrine—a point which every substitutionist most cordially admits, and which the author labors to establish by arguments drawn from *animal*, *Adamic*, *patriarchal*, *Mosaic*, and *heathen* sacrifices, with the concurrent testimony of prophecy and other Scriptural declarations as to Christ's vicarious death—the necessity, nature, and extent of the atonement, are the only points which demand our notice.

Dr. Beman lays it down as a principle that the prevention of crime is the grand end to be answered by the execution of the penalty annexed to the divine law. Hear him in his own words:—

"He [the penitent sinner] might be comparatively secure against future acts of rebellion, or, so far as his moral feelings are concerned, it might be consistent for God to forgive and restore him. But where is the honor of the law? Where is the good of the universe? Where is that terror which God, in benevolence to his creatures, has hung, with his own mighty hand, around the penalty? What would there be in such a case to deter others from trampling on divine authority?" —P. 57.

Again, to the same purpose,—

"The penalty of the moral law was intended to operate as a powerful motive to obedience; and the execution of this penalty, whenever it takes place in the universe, becomes an awful warning to deter others from transgression."

"The penalty could never be set aside without the adoption of those precautionary measures which would secure the order and prosperity of the universe, as effectually, to say the least, as the infliction of the penal curse itself could do."—Pp. 126, 128.

This, to say the least, is taking but a partial view of the subject. It is conceded that, in human governments, and also in the divine government, the prevention of crime is one of the objects of punishment. But to make this the grand, or the only object, would be quite another proposition. The error, however, is not one of *defect* merely; it gives a false view to the very nature of sin. On this principle the guilt of sin consists, not in an infraction of the various relations we sustain to God and of the

endowments of our gifted natures, but simply in the infraction of the law of benevolence. According to Dr. Beman, the happiness of some beings in the universe is interrupted or curtailed by sin. In this the guilt consists. Consequently, the infliction of the penalty thus incurred, measurably, at least, undoes the evil occasioned by sin, because "the execution of this penalty, whenever it takes place in the universe, becomes an awful warning to deter others from transgression."

But does this view of the nature of sin accord with the ordinary dictates of conscience? We say *ordinary*, because these are instinctively felt with little, if any, variation by all men in the same circumstances. Does the man, conscious of crime, dwell upon its demoralizing effects upon others, or his encroachment upon their happiness, as that in which his criminality consists? Does he not rather "loathe himself when *God* he sees?" or exclaim with David, "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and clear when thou judgest?" Psa. li, 4. The prodigal confessed that he had "sinned against *Heaven*," in the sight or presence of his father. He had contemned divine authority, to which his father was a witness; or he had sinned against God in the person of his father. His awakened conscience referred at once to God. To him the sinner always instinctively refers under the terrifying apprehensions of an awakened conscience. He feels that every sin, howsoever and against whomsoever committed, is a sin against God. This view of the case has the suffrage, then, of both Scripture and experience.

"It is not pretended that this theory is taught in the Bible. It purports to be a philosophy. The Bible contradicts it on every page, because every page contains some expression of genuine human feelings, of the conviction of the real difference between right and wrong, of a true sense of sin, or of the great truth that our responsibility is to God, and not to the universe. The doctrine, therefore, that sin is punished merely to preserve the order and prosperity of the universe, is an utterly false and revolting theory; inconsistent with the intuitive moral judgments of men, subversive of all moral distinctions; irreconcilable with the experience of every man when really convinced of sin, and contradicted by everything the Bible teaches on the subject."—*Princeton Review*, vol. xvii, p. 89.

Dr. Beman assumes, that "so far as the moral feelings of the penitent are concerned, it might be consistent for God to forgive and restore him," were there no atonement. This might be done, because one object of punishment, the prevention of a repetition

of crime by the criminal, would be thus secured. To secure the second, and only remaining object, the prevention of sin in others, it must be punished in the sinner or in the substitute. But still the repentance of the sinner, though it might constitute a ground of forgiveness and restoration, is an impossibility. For the doctor says most justly, "The world of future punishment is neither a penitentiary nor a purgatory, and it is anything but a world of evangelical repentance."—P. 59. Repentance is impossible; because this "change of mind is produced by motives—motives divinely commissioned to the heart." These motives stand connected with the atonement considered as made. But please to observe, no allusion whatever is made to the agency or influence of the Holy Spirit. Is not this divine agency necessary to repentance? Is it not one of the benefits resulting to man from the atonement? Has it no place in Dr. Beman's system? Is man to be saved by mere motive influence, without divine agency? There is no indication to the contrary. We have too much reason for regarding this magnifying of "motive" as a radiation of New Divinity self-conversionism. And perhaps this was betrayed without design.

The Princeton Review charges Dr. Beman, point blank—how justly we shall endeavor to enable the reader to judge—with denying the justice of God, and maintains that it is "essential to his system that he should."—Vol. xvii, p. 90. It is but justice, however, to inquire in what sense this is done. Professedly inquiring "in what sense the justice of God was satisfied by the atonement," three definitions of justice are given: commutative, distributive, and general, or public, justice. The atonement did not satisfy commutative or commercial justice, this is obvious; nor distributive justice, which, he says, "respects the moral character and conduct of creatures individually considered, or punishing them severally according to their merit or demerit."—P. 130. After showing that "the law knows nothing of punishing the innocent and acquitting the guilty," he remarks,—

> "The conclusion then is, that distributive justice, or justice in its common and appropriate sense, in relation to rewards and punishments, was not satisfied by the atonement made by Christ."—P. 131.

In what sense justice *was* satisfied will now appear:—

> "In introducing this system of mercy, which involves a suspension of the penal curse, God has required a satisfaction to the principles of general or public justice—a satisfaction which will effectually secure all the good to the universe which is intended to be accomplished by

the penalty when inflicted, and, at the same time, prevent all that practical mischief which would result from arresting the hand of punitive justice without the intervention of atonement."—P. 133.

Here, then, we have Dr. Beman's position on this point in his own words, and at such length as to preclude the possibility of misapprehension. The good of the universe is made the motive, rule, and measure of all inflictions of the penalty of the divine law; and if the introduction of the atonement interpose no bar to this result, it may be admitted. But neither the divine goodness, much less the divine justice, will be magnified by the introduction of the atonement, nor the character and perfections of God exalted and rendered eternally more glorious. All this is obviously precluded. The standard is fixed; and that standard—the greatest amount of good to the universe—would have been reached without an atonement, and with it nothing more is secured. Benevolence, not justice, is made the sole actuating principle with the Deity. If this is the truth, we must be allowed to question its being the *whole* truth: so far from it, that it would seem impossible that the sentiment should be indorsed by any one deeply studied in sound theology. This subject is placed in a light very different, and, we conceive, much more in harmony with the Scriptures, in the following quotation from a late author—an author whose work deserves to be much better known to the school of plenists, to which Dr. Beman professedly belongs, and also to the restrictionists, to whom his views as to the extent of the atonement stand opposed. The result would probably be a modification of the views of both.

"Of the strictness and severity of the punitive justice of God, the sentence of death, which we have already seen to be pronounced upon 'SIN,' and, therefore, upon all transgressions of God's law, for 'sin is the transgression of the law,' is sufficient evidence; and the actual infliction of death as to the body, is the standing proof to the world, that the threatening is not a dead letter, and that in the divine administration continual and strict regard is had to the claims and dispensations of distributive justice. On the other hand, as this distributive justice emanates from the entire holiness and moral rectitude of the divine nature, it is established, by this circumstance, that the severity does not go beyond the equity of the case; and that, to the full extent of that punishment which may be inflicted in another life, and which is, therefore, eternal, there is nothing which is contrary to the full and complete moral perfection of God, to his goodness, holiness, truth, and justice united; but that it is fully agreeable to them all,

and is, indeed, the result of the perfect existence of such attributes in the divine nature."

"According to the testimony of the whole of the evangelical writers, the justification of man is an act of the highest grace, a manifestation of the superlative and ineffable love of God, and is, at the same time, a strictly RIGHTEOUS proceeding."

"These views, scattered throughout the books of the New Testament, are summed up in the following explicit language of St. Paul, Rom. iii, 24–26: 'Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness, that he might be *just*, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.' . . . But this public announcement, and setting forth of Christ as a propitiation, was not only for a declaration of the divine *mercy;* but pardon was offered to men in this method to declare the '*righteousness*' of God, (*εις ενδειξιν δικαιοσυνης αυτου,*) *for a demonstration of his righteousness or justice*, in the remission of past sins; 'that he might be *just*, and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus'—that he might show himself to be strictly and inviolably righteous in the administration of government, even while he justifies the offender that believes in Jesus."

"Thus, then, in the doctrine of the atonement of Christ, we see how the righteousness, the essential and the rectoral justice, of God is manifested. There is no impunity to sin; and yet the impunity to the sinner, through faith in the blood of Christ, does not repeal, does not lower, but establish the law of God. These views will also enable us to attach an explicit meaning to the theological phrase, 'the satisfaction made to divine justice,' by which the nature of Christ's atonement is often expressed. This is not a phrase of holy writ; but it is not, on that account, to be disregarded, since, like many others, it has been found useful as a guard against subtil evasions of the doctrine of Scripture, and in giving explicitness, not, indeed, to the language of inspiration, but to the *sense* in which that language is interpreted."—*Watson's Institutes*, vol. ii, pp. 90, 131, 132, 136.

We are not only compelled to withhold our suffrage from the leading views and characteristic features of Dr. Beman's work on the atonement, but are obliged to hold his theory in fault in view of its glaring defects. He makes no allusion to the Godhead of Christ, which, in union with his manhood, constitutes his adorable

person, as being that which gives infinite dignity to his character, and inestimable value to his sufferings and death. This idea is too important to be overlooked in any view of the atonement which sets up the least claim to be Scriptural, and should, therefore, receive the greatest prominence. Consequently to pass it over entirely, or to recognize it only by implication, seems quite unpardonable. This union of natures, this transcendent dignity of person, gives infinite consideration to what He has done for our lost race. This is the grand keystone to the mighty arch of human redemption. Take this away, and the whole system falls a mass of ruins, burying for ever the hopes of pardon and salvation of the unrescued and despairing family of man. It stands inseparably connected with that satisfaction to divine justice, which the Scriptures uniformly set forth as having been made by our Lord Jesus Christ. This is well expressed by the writer just quoted:—

"The doctrine which connects the pardon of the guilty with the meritorious death of Christ, illustrates the attribute of divine justice, by the very act of connecting and blending it with the attribute of love, and the exercise of an effectual compassion. At the time that it guards with so much care the doctrine of non-impunity to sin, it offers impunity to the sinner; but then the medium through which offer is made, serves to heighten the impression of God's hatred to sin, and the character of his justice. The person appointed to suffer the punishment of sin, and the penalty of the law for us, was not a mere human being, not a creature of any kind, however exalted, but the Son of God; and in him divinity and humanity were united in one person, so that he was 'God manifested in the flesh,' assuming our nature, in order that he might offer it in death a sacrifice to GOD. His atoning act consisted in suffering 'the just for the unjust;' neither in doing just so many holy acts, as we were bound to do, nor in suffering the precise quantum of pain which we deserved to suffer, neither of which appears in the nature of things to be even possible; but doing and suffering that which by reason of the peculiar glory and dignity of his person thus coming under the bond of the law, both as to obedience and suffering, was accounted by GOD to be a sufficient 'demonstration of his righteousness,' in showing mercy to all who truly believe in him."—*Watson's Institutes*, vol. ii, pp. 134, 141.

We come next to consider another prominent feature in the work under consideration—the *extent* of the atonement. The question is thus stated by Dr. Beman:—

"The point now to be settled is, whether Christ died to make an atonement for the sins of *the elect alone*, or those who will finally be saved, or whether his sacrifice is *general and ample*, opening the door of mercy to our sinful race."—P. 145.

Again,—

"If, in one word, this atonement merely opened the door of mercy —if it prepared the way for the offer and *exercise* of pardon, then it must go upon the broad ground, and limitation is out of the question."—P. 147.

That the atonement does "open the door of mercy, and prepares the way for the offer and exercise of pardon" to every sinner of the race, we hold as an axiom of revealed truth; but that it "*merely*" does so much, and no more, we regard as contradicted by the whole analogy of faith and the concurrent testimony of Scripture. If this is true, of what are the "gift" and grace of repentance predicable? On what is the promise of the Comforter based? Whence the strivings of the Spirit "with every man?" whence the faith which is "of the operation of God?" and how are we to be sanctified except "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanse us from all sin?" Add the resurrection of the "just and the unjust," with all other benefits of the atonement. It did secure all these blessings to all who will accept of them, as well as the "offer" of pardon, or it did not. If Dr. Beman disclaim the affirmative, then all his strong arguments in support of the universality of the atonement are thrown away. If he admit the affirmative, why say, as he does, that the "atonement *merely* opened the door of mercy," and "prepared the way for the offer and the exercise of pardon?" We cannot answer—he has not explained.

As unwelcome and as ungracious as is the thought to us, we confess our inability to resist the conviction that there are some reserved points embraced in Dr. Beman's system of theology, which, notwithstanding his labored effort to establish the general atonement, he has not seen fit to disclose—views which, if adopted and cherished, fatally go to neutralize the whole, resulting in a mere distinction without a difference. From his implied indorsement of the introductory chapter, which, it will be recollected, was written by Dr. Cox, by referring his reader to that chapter, as he does on page 161, we are authorized there to look for an expose of certain reserve doctrines collateral with, or in some way modifying, the atonement, which it was deemed inexpedient to incorporate into the body of the work. They are contained in the following passage:—

"The two theories differ also in the order of the divine purposes. The limitarian scheme has it thus—apostasy, election, atonement for the elect alone, punish all the others, and accomplish the glorification of the elect. The true plan is—apostasy; the mission and the atonement of Christ for the whole world; the offer universal, based on the atonement alone; the universal neglect and practical contempt of it on the part of man; election interposed to influence as many millions to accept it as may consist with the practicability of the divine government in the case; their glorification accomplished; and the punishment of eternal justice executed on others—mainly for the sin and treason of rejecting Christ, and his salvation offered to them."—P. 18.

After "referring to the volume of Dr. Beman for a discussion better suited to enlighten the reader," which shows that Dr. Cox assures himself of a perfect harmony in sentiment between them, he adds,—

"Does saving some through His blood, offered alike to all, prevent others, or any of them, from accepting it to their own salvation? If it includes effectually HIS OWN, does this obstruct the way to others—or shut the ever-open door—or hinder, or other than facilitate and attract the entrance of others? Atonement is one thing—the providential design to save definite millions by its means, is another. Christ died, indeed, for his own peculiarly; but this is not the atonement, and not its limitation. The purpose of God is inclusive of his own, rather than exclusive of others. To urge, or influence some to enter an open door, where all are invited, with equal reality and equal sincerity, to enter, is no hinderance to others."—P. 19.

Here, then, is the *key* to the theory of the atonement contained in this volume. It is true, the atonement is said to be universal; but then, if you are an advocate of *general redemption*, you will do well to pause and inquire with how many grains of allowance this theory is to be received in this one respect—for, as we have from time to time indicated, it is in other respects grossly defective, if not capitally erroneous—before you subscribe to its doctrines, or place its author among the faithful allies in defense of the great Scriptural doctrine that Christ "tasted death" equally "for every man." It is indispensable to distinguish between general atonement and general redemption. Some are wont to regard them as identical; it would seem paradoxical, and almost incredible, that a man should admit the former and deny the latter. But this is done by Dr. Beman. He regards it as a "demonstration that the atonement made by Jesus Christ, and the actual redemption of sinners, are not commensurate, or of equal extent." —P. 160. Atonement means "merely to open the door of mercy;" it is not a "perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for

all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual."—*Methodist Discipline*, art. xx. It is true, redemption is used in the sense of deliverance, and also for the payment of that judicial debt whereby the offered deliverance is secured to all who will accept it. One is, redemption by purchase; the other, redemption by power. Dr. Beman seems not to use the term in the former sense, but the latter. The advocate for general redemption employs it in both, believing that in both respects Christ "hath obtained eternal redemption for us."

But from the above quotations we are to regard Dr. Beman's general atonement theory as embracing essentially the old high Calvinistic doctrine of unconditional election of a definite number; and of irresistible grace "urging and influencing them to enter the open door;" while "the punishment of eternal justice is executed on others," who are furnished only with "common grace," and not embraced in the "covenant of redemption," "mainly for their sin and treason in rejecting Christ;" because "election interposed to influence as many millions to accept it;" that is, enter the open door, "as may consist with the practicabilities of the divine government in the case." These "practicabilities of the divine government in the case," let it be observed, are to be surmounted by the non-elect on pain of "the punishment of eternal justice"—at least so says Dr. Cox, and Dr. Beman indorses the doctrine. Here we have the genuine and justly celebrated "doctrines of grace" as fresh and legible in every incription as when they fell from the mint in Geneva. This is merely another attempt to revise and improve them, or to soften some of their more revolting features; but such is their obstinate inflexibility, that in spite of every effort to transform or modify them, they still retain their identity.

But this covenant of redemption—what is it? and whence derived? Of what it is, or whence it came, little is known except in the theological system of which it is a prominent feature, and of its precise nature the advocates of this system are not perfectly agreed. It is thus described by one celebrated theologian:—"God *the Father entered into a covenant with Christ, in which he promised him, on condition that he should become a propitiation and intercessor for sinners, as a reward of his labors and suffering, the future possession of a church, which, under his government, should be glorious and happy for ever.*"—*Dwight's Theology*, vol. ii, p. 67. As to this covenant of redemption, it has not been agreed whether it is to be considered as distinct from, or identical with, the covenant of grace. Both sides in the

controversy have had their able champions. Dr. Ridgely, wearied with the fruitless contest, endeavors to harmonize the conflicting views of the contending parties, which he thinks may easily be done without material concession on either side. And the identity of the two covenants is the view set forth in the Assembly's Confession of Faith, answer to question thirty-one of the Larger Catechism: "The covenant of grace was made with Christ as the second *Adam*, and in him with all the elect as his seed." Consequently, all who are not of the elect, all, in the language of Dr. Cox, who are not "HIS OWN," are not included either in the covenant of redemption or the covenant of grace. Wretched condition, truly! But there is a ray of hope; for Dr. Beman assures us "that Christ did so die for *all* men, as to remove every *legal* obstruction to their salvation."—P. 163. Here his theory leaves the sinner. But this is not, thank God, where the *gospel* leaves him! Once more: Dr. Gill thinks the covenant of redemption more probably did not exclude the third person in the Trinity, inasmuch as the Spirit is promised, and sent to dwell in the hearts of believers. And who that is disposed to credit this theological fancy at all, would not think the doctor's opinion the more probable? For ourselves we must say, that while we regard the *covenant of grace*, properly understood, as an all-important Scriptural truth, we cannot but view the "covenant of redemption," so called, as a mere theological chimera, altogether unsupported by positive evidence, being bolstered up by the constructive application of a few texts, and entirely useless, except in that circle of theology in which it constitutes a sort of segment in order to complete the system. It is sometimes found there, and sometimes lost in the covenant of grace.

The Princeton Review, placed at the head of this article, is the unflinching advocate of Calvinism as it *was*. It thus sums up the argument in a long, labored, and spirited article, in opposition to Dr. Beman's theory:—

"Dr. Beman's theory, therefore, which denies that the death of Christ had a special reference to his own people, is inconsistent with the plainly revealed facts:—1. That he died in execution of a covenant in which his people were promised to him as his reward, to secure which reward is declared to be his specific and immediate design in laying down his life. 2. That the motive which led to the gift of the Son, and of the Son in dying, was not general benevolence, but the highest conceivable love—love for his sheep and for his friends. 3. That the design of his death was not simply to remove obstacles out of the way of mercy, but actually to secure the salvation of those given to him by the Father; and that it does, in fact, secure for them

the gift of the Holy Ghost, and, consequently, justification and eternal life. In other words, God having, out of his mere good pleasure, elected some to everlasting life, did enter into a covenant of grace, to deliver them out of the estate of sin and misery, and to bring them into an estate of salvation, by a Redeemer. The only Redeemer of God's elect is the Lord Jesus Christ, who, being the eternal Son of God, became man, was made under the law, satisfied by his obedience and death all its demands, and thus fulfilled the conditions of that covenant on which the salvation of his people was suspended, and thereby acquired a right to them as his stipulated reward. Such was the specific design and certain effect of his death. This is the plain doctrine of our standards, and, as we fully believe, of the word of God."—P. 135.

We leave the above without comment. Indeed, if it need any, the reader can make his own. We insert the following for the same reason as the above:—

"Dr. Cox is pleased to call us 'restrictionists.' A most inappropriate designation. There is more saving truth in the parings of our doctrine than in his whole theory. Our doctrine contains all the modicum of truth there is in his, and it contains unspeakably more. His own theory is the most restricted, jejune, meagre, and lifeless, that has ever been propounded. It provides for but one fact; it teaches a possible salvation, while it leaves out the very soul of the doctrine. It vitiates the essential nature of the atonement, makes it a mere governmental display, a symbolical method of instruction, in order to do what was better without any such corruption. While we teach that Christ, by really obeying the law, and really bearing its penalty, in the place of his people, and according to the stipulations of the covenant of grace, secured the salvation of all whom the Father had given him; and, at the same time, throws open the door of mercy to all who choose to enter it."—P. 137.

Here we must leave the Princeton Review to compare theories, and the amendments introduced by different "schools," with Doctors Beman and Cox, and to determine their respective merits the best way they can. We have shown the reader, we imagine quite to his satisfaction, the estimation in which they hold each other's theories, and what the leading features of those theories are. We have also given him a clew to a writer whose views on the atonement are more sound, because they are more Scriptural. But as the reviewer has been so condescending as to pay the "itinerant Methodist preachers" such an unmerited compliment; and since he is so obliging as to go entirely out of his way to do it, which demonstrates that it rose spontaneously, the native offspring of the abiding sentiment which he habitually cherishes toward them, as a matter of sheer justice, waiving the dictates of gratitude, in

acknowledgment we must lay it before the reader. Well, here it is:—

"Dr. Beman writes, on this whole subject, [the extent of the atonement,] very much as a man might be expected to write against Calvinism, who got his views of that system from the furious harangues of itinerant Methodist preachers. He quotes no authorities, establishes no assertions, but coolly goes on attributing just what opinions come into his head to those against whom he writes."—P. 124.

How fraternal, respectful, and chaste! For these "itinerant Methodist preachers," every soul of them, are the most obstinate Arminians the world has ever seen since the Synod of Dort; and they are the last men to give quarters to Calvinism, or to be betrayed into friendship with that system, let it appear in whatever mask its friends may please to throw around it.

In conclusion: we drew up the foregoing paper with a view, humble as may be the effort, to guard the vital doctrine of the atonement. "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" We cannot recommend Dr. Beman's book. We regard it of dangerous tendency. It is calculated to bewilder and mislead on a subject which, before all others, should be well understood by every one who hopes for salvation through a Mediator. To be well understood, the atonement must be scripturally understood; to be thus understood, it must be so presented. We cannot say this has been done by Dr. Beman. His book is calculated to mislead, because, to say the least, he was misled himself. Such a writer cannot be safe. But there are some who are safe, and their works may be read to great advantage: but their works are too often limited nearly to their own denomination. Perhaps the author of the Theological Institutes may be an example in both respects. He certainly deserves to be better known. Take an instance:—Some three years since we conversed with the late Rev. Dr. Channing, of Boston, a few months previous to his death, on the atonement. Being a Unitarian, it was not in his creed. He viewed Christ's death as that of a martyr. He had never seen Watson's Institutes! This we had from his own lips. May not this be the case, even now, with too many doctors of divinity?—men who have reached an eminence in their own respective communions, from which they may exert an influence almost resistless in its force, as well as unmeasured in its extent. But the fact admits of no denial, that *truth* in theology is a priceless gem wherever found. And when the fervors of the truly catholic spirit shall be kindled to that degree of intensity which glowed in the conference of the Evangelical Alliance, and which

we pray may extend to all evangelical churches, it will utterly melt away every bar of prejudice which has too long separated one communion from another; and theological truth will be sought for its own sake, without respect to the denominational channel in which it may chance to flow.

ART. V.—1. *Recherches sur les Mouvements d'Uranus.* Par M. U. J. LE VERRIER. Séance de l'Académie des Sciences du 1er. Juin, 1846. Comptes Rendus, tome xxii, No. 22.

2. *Sur la Planète qui Produit les Anomalies Observées dans le Mouvement d'Uranus. Détermination de sa Masse, de son Orbite, et de sa Position Actuelle.* Par M. U. J. LE VERRIER. Séance de l'Académie des Sciences du 31 Août, 1846. Comptes Rendus, tome xxiii, No. 9.

3. *Examen des Remarques Critiques, et des Questions de Priorité que la Découverte de M. Le Verrier a Soulevées.* Par M. ARAGO. Séance de l'Académie des Sciences du 19 Octobre, 1846. Comptes Rendus, tome xxiii, No. 16.

4. *Account of some Circumstances historically connected with the Discovery of the Planet exterior to Uranus.* By G. B. AIRY, Esq., Astronomer Royal. London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine, and Journal of Science. Dec., 1846

LE VERRIER's idea of sitting down in his study to discover a new planet by *ciphering*, instead of resorting to the vulgar method of looking after the suspected stranger with a telescope, was bold and original. We believe his investigation to be the first recorded and published attempt to demonstrate the existence and whereabout of a member of the solar family, without the aid of hypothesis of any kind, by a rigorous application of the law of universal gravitation. The successful result of his labors, attained with arduous toil in the most abstruse regions of analysis, has already been announced to the world; and while it has struck the unlearned with a species of vague astonishment, it has been hailed by those who could better comprehend the magnitude, and appreciate the difficulties, of the undertaking, with an admiration which borders upon enthusiasm. As a triumph of mathematical skill, his work surpasses all former achievements in theoretical astronomy, and inscribes the name of Le Verrier in living characters on the furthest boundary of our system. What future revelations a long series of observations upon the motion of the new planet may make, it

would now be presumption to predict; but it is not difficult to conjecture that many years must elapse before the limits of the sun's dominion can be extended further into space.

We have said that Le Verrier's method of research was original. A short sketch of the history of the discovery of the telescopic planets will establish the truth of this allegation.

In 1781 Sir William Herschel was engaged in a series of observations for the purpose of determining the parallax of the fixed stars. On the 13th of March of that year he observed a star with a sensible disc, which was magnified under the higher powers of his telescope. The body, therefore, could not be a fixed star. He suspected it to be a comet; and, after watching its course till the 19th of the following month, he reported it as such to the Royal Society. Subsequent observations of the continental astronomers proved the supposed comet to be a planet, which revolved around the sun in the regions of space far beyond the orbit of Saturn. These facts prove the justice of Arago's remark, that the discovery of Uranus was neither the consequence of a preconceived idea, nor of a systematic combination of observations.

John Kepler had observed a void space (hiatus) between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, and imagined that the harmony of the solar system required that this space should be occupied by a planet. It had been suggested as early as 1772 that if the distance of Mercury from the sun be represented by 4, the distance of Venus will be 3+4; of the Earth, 6+4; of Mars, 12+4; of Kepler's hypothetical planet, 24+4; of Jupiter, 48+4; of Saturn, 96+4. This series constitutes what is usually called Bode's law. The discovery of Uranus, at a distance corresponding to 192+4, the next term of the series, seemed to give the law so strong confirmation, that astronomers were encouraged to hope that the missing planet between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter might be discovered. Schroeter formed an association of twenty-four German astronomers to make a systematic search for the planet, but their search was fruitless. De Zach even computed, on the basis of Bode's law, what should be the elements of the orbit of the supposed planet; but his calculations did not determine its place in the heavens. His researches, though worthy of a place in the history of astronomy, were founded entirely on the analogies of the solar system, and, on this account, cannot be placed in comparison with the rigorous demonstration of Le Verrier, of which the basis was an established and universally admitted truth.

After all these conjectures, computations, and researches, the discovery of Ceres was the result of accident. Piazzi, the astro-

nomer royal at Palermo, being engaged in a review of the heavens for the purpose of forming a new catalogue of the fixed stars, perceived a small body, which a few days afterward appeared to have changed its position. This discovery was made on the 1st of January, 1801. Piazzi believed the body to be a comet, and sent an account of his observations to Bode. An inspection of these observations convinced Bode that the body was a planet, and his conjecture was verified soon after by Piazzi himself. It is remarkable, that the mean distance and periodic time of Ceres corresponded very nearly with the same elements of the hypothetical planet, as calculated by De Zach.

Ceres filled up the gap which Kepler had noticed in the planetary spaces, and supplied the term wanting in Bode's law. The harmony of the system was complete, Bode's law was satisfied, and there was no reason to anticipate the discovery of another planet. But science breaks through the trammels of hypothesis, and the generalization of to-day falls before the fact of to-morrow. On the 28th of March, 1802, Olbers, of Bremen, while examining the constellation Virgo, observed a movable star of the seventh magnitude, which was soon afterward proved by Gauss to be a planet, and was named Pallas.

The advent of the goddess of wisdom to claim a place among the planets was as unexpected as when, according to the fable, she sprang forth armed and full grown from the brain of Jupiter. If Ceres had been wanting to make perfect the heavenly harmonies, Pallas was now leered at as an interloper, who was sure to introduce discord into the celestial chorus. A lucky suggestion of Olbers saved the music of the spheres. He remarked, that though the orbit of Pallas had a much greater inclination and eccentricity than that of Ceres, the mean distances of the two planets from the sun were very nearly equal. He observed also that their orbits appeared to intersect each other in two points, one of which was in Virgo and the other in Cetus. He was thus led to make the fortunate conjecture that Ceres and Pallas were fragments of a larger planet, which had been broken in pieces by some external shock or internal explosion. He also suggested that other fragments of the shattered planet probably existed, which, in process of time, would likewise pass through the nodes of the orbits of Ceres and Pallas.

This singular but ingenious hypothesis was destined soon to receive an unexpected confirmation. While Harding of Lilienthal was exploring the firmament for the purpose of constructing some celestial charts, he discovered, Sept. 2d, 1804, another planet near

one of the nodes of the orbits of Ceres and Pallas. Though the discovery of Juno was accidental, it encouraged Olbers to hope that, by watching the region of these nodes, other fragments of the ancient planet might be discovered. Accordingly, he undertook to review the stars in Virgo and Cetus several times each year, particularly at their oppositions, when the planetary fragments, if any existed, would be nearest to the earth, and, consequently, most likely to be detected. After three years of persevering labor, his efforts were rewarded by the discovery of Vesta.

This was the first instance in the history of astronomy, of the discovery of a suspected planet by a systematic series of observations. But, as Arago justly remarks, the supposition of Olbers, that *if a planet existed*, it would pass, at some time or other, through a given constellation of the zodiac, bore neither resemblance nor analogy to the demonstration of Le Verrier, that a planet *necessarily existed* beyond Uranus, in a determinate direction, at a determinate distance, and with a determinate mass.

This interesting group of planets received no further accession to its numbers till the 8th of Dec., 1845. On that day, Hencke of Driessen, while studying the constellation Taurus, discovered a star of the ninth magnitude in a place where none had been seen before. Six days afterward it was again observed by Encke of Berlin, who established its planetary character, and named it Astræa.

It thus appears that of the six planets whose existence was detected from 1781 to 1845, five were discovered by fortunate accidents, and one by following the suggestions of a fanciful but specious hypothesis. It was reserved for Le Verrier, in 1846, to introduce a new era in physical astronomy by applying the powers of the higher mathematics to enlarge the boundaries of the solar system.

We next propose to give an account of this wonderful discovery, and have collected for this purpose the principal facts in relation to it from the scientific papers cited above. We shall endeavor to present these facts in a less abstruse and technical garb than they wear in the original documents.

The illustrious astronomer, John Kepler, discovered that the planets revolve in ellipses, having the sun in one of their foci; and that the areas described by the radius vectors are proportional to the times. If the sun were attended by only one planet, these laws of Kepler would be rigorously true; but it is a necessary consequence of Newton's law of universal attraction, that if two or more planets revolve around the sun, they will attract each other

in the direct ratio of their masses, and in the inverse ratio of the squares of their distances. These mutual attractions among the planets cause them to deviate very sensibly from their elliptic orbits, and produce irregularities in their motion, which are called *perturbations*. It is possible to ascertain the effect of the disturbing force of a given planet upon each of the others in the system, and the sum of the perturbations produced by all the planets in the motions of any *one*, will give the amount of the deviations of that *one* from its elliptic orbit. These corrections will give the planet's theoretical orbit; and when, after a series of years, the observed place of the body is constantly found to agree with its calculated, or theoretic place, the motions of the planet are known, and its orbit *represents* the observations.

After La Place had developed analytically the perturbations produced upon Uranus by Jupiter and Saturn, it was hoped that exact tables of the motion of Uranus could be constructed. This work was undertaken by Bouvard; but he met with unexpected difficulties.

Between the years 1690 and 1771, Uranus had been observed, as a fixed star of the sixth magnitude, by Flamstead, Bradley, Mayer, and Lemonnier, no less than seventeen times. Regular meridian observations of Uranus had been made for nearly forty years from the date of its discovery by Herschel, when, in 1820, Bouvard commenced the construction of his tables. But Bouvard found it impossible to represent, at the same time, the ancient and the modern observations. He therefore rejected those made prior to 1781, and calculated his tables on the basis of those made since that date, which he presumed were entitled to greater confidence. He proposed to leave it for future times to determine whether the difficulty of reconciling the two series of observations was caused by the inaccuracies of the ancient series, or resulted from some foreign and undiscovered action which might affect the planet.

But in 1845, Bouvard's tables, which failed to represent the old observations, were equally in error in respect to the actual place of Uranus. Thus Uranus alone, of all the planets, refused to be restrained by the curb and rein of theory. The obstinate old deity seemed inclined to have his own way, and move along any path he pleased, in provoking disregard of the metes and bounds which the presumptuous children of this puny grand-daughter of his had prescribed for him. What was to be done? The wayward progenitor of the gods must not be allowed to set bad examples to his descendants, and introduce disorder into a household where everything had gone on, hitherto, as regularly as clock-work.

M. Le Verrier proposed to determine, by exact calculations, whether these anomalies in the motion of Uranus were due to some inaccuracy in the theory of that planet, or to errors in the comparison of theory with observation, or to the influence of some unknown body. In a memoir dated Nov. 10th, 1845, he proved that numerous and important terms had been neglected by his predecessors in calculating the perturbations of Uranus produced by Jupiter and Saturn, and that these omissions made it absolutely impossible to represent the motion of the planet. After correcting the tables by combining the neglected perturbations, he found that their deviation from the true place of Uranus was still very considerable. Had the tables been reliable, this deviation would have indicated the action of some foreign body; but an examination of the method according to which these tables had been constructed, revealed many sources of error, and forbade all confidence in any conclusions which might result from their use. He was, therefore, compelled to reconstruct entirely the theory of Uranus, and to repeat, on a new basis, the comparison of the theory with the observations. For this purpose he reduced anew all the ancient observations of Uranus, and two hundred and sixty-two of those made since 1781 at the observatories of Paris and Greenwich. He then assumed as a starting point the elliptic elements of Uranus, already approximately known, calculated the places of the planet at the times the observations were made, and corrected these places by combining the perturbations which he had previously developed. The differences between the observed and calculated places, found by subtracting one set of these co-ordinates from the other, can proceed from but two sources. Either the assumed elements of Uranus are inaccurate, or the planet is affected by the action of an unknown force. To ascertain whether the differences were due to errors in the elliptic elements, he took four exact longitudes of Uranus, in the determination of each of which numerous observations agreed with each other, and calculated the elements of the ellipse in such a manner that they would satisfy rigorously those four longitudes. The error in theory, given by these new elements, amounted in 1838 to one hundred and twenty-five seconds of a degree. To determine whether this error could be accounted for by the possible errors in the longitudes which had served as the basis of the elliptic elements, he calculated the effect of those errors on the supposition that they were the greatest which observation admits, and were all made in one direction. Even on this improbable supposition, he found it impossible to account for more than thirty seconds of the error in the theoretic place of

Uranus in 1838. The conclusion was therefore inevitable, that *the remaining error of ninety-five seconds must be attributed to some foreign and unknown force acting upon Uranus.*

This conclusion, though only preliminary to his principal object, is one of the highest importance. He can now proceed with confidence in the more arduous career which opens before him, because, having verified every step, and taken nothing as granted except the law of gravitation, he is now *certain* that the attraction of the known planets will not account for the strange anomalies in the motion of Uranus.

What then is the nature of this disturbing force, whose existence he has thus demonstrated? May it be the *resisting ether*, which, as many have imagined, pervades the interstellar spaces? This hypothesis is inadmissible, because we find scarcely a trace of the effect of such a medium in the motion of bodies of the most inconsiderable density. If the resistance of the supposed ether be so slight that its influence on a comet, which is but a wisp of vapor, is not sufficient to place its existence beyond doubt, its effect upon the enormous mass of Uranus would be absolutely imperceptible.

It had been suggested that, at the great distance of Uranus, the law of gravitation might not hold rigorously true. M. Le Verrier justly remarks that such a supposition must be the last resource of astronomers, and cannot be resorted to till after having exhausted the investigation of other causes, and proved them incapable of producing the observed effects.

It had been also conjectured that the motion of Uranus was disturbed by a large satellite, accompanying the planet in its orbit around the sun. But the inequalities produced by such a body would run through all their values in a short period; while the actual inequalities of Uranus develop themselves very slowly, and in great length of time. Besides, a satellite sufficiently large to produce these perturbations, could not have escaped the notice of observers.

May not a comet have fallen, at some time, upon Uranus and suddenly changed the direction and velocity of its motion? Such a catastrophe would not explain the phenomena. The deviations of Uranus from its calculated orbit are not such as would result from a violent collision, but from a force constantly in action. If the collision of a comet were assumed to account for the discrepancies of the ancient and intermediate series of observations, another collision would have to be assumed to explain the discrepancies of the intermediate and modern series. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, all other hypotheses being set aside,

that the disturbing force, already proved to exist, can be nothing else than a planet.

Where, then, is this undiscovered planet? Its orbit cannot be nearer the sun than the orbit of Saturn, for in that case its attraction would disturb Saturn more than Uranus; and observation proves that its action produces no sensible effect upon the motion of that planet. Again, it cannot be situated between the orbits of Saturn and Uranus; for then it would have to be much nearer to Uranus than to Saturn, or its action upon the latter would be sensible. But if it were very near Uranus, its mass must necessarily be inconsiderable, or the perturbations of Uranus would be greater than they are. And if it were near to Uranus, and its mass small, it could exert no sensible influence upon that planet except while passing its immediate neighborhood. Now the difference in the periodic revolutions of the two planets thus situated, would be so small that they could not posssibly have been in each other's vicinity more than once since the earliest observations of Uranus. This consequence being inconsistent with the results of observation, the new planet must be situated beyond Uranus.

The same reasons which forbid locating the planet a short distance *within* the orbit of Uranus, also forbid the hypothesis that it may be a short distance *beyond*. Neither can it be at a distance beyond Uranus which is relatively *very great*; as, for example, three times the distance of that planet from the sun. In that case its mass would have to be enormous, or it could not produce the observed anomalies in the motion of Uranus; and the difference between the distances of the planet from Uranus and Saturn would be relatively so small, that it could not produce the observed inequalities of Uranus, without causing sensible perturbations of Saturn. But no traces of such perturbations have been detected.

The analogies of the solar system, as expressed in Bode's empirical law, would make it probable that the new planet is situated at nearly twice the distance of Uranus from the sun.

Finally, the inclination of the planet's orbit to the plane of the ecliptic must be very small; for it produces no sensible irregularities in the latitude of Uranus. The same inference can be made from analogy; for the orbits of Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus have small inclinations. The new planet must therefore be in the ecliptic, or near it.

By this beautiful train of sagacious reasoning, Le Verrier is led to propose for solution the following questions: "*Is it possible that the inequalities of Uranus may be due to the action of a planet, situated in the ecliptic, at a mean distance twice that of Uranus?*

And if so, where is the actual place of that planet? What is its mass? What are the elements of its orbit? The problem being proposed in these terms, I resolve it rigorously."

It would not accord with the design of the present article to enter into the details of the solution of this problem. Such an exposition as would satisfy a mathematician, would render it necessary to introduce many expressions for which a majority of our readers would not thank us. We will only remark, that the usual problem of the perturbations is, to determine the inequalities produced by the attraction of a given planet in the motion of another. Le Verrier reversed this problem, and from the observed perturbations of Uranus proceeded to calculate the direction, distance, and mass of the unknown disturbing body. But a difficulty met him at the threshold. The exact amount of the perturbations, due to the action of the unknown body, cannot be determined from the observations, unless the precise values of the elements of the orbit of Uranus are known; and these elements cannot be rigorously ascertained, unless the amount of the perturbations be known. The investigation of the elements of the orbit of Uranus, and of the disturbing body, cannot be separated into two parts. Le Verrier was, therefore, obliged to form expressions for these perturbations in functions of the unknown mass, and of the unknown elements of the orbit of the disturbing body,—a method which rendered the problem exceedingly complicated and difficult. He, however, surmounted all obstacles, and obtained an approximate expression for the longitude of the planet. The determination of the mass, and of the other elements of the orbit, was reserved for his paper of August 31st, in which he also proposed to determine the planet's place more accurately, by introducing into the solution all the observations of Uranus. His first approximation proved to him that the problem was not susceptible of two solutions; by which he means that there is but one region of the heavens in which the planet can be situated and satisfy the equations. By a discussion of his equation for the longitude of the planet, he shows that by assigning it the value of three hundred and twenty-five degrees, on the 1st of January, 1847, an error of ten degrees cannot be committed.

Le Verrier finishes his memoir of June 1st by making a summary of his researches in language which admits of no compression, and which we translate literally:—

"To obtain all the assistance I needed, I have been obliged to calculate anew the perturbations which Jupiter produces upon Uranus; to determine those which are produced by Saturn, pushing the approx-

imations to the squares and to the products of the masses,—an operation which has introduced important changes into the received theories;—to reduce nearly three hundred meridian observations of Uranus; to calculate the corresponding heliocentric places of that planet, on the supposition that it obeys only the united action of the sun, Jupiter, and Saturn; to deduce its geocentric co-ordinates by means of tables of the sun, and to prove the absolute incompatibility between the places thus calculated and the observed places.

"The existence of a planet, hitherto unknown, being thus placed beyond doubt, I have reversed the problem which has been heretofore proposed in calculating the perturbations. Instead of having to measure the action of a determinate planet, I have been obliged to start with the inequalities recognized in Uranus, to deduce from them the elements of the orbit of the disturbing planet, to give the position of that planet in the heavens, and to show that its action explained perfectly the apparent inequalities of Uranus."—*Comptes Rendus*, tome xxii, p. 918.

Noble task, and nobly accomplished! Well might the illustrious Encke exclaim, "In the discovery of planets there is nothing more splendid than the work of Le Verrier!"

Had the confidence of astronomical observers in Le Verrier's results been equal to his own, the immediate discovery of the planet would have rendered his subsequent researches unnecessary. The telescopes of all the observatories of Europe would have been instantly turned to the vicinity of the planet's computed place, and it could not long have escaped their scrutiny. But observers either did not appreciate the full force of Le Verrier's reasonings, or they presumed that the light reflected by the planet, at so vast a distance from the sun, would be imperceptible. The mathematician was, therefore, permitted to proceed undisturbed with his sublime calculations three months longer. On the 31st of August he presented to the academy his memoir "*On the planet which produces the anomalies observed in the motion of Uranus, determination of its mass, of its orbit, and of its actual position.*" With the calm confidence of a man who steps firmly on solid ground, who knows where he is and what he is doing, he pronounces no word which can imply the slightest doubt or hesitation. He does not *suspect*, nor *suppose*, nor *presume*, nor *assume* the existence of the planet, for he has proved it; and whatever others may think of his conclusions, with him they are matters of positive knowledge.

In this memoir he proposes to fix more accurately the place of his planet, and to determine its mass and the period of its revolution. To abridge the labor of his first solution he had used but a small number of the observations of Uranus. He now resolves to

give the utmost possible precision to his results by employing all the ancient observations, and two hundred and sixty-two of the modern, made in the oppositions and quadratures at the observatories of Paris and Greenwich. He arranges these observations in convenient groups, so as to form thirty-three equations containing nine unknown quantities. Then, by a laborious series of eliminations and reductions, he determines the elements of his planet's orbit. He makes the mean distance (we omit the fractions) thirty-six times that of the earth; period of the siderial revolution two hundred and seventeen years; eccentricity of the orbit $\frac{1}{10}$; longitude of the perihelion 284° 45′; mean longitude for January 1st, 1847, 318° 47′; mass, $\frac{1}{9300}$ of the mass of the sun; true heliocentric longitude for January 1st, 1847, 326° 32′; distance from the sun at the same epoch thirty-three times that of the earth. It will be perceived that the true longitude obtained by this solution differs only about a degree and a half from that given in his former paper.

After remarking that the planet was in opposition on the 19th of August, and is therefore in a favorable position to be discovered, he mentions some physical considerations which induce him to believe that it may be seen with good telescopes under an angle of about three seconds, and that it may be distinguished from the fixed stars by a disc of sensible diameter. He next defines the limits within which the elements of the orbit may vary, without ceasing to represent, with tolerable accuracy, the observations. The semi major axis, or mean distance of the planet from the sun, cannot be more than thirty-eight nor less than thirty-five times that of the earth. The period of its revolution cannot be more than two hundred and thirty-three nor less than two hundred and seven years. The true heliocentric longitude cannot be less than 321°, and very improbably more than 335°. The mass cannot be less than $\frac{1}{14500}$, nor more than $\frac{1}{4700}$, of the mass of the sun. The mass of Uranus being $\frac{1}{17918}$, and that of Saturn $\frac{1}{3500}$, it is obvious that the quantity of matter in the new planet must be greater than that of Uranus, and less than that of Saturn.

On the 18th of Sept., Le Verrier wrote to Galle, of Berlin, requesting him to make search for the new planet. Galle complied with the request, and discovered the planet at midnight on the 23d of Sept., the very day he received Le Verrier's letter. The observed place of the planet was only fifty-four minutes of a degree from the calculated place! So close an approximation to the truth, in the solution of a problem so complicated, and involving such minuteness of detail, is an unprecedented example of the wonderful

power of mathematics as an instrument of physical research, and a brilliant proof of the skill of him who employed it.

This unexampled discovery could not but produce an extraordinary sensation among scientific men everywhere; and, as if the honor of having made it were too great for one man, or one country to appropriate, a number of claims to the whole, or a share, of that honor, were immediately put forth. These claims have given rise to several questions which M. Arago discusses in his paper of October 19. He first proves historically that Le Verrier's planet is the only one whose existence and position have been established by theory alone. Bode's law could not have indicated its existence, as some have imagined, for no one supposes that the number of terms of that series is infinite. If the law implied a planet at a distance corresponding to 388, the ninth term of the series, it would become necessary to suppose another at the distance of 772, another at 1540, and so on without end. But this is impossible; for, at such a rate of progression, a planet would soon be reached which would obey the attraction of some other sun, and could not revolve around ours. The solar system, then, must have a limit. The only use which was made of Bode's law by Le Verrier was strictly a logical one,—that *if* a planet existed beyond Uranus, its distance might be assumed, in a first approximation, to be nearly twice that of Uranus. Some distance must be assumed in the first instance, or the solution would have been impossible; and after proving, as he did, by physical reasonings, that the planet could not be *very near to*, nor *very remote from*, Uranus, the assumption which he made was highly probable. But Bode's law is not rigorously exact; and is not supported by any considerations of a physical nature. Le Verrier, therefore, very properly reserved to himself the right to deviate from it, and his results show a distance considerably less than the law would indicate.

But might not the planet have been seen before, and its place recorded by others? And may not Le Verrier have been assisted by these observations? Cacciatore, successor of Piazzi at Palermo, announced in Sept., 1835, that he had followed a small planet for three nights and afterward lost it. Was not this planet, which Cacciatore suspected to be beyond Uranus, identical with that of Le Verrier? M. Arago entirely sets aside the claim of Cacciatore, by remarking, that if the body seen by him were a planet exterior to Uranus, its present position in the heavens would be diametrically opposite to that of Le Verrier's planet.

Again, Wartman, of Geneva, announced in 1836, that he had made, during the autumn of 1831, four observations of a movable

star. May not this have been identical with Le Verrier's planet? Arago puts no confidence in these observations, because their publication was withheld till it was impossible for other astronomers to verify them. It is unaccountable, that an astronomer should have kept secret so important a fact for five years; and still more so, that he should have taken no pains to follow the body. In 1837 Wartman carefully examined the region of the heavens in which the star, on the supposition of its being a planet, ought then to be situated; but was unable to find it. This, to say the least, makes its planetary character very questionable. But to prove conclusively that Wartman's star could not have been Le Verrier's planet, Arago calculates the place of the latter for 1831, and shows that its distance from Wartman's star, at that time, was no less than 17° 45′ of right ascension, and 3° 15′ of declination. Le Verrier's planet requires ten or twelve years to move through 18° of right ascension; and it is impossible that the errors in the elements of its orbit should be so enormous, that the difference between its observed and calculated place should equal, in sixteen years, its entire theoretic motion in ten years.

The claim of Mr. J. C. Adams, a young mathematician of Cambridge, which has been brought forward under the auspices of Professor Challis and G. B. Airy, will require a more specific consideration. That two individuals, in different countries, should be engaged in a series of spontaneous and independent researches on the same subject at the same time, is by no means a new event in the history of science. Discoveries, unexpected and unpredicted, have indeed been sometimes made; but more frequently they are consequences of the general progress of science. They are not gems in the highway, which thousands have trampled under foot and heeded not; but ripe fruits on the tree of knowledge, which men look at and long for, and toward which several are, perhaps, climbing at once with strained sinews and panting breath. These fruits will be gathered by him who has the strength, courage, and agility, first to grasp them; but they cannot long remain unappropriated.

The discovery of the new planet was one of this kind. Alexis Bouvard had thrown out a hint as to its possible existence in 1821. In 1834 Hussey made the same suggestion in more decided language; and, after attempting to assign its place by calculation, admitted that the problem was beyond his power, and abandoned it in despair. In 1837 Eugene Bouvard reproduced the conjecture of his uncle, and undertook a series of researches upon the theory of Uranus, with a view to verify his opinion. In 1842 Bessel

remarked to Sir John Herschel that the errors in the theory of Uranus were systematic, and such as might be produced by an exterior planet. He also proposed to make some researches on the subject, as soon as he had finished certain labors with which he was then occupied. In 1843, J. C. Adams, then an undergraduate at Cambridge, resolved to attempt, by calculation, to account for the anomalies in the motion of Uranus, on the hypothesis of a more remote planet. He took this work seriously in hand in 1844, one year before Le Verrier commenced his researches. The race for the glorious prize was run by these two men.

Thus we perceive that the shadow of this coming truth had been seen from afar; but dimly, darkly, and by few. After awhile it became more distinct and luminous, and the eyes of many were eagerly fixed upon it. Who shall be the first to discern the substance? He is the strong man, whose vision is untiring and whose gaze is steadfast; for he alone will seize upon the precise moment when the distinctness of the shadow shall reveal the hidden reality. He is the courageous man, who shall first set forth this reality in the light of day; for he must overcome the apathy of the indifferent, and defy the sneer of the incredulous. He is the fortunate man, whose voice shall first arrest the world's attention, and whose revelation shall be received and verified; for he shall enjoy the reward of his labors. That Mr. Adams was strong, for a man of his years, we have no disposition to deny; but the history of his efforts proves that he was neither courageous nor fortunate. The golden fruit was within his reach, but his hand trembled as he stretched it forth; he hesitated, and another plucked it.

The royal astronomer at Greenwich, Mr. Airy, informs us that in February, 1844, Mr. Adams applied to him, through his patron, Prof. Challis, for certain errors in the geocentric longitudes of Uranus, which he wished to use in his calculations. These were granted. In Sept., 1845, Prof. Challis writes to Mr. Airy, informing him that Mr. Adams' calculations are completed, and that he wishes to communicate his results to him personally. Mr. Airy was then in France, and the desired interview was not had. In Oct., 1845, Mr. Adams called again to see the royal astronomer, and not finding him at home, left a note, from which the following is an extract:—

"According to my calculations, the observed irregularities in the motion of Uranus may be accounted for by supposing the existence of an exterior planet, the mass and orbit of which are as follows:—

Mean distance (assumed nearly in accordance with Bode's law)	38, 4
Mean siderial motion in 365, 25 days	1° 30′ 9″
Mean longitude, 1st Oct., 1845	323° 34′
Longitude of perihelion	315° 55′
Eccentricity	0, 1610
Mass (that of the sun being unity)	0, 0001656

For the modern observations I have used the method of normal places, taking the mean of the tabular errors, as given by observations near three consecutive oppositions, to correspond with the mean times."

Mr. Adams appends to his note some tables showing that his theory represents the modern observations with great accuracy; the error never amounting to more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ seconds. The errors are larger in comparing the theory with the ancient observations, but do not, except in a single instance, amount to 12″. The reader will perceive that, though Mr. Adams' elements of the orbit of the new planet differ considerably from Le Verrier's results, the approximation for the mean longitude is remarkably close.

Mr. Airy, in reply to this note, wished to know whether the assumed perturbation would explain the error in the radius vector of Uranus. He proposed the trial to explain this error by the same theory which explained the error of the longitude, as an *experimentum crucis*. He informs us that if Mr. Adams had answered him in the affirmative, he should have exerted all his influence to procure the publication of the theory. Unfortunately for Mr. Adams, the difficulty proposed by Mr. Airy, and which Le Verrier afterward showed to be imaginary, instead of being one of Bacon's *guide-posts* to point out the way of truth, was a veritable *cross* on which his hopes suffered martyrdom. Mr. Adams could not explain the error of the radius vector, and did not know that there was no such error to be explained.

Le Verrier's memoir of June 1st, 1846, assigning the place of the planet within one degree of the place calculated by Adams, did not entirely remove the doubts of Mr. Airy. Accordingly, June 26th, he writes to Le Verrier, suggesting the same inquiry which had puzzled Adams. He says that, by the Greenwich observations, the tabular radius vector of Uranus is considerably too small; and he wishes to know whether this would be a consequence of the disturbance produced by an exterior planet, in the position indicated by Le Verrier. He thinks that it would not be so, because the principal term of the inequality would probably be analogous to the moon's *variation*.

Le Verrier immediately replies, that the errors in the radius vector of Uranus, referred to by Mr. Airy, are due to errors in the tables at present in use, and have no existence in the orbit of Uranus as he has determined it. He says that Mr. Airy is right in supposing that such an error could not be due to the disturbing force of an exterior planet. The orbit of Uranus had been calculated by Bouvard upon positions of the planet which were not its elliptic places, because no allowance had been made for the disturbing action of the unknown planet. Le Verrier's theory makes it necessary to increase the eccentricity of Uranus, and the longitude of the perihelion; both of which corrections increase the radius vector in the present position of the planet, and make it conform to the observations.

This lucid explanation satisfied the English astronomer, and banished from his mind every doubt of the reality and general accuracy of the prediction of the planet's place. He, therefore, on the 9th of July, suggested to Prof. Challis to employ the great telescope of the Cambridge observatory, called the Northumberland refractor, in a systematic search for the hypothetical planet. Prof. Challis began to sweep for the planet on the 29th of July; and, on the 2d of Sept., informed Airy that he had lost no opportunity of searching for it, but that he despaired of properly scrutinizing the proposed portion of the heavens this year.

On the same day Adams sent to Airy an account of a repetition of his calculations, on the supposition that the mean distance of the new planet was less than Bode's law indicated. The following are the elements of the orbit, as developed on this assumption:—

Mean longitude on the 1st Oct., 1846	323° 2′
Longitude of perihelion	299, 11
Eccentricity	0, 12062
Mass	0, 00015003

It will be perceived that these results were obtained after the publication of Le Verrier's paper of August 31, but before Adams could have seen it. They are nearer the truth than his results obtained in 1845. But Airy's question still embarrasses him, and he admits that the increase of the radius vector of Uranus in later years is more rapid than it should be. It may be inferred from this that Mr. Airy, though he had been in possession of Le Verrier's explanation of the difficulty early in July, had not communicated it to Adams, but had left him to contend for two months with an objection which he himself had thrown in his path, and which he was now convinced was unreal. At the close of his letter Mr. Adams says:—

"I am at present employed in discussing the errors in latitude with the view of obtaining an approximate value of the inclination, and the position of the node of the new planet's orbit; but the perturbations in latitude are so very small, that I am afraid the result will not have great weight. According to a rough calculation made some time since, the inclination appeared to be rather large, and the longitude of the ascending node to be about 300°; but I am now treating the subject much more completely, and hope to obtain the result in a few days.

"I have been thinking of drawing up a brief account of my investigation, to present to the British Association."

Mr. Airy was on the continent when this letter reached Greenwich, and does not appear to have had any further communication with Mr. Adams till after Galle discovered the planet. In the mean time Prof. Challis continued his search, guided by a paper which Adams had drawn up for him. But on the 29th of Sept., having received Le Verrier's memoir of August 31, he was, as Mr. Airy informs us, "so much impressed with the sagacity and clearness of M. Le Verrier's limitations of the field of observation, that he instantly changed his plan of observing, and noted the planet, as an object having a visible disc, on the evening of the same day." Before he had an opportunity to verify his observation, the news reached him that the planet had been discovered at Berlin six days earlier.

A comparison of his observations now proved to Prof. Challis that, since he commenced observing, he had seen the planet three times without recognizing it! He gives the following account of the matter in his letter of Oct. 12th to Mr. Airy:—

"I had heard of the discovery on Oct. 1. . . . . I find that my observations would have shown me the planet in the early part of August, if I had only discussed them. I commenced observing on July 29, attacking first of all, as it was prudent to do, the position which Mr. Adams' calculations assigned as the most probable place of the planet. On July 30 I took all the stars to the eleventh magnitude in a zone of nine minutes in breadth. . . . On August 4 I took stars here and there in a zone of about seventy minutes in breadth, purposely selecting the brighter, as I wished to make them reference points for the observations in zones of nine minutes in breadth. Among these stars was the planet. A comparison of this day's observations with a good star-map would most probably have detected it. On account of moonlight, I did not observe again till August 12. On that day I went over again the zone of nine minutes in breadth, which I examined on July 30. The space gone over on August 12 exceeded in length that of July 30, but included the whole of it. On comparing [at a later time] the observations of these two days, I found that the zone of July 30 contained every star in the corresponding portion of the zone of August 12, *except one star of the eighth magnitude*. This, according to the principle of search, which, in want of a good star-map, I had adopted, must have been a planet. It had wandered into the latter zone in the interval between July 30 and

August 12. By this statement you will see that, after four days of observing, the planet was in my grasp, if I had only examined or mapped the observations. I delayed doing this, partly because I thought the probability of discovery was small till a much larger portion of the heavens was scrutinized, but chiefly because I was making a grand effort to reduce the vast number of comet observations which I have accumulated; and this occupied the whole of my time, when I was not engaged in observing. I actually compared, to a certain extent, the observations of July 30 and August 12 soon after taking them, more for the sake of testing the two methods of observing adopted on those days, than for any other purpose; and I stopped short within a very few stars of the planet. After August 12 I continued my observations with great diligence, recording the positions of some thousands of stars: but I did not again fall in with the planet, as I took positions too early in right ascension. On Sept. 29, however, I saw for the first time, Le Verrier's last results, and on the evening of that day I observed strictly in accordance with his suggestions, and within the limits which he recommended; and I was also on the look-out for a disc. Among three hundred stars which I took that night, I singled out one against which I directed my assistant to note '*seems to have disc*,' which proved to be the planet. I used on this, as on all other occasions, a power of 160. This was the third time I obtained an approximate place of the planet before I heard of its discovery."

Strange that the same eyes and the same telescopic power which revealed the disc on the 29th of Sept., did not reveal it on the 4th and 12th of August; stranger still, that, having suspected a disc on the 29th of Sept., he did not apply a higher power, and observe whether the disc were magnified; and most strange of all, that he should delay the comparison of his observations, when so magnificent a prize was at stake, to run after those will-o'-the-wisps, the comets, with which he might just as well have amused himself at any other time. Prof. Challis did not work in faith. He did not believe in the accuracy of the calculations. He had some lingering doubts as to the planet's existence; and stronger doubts as to the possibility of finding it, if it did exist. This seems to us the only rational explanation of the inefficiency of his operations.

It is, however, a question of minor importance who first actually saw the planet, after Le Verrier had predicted its place;—a question which can in no manner affect the rights of Le Verrier, or the claim of Adams. Challis and Galle must fight that battle between themselves.

As to the question at issue between Le Verrier and Adams, the fact that the former published his researches as he went on with his work, while the latter published nothing on the subject till after the discovery had been made, is decisive. On this point Arago remarks with great force and truth, that "there is but one way to write the history of the sciences; and that is to rely upon publica-

tions having certain date. Aside from these everything is confusion and obscurity." However strongly our feelings may be enlisted in favor of the young mathematician of Cambridge, and however much we may regret that he did not publish the results which he communicated to Mr. Airy in 1845, we are bound to respect the rule which common sense and the best interests of science have dictated, and which the British philosophers have been foremost in establishing, that questions of priority in discoveries shall be decided by the dates of their publication, either in a printed book, or among the papers of some learned society. Mr. Airy has obviously no intention of violating this rule; for in his letter to Le Verrier, of Oct. 14th, in which he announced that collateral researches had been made in England, and had led to results precisely similar to Le Verrier's, he says:—

"Probably I shall be called on to explain myself in regard to these researches. If in that case I give praise to others, I hope you will not consider it as weakening in any degree my opinion of your rights. You ought, without any doubt, to be regarded as the man who really predicted the place of the planet."

Airy's paper in the Philosophical Magazine is written in strict accordance with this view. It does not contain a word which can detract from the credit, or compromise in any manner the rights, of the illustrious French astronomer.

A letter written by Sir John Herschel on the 1st of Oct., and published in the Athenæum, contains a passage which M. Arago has animadverted upon with much severity. In this letter Herschel quotes a passage from his discourse pronounced before the British Association at Southampton, Sept. 10, 1846, as follows:—"We see it [the new planet] as Columbus saw America before leaving the coast of Spain. Its motions have been felt trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis, with a certainty scarcely inferior to that of an ocular demonstration." Herschel remarks, that the calculations of Le Verrier would hardly have justified so positive an assurance as those words implied, had they not been corroborated by an independent investigation emanating from another source. M. Arago takes exception to this remark, and thinks it utterly at variance with Herschel's usual courtesy and reserve. For ourselves, we cannot discover in it a particle either of envy or malice;—feelings which we believe Sir John Herschel to be incapable of indulging. We understand him to mean that neither the calculations of Le Verrier nor those of Adams, taken separately, would have commanded the confidence which those mathematicians felt in their results, had they not both arrived, in-

dependently, at the same conclusion. This principle is universally recognized in courts of justice, in which the concurrent testimony of several persons to the same fact will be believed, without reference to the credibility of any one of the witnesses. This belief is founded on the improbability that several persons, who have had no opportunities of collusion with one another, should agree in telling the same falsehood. That Sir John Herschel did not fully appreciate the force of Le Verrier's reasonings is sufficiently obvious; and that neither Herschel, Airy, nor Challis, placed much confidence in Mr. Adams' results is still more apparent, from the fact that they neither advised their publication, nor made any physical researches to verify them. But after the publication of Le Verrier's first approximation, nothing was more natural than to inquire how these two men, ignorant of each other's proceedings, and, perhaps, of each other's existence, could have arrived at the same conclusion, unless there was some truth in it. Then, and not till then, were the telescopes of England set at work.

That the English philosophers have no disposition to pluck a single laurel from the brow of Le Verrier, is abundantly proved by the Copley medal having been awarded to him by the Royal Society of London. This magnanimous award was announced to the French Academy, at its session of Nov. 9, by a letter from Sir John Herschel. It settles the question of priority, and will quiet the apprehensions of Le Verrier's friends.

The credit which will be awarded to Mr. Adams as a mathematician, will depend upon the knowledge of celestial mechanics and the skill in using it, which his calculations may prove him to possess; but his merit cannot be properly estimated till he submits his researches to the public eye. Mr. Adams has promised to publish his calculations at an early day; and, though it is now too late to place them in competition with those of Le Verrier, we may hope and predict that they will lay the foundation of an enviable reputation for himself. Whatever form the maturer labors of Mr. Adams may give to his calculations, the evidence is conclusive that, in 1845, they were less full and perfect than those since published by Le Verrier. On this point the testimony of Mr. Airy is unequivocal. In his letter to Le Verrier, mentioned above, he says:— "I may add that the English investigations were not, I believe, altogether so extensive as those for which we are indebted to you." Another proof of the imperfection of Mr. Adams' work is contained in the fact that he had omitted those preliminary corrections of the theory of Uranus, which Le Verrier made with great labor and remarkable exactness, and without which he perceived the impos

sibility of arriving at results that could satisfy himself, or secure the confidence of others. Had Mr. Adams done this, he would have disposed of the difficulty in regard to the radius vector of Uranus at a single glance. Not having done this, he was staggered by the question propounded by the royal astronomer, and deterred from the prosecution of his enterprise, till the appearance of Le Verrier's paper of June, 1846, encouraged him to resume it.

M. Arago thinks he sees in these facts abundant proof that "the work of Mr. Adams was only a rough sketch,—an incomplete trial, in which the author himself, pressed by the difficulty which Mr. Airy had suggested, placed no confidence." The general truth of Mr. Adams' results would hardly justify so sweeping a sentence as this. The subsequent remarks of M. Arago, however, cannot be charged with injustice:—

"If M. Le Verrier, aside from every consideration of ability, knowledge, and skill, was more *fortunate*, it was because he completely revised the theory of Uranus before undertaking his principal research; because he introduced into it important terms of which his predecessors had no knowledge; because he rectified, in accordance with his new theory, the differences which had been found between the tables and observation; because the errors which served as the basis of his calculations really existed, while the errors inserted in the Greenwich publications were stained with all the imperfections of Bouvard's tables."

In a letter published in the Athenæum, and dated Oct. 15, Prof. Challis considers the part taken by Mr. Adams in the theoretical research for the new planet, as sufficient to justify his proposing a name for it. With Mr. Adams' consent he suggests the name of *Oceanus*. This assumption of a right which obviously belongs to Le Verrier, strikes M. Arago as the climax of arrogant injustice. He protests against it with great vehemence, and with a tincture of bitterness which shows how keenly sensitive he is to the honor of France, and of French philosophers. Le Verrier waives his right to name the planet in favor of Arago, at whose request he commenced his investigations; and Arago insists on placing the name of the discoverer above the father of Saturn. Pope says,

> "Superior beings, when of late they saw
> A mortal man unfold all nature's law,
> Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
> And show'd a Newton, as we show an ape."

What will they do when they learn that this apotheosis has placed a "*glassmaker*" at the head of their genealogy?*

Dickinson College, January 20th, 1847.

* Astronomers do not seem inclined to adopt the name *Le Verrier* for the new planet, but have agreed to call it *Neptune*.

ART. VI.—*Atonement as taught by Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke, and Watson, in their Sermons, and other Theological Writings.* Published by Lane & Tippett, 200 Mulberry-street, New-York.

"GREAT is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh." It is sometimes objected to the system of revealed religion, that it contains mysteries, and that this fact is derogatory to its claim of divine authority. The existence of mysteries is admitted; but this, so far from being an objection, is really a confirmation of the divine authenticity of the Bible. The unexplained and insolvable facts of revelation are in proof that man is not its author. Had it originated with man, it would be strange indeed if man could not comprehend it: but there being in the system a disclosure of facts and principles which come not within the natural range of human thought, its claim of inspiration is thereby confirmed. Indeed, we see not how it would be possible for God to make a revelation to the finite mind of man,—of the attributes and perfections of his own infinite character,—of the features of his moral government, and of the plan of salvation through a Redeemer—all which sustain relations to other beings and other worlds, and take hold of the boundless nature of God, of which our knowledge must ever be imperfect—without containing facts and references above the reach of the most lofty human intellect.

Abstract these mysteries, and the pages of the Bible will present much less proof than they now do of being written by the finger of God. Apart from the mode of the divine existence, there is no one doctrine of revealed religion involving more of mystery and moral grandeur than the atonement. It has occupied the thoughts and pens of the most profound, and yet its depths remain unfathomed: it is the soul and centre of all that is interesting, glorious, and blissful, in religion. Embracing the objects it contemplates, the grounds of its necessity, and the principles on which it proceeds, it is the most benevolent, mysterious, and exalted development of a mysterious and incomprehensible God.

Considering men as they are, it need not be a subject of wonder that different and discordant views of atonement should prevail. Interest, prejudice, and corruption, have much influence in the formation of religious opinions. Besides, the practice, which, unfortunately, is too prevalent, of subjecting the doctrines of revelation to the test of human reason, has long been a fruitful source of diversity and error in matters of religion.

To men of genius and erudition there is a strong temptation to

discard as divine truth what they cannot fully explain; and this tendency is quite apparent in some who claim to be, and are generally acknowledged, evangelical. They seem not to be aware that their aim is to take the exalted facts of revelation out of their proper place, and bring them down to the diminutive standard of their own comprehension.

The doctrine of atonement in its nature, objects, and relations to other doctrines of religion, is purely a subject of revelation. He who, with childlike simplicity, takes the Bible for his guide, will not greatly err; but he who discards the Bible only so far as he can conform it to his notions of right reason, or who makes rationalism the basis of his interpretations, will

"Find no end in wandering mazes lost."

There were no "theories of atonement" during the first two centuries. Not that the immediate successors of the apostles had no definite conceptions of the nature of atonement, but the age of philosophical speculation had not yet commenced in the church. These "fathers" adhered to the simplicity of the Bible, and attempted no nice distinctions or metaphysical statement of the facts and principles involved in this great subject.

The history of the various theories taught since theologians began to make atonement a subject of speculation is both curious and instructive. The first that made its appearance after this age was that adopted by Origen, and which subsequently became the prevailing theory of the Greek Church. In substance it was as follows:—The devil, by stratagem and fraud, had managed to get the human race under his control, and held them in absolute dominion. God, being interested in their welfare, sought their deliverance. This he might have effected by violence, but was restrained by considerations of justice. He, therefore, offered Christ as a ransom, which being accepted, the human race was set at liberty. But Satan was deceived in the transaction. For he supposed Christ to be finite: hence, when he proved to be also the Son of God, he was unable to retain him in his power; and, consequently, lost both his captives and the price of their redemption.

Another theory—traces of which are found in the writings of Athanasius, and whose influence extended to the twelfth century—attempted to explain the atonement with philosophical and dialectical exactness. In order to this, the judicial word, *satisfaction*, was adopted by the advocates of this view, and made the basis of their theory. Had they confined themselves to the *Scriptural* idea of satisfaction, they would not have been misled. But taking their

notion of satisfaction from "*debiti solutio*," (payment of debt,) they reduced the whole scheme to a commercial transaction, in which Christ is made to pay in *kind* and *quantity* the exact amount of the sinner's indebtedness. This is regarded by all sober divines as unscriptural, and unworthy the infinite and benevolent character of God.

A third theory, which prevailed from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, has been appropriately denominated "*juridico philosophical*." The principal advocates of this system were Anselmus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. They taught that man was obliged not only to pay satisfaction for disobedience to God's moral government, but also an additional amount for the dishonor brought upon God. But this, man himself was unable to do. Hence it was determined that the Son of God, as God-man, should make this satisfaction. As God, he made satisfaction; and as man, he was surety for men in regard to what was yet deficient.* The principle which lies at the foundation of this theory is undoubtedly correct, and highly important. It makes a clear distinction between God's *essential* and *rectoral* justice;—a distinction which should never be overlooked in contemplating that *moral* necessity which renders the atonement indispensable to the salvation of sinners. The error of this plan is not in its fundamental and ruling principle, but in the attempted explanation of the "*modus operandi*" in its execution.

To describe the various and conflicting theories brought into being by the wand of theological diviners since the fifteenth century, would require more space than can be spared in this paper; but we may speak of them as to their prevailing tendencies. They exhibit two extremes:—one, seen in the historical sketch given above, based on the notion that the atonement is to be understood in the light of a commercial transaction, or the *literal* payment of a debt. The other not only objecting to these views, but rejecting the proper idea of atonement in any form. The first extreme represents God as angered, enraged, implacable, revengeful; that he could not be moved to compassion till he saw blood flow; that Christ so took the sinner's place, as to have the sins of men imputed to him—as to be regarded by divine justice as a sinner, and receive the *exact punishment due* the sinner in his own person. The second saw no reason why God should be displeased at all—denied the existence of *positive* divine punishments—disrobed Christ of his divinity, and made the importance of his work consist in the value of his doctrine and instruction: while his death was

* Ziegler's Essay. Historia Dogmatis de Redemptione.

merely that of a martyr, in which he gave an example of forgiveness toward his enemies, and firmness and patience under suffering, worthy of all imitation. These extremes have assumed various forms and modifications, preserving the while their respective characteristics. The first gave birth to Antinomianism; the last, to rationalism and infidelity.

But out of this contradiction and confusion of the theological world has arisen another theory, which takes the middle ground, professing to avoid what is objectionable in both the above-named extremes; discarding the unworthy and degrading views of God and the atonement held by those who defend the "*quid pro quo*" plan of redemption, and at the same time maintaining an evangelical position on purely Scriptural grounds, at an equal distance from the loose and skeptical notions of the Socinian school. This we shall denominate the Wesleyan, or Methodistic, theory; not because its chief features were not perceived before the days of Wesley, but because we are indebted to him and his coadjutors more than to any others for a plain and forcible explanation and Scriptural defense of it; and because it is the view adopted and cherished by Wesleyan Methodists both in England and America. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to an exposition of the nature of this theory. The works placed at the head of this article have contributed more to form the theological opinions of Methodists, than any, or all, other *human* productions; they are therefore justly considered standards, and as such we shall consult them in the course of our investigations. The method we propose embraces the following points:—

1. The character of the moral law and design of its penalty.
2. Christ, the sinner's substitute in satisfying for transgression.
3. The sense in which Christ's death meets the demands of penalty.

In discussing the subject of atonement, it is important to get a clear view of the *nature of God's law and the design of its penalty.* If the law be not unchangeable and eternal, an imbodiment of the moral perfection of God, it follows it is based on expediency, and may be maintained or not, without materially affecting the character of God or the claims of justice. But if the law of God be perfect in the measure of its holiness, justice, and goodness—in short, if it be but the expression of the infinite and eternal mind, with respect to himself and all created dependencies, then the aspect of the subject is wholly changed, and the necessity for supporting the law in its dignity and authority, without any abatement, finds its vindication in the infinite nature of God. That such is the

character of God's law, accords both with reason and Scripture. It would contravene reason to suppose the law of God, for the government of his moral universe, would not embrace the essential elements of his own perfection, and be clothed with his own authority: it would be to suppose a contrariety between the stream and its fountain.

"The law of God is a copy of the eternal mind, a transcript of the divine nature; yea, it is the fairest offspring of the 'everlasting Father,' the brightest efflux of his essential wisdom, the visible beauty of the 'Most High.'"—*Wesley's Sermons*, vol. i, p. 310.

The apostle says the law is "holy, just, and good." It is (*αγια*) holy; free from moral defect, the very essence of moral purity: (*δικαια*) just; promoting justice and punishing sin: (*αγαθη*) good; in its object and end, tending to secure the ends of benevolence, and adapted to display the perfections of the divine character.

"Under this condition of rational existence must Adam, therefore, and every other moral agent, have come into being; a condition, of course, to which he could not be a party—to which he had no right to be a party, had it been possible, but which was laid upon him: he was *made* under law, as all his descendants are born under law."—*Watson's Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 7.

As the law is not a thing of expediency, no more is its penalty. The penalty must be every way suited to the character of the law; indeed, its own moral nature is derived from the law. Hence, as the law is perfect, so also is the penalty; the justice of the penalty is equal to the justice of the law: it is as just, therefore, that the penalty should be inflicted upon the transgressor, as that the law itself should demand obedience. Indeed, penalty is an essential element of law—the union subsisting between it and law is *necessary* and *eternal*. All the arguments which enforce obedience to the law, whether derived from the nature of God, or the designs of his government, are equally forcible as reasons for the infliction of penalty when the precept is infracted. If the perfections of God enforce obedience, they also demand punishment where obedience is not rendered.

The primary design of penalty, as an essential accompaniment of God's published law, was twofold: to deter from sin, and, in case of transgression, to visit the offender with *just* and *deserved* punishment. And such was its nature, that its infliction upon the guilty would be an ample vindication of the law and its author, against any who might transgress. Had man remained as created, the object of the penalty would have been realized in preserving the moral subject in a sinless state: had he never been redeemed

from a fallen state, its design would have been completed in meeting the demands of justice by positive punishment. In either case the law would have been honored, and the authority of God maintained.

The human race have voluntarily become transgressors of this holy law, and have thereby incurred its righteous penalty. Goodness may be inclined to show mercy, but holiness must maintain an opposition to sin by an active display of justice. Holiness, as an attribute of God, is not *inferior* to goodness; hence, justice is not *subordinate* to mercy. The condition of the race is hopeless, unless deliverance can be effected upon some principle that will harmonize goodness and holiness, justice and mercy. Men, fallen and guilty, cannot save themselves, because in a state of *death;* and death cannot produce life. And should we allow the natural availableness of repentance, it would not relieve them; since both the disposition and power to repent are wanting. Nor can the law save them. By the law is the knowledge of sin,—not the knowledge of salvation. Disconnected with atonement it knows nothing of mercy. It makes an exhibition of its claims that annihilates hope in the breast of the guilty, and leaves them nothing to expect but the full execution of its threatened penalty. St. Paul says, "I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." Hence, "by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified,"—a declaration implying the impossibility of salvation to men in a fallen state, either by personal obedience to the law, or by suffering in their own persons the full extent of its penalty.

If this reasoning be correct, it follows, there is no hope for a condemned world only in a divine interposition that shall provide for extending pardon to the *guilty*. But how shall this be done? This is the great problem of Christianity. The numerous and various theories, and modifications of theories, presented as solutions of this problem, may be reduced to two propositions.

1. Pardon must be extended to the guilty on *mere clemency;* or,
2. A satisfaction must be offered of such a nature as will honor the law, and secure the ends of the divine administration, while the sinner is released, and allowed, if he will, to renew his allegiance to God.

To the salvation of sinners on *mere clemency* there are insuperable obstacles, founded in the *essential* and *rectoral* justice of God.

By the *essential* justice of God, we mean that manifestation of righteous displeasure against sin, *as such*, which has its foundation in the holiness of the divine character. God is of "purer eyes

than to behold iniquity." It is an *eternal* and *necessary* opposition to sin arising out of the nature of holiness, and has its outward revelations in the penal enactments of the divine law. Its retributive voice can no more be hushed in the presence of sin, than holiness can be abstracted from the divine nature. Hence, should God extend pardon on a principle that disregards the claims of his essential justice, he would contravene his own nature—resist and suppress the tendencies of holiness.

Rectoral justice is that which awards to moral beings according to their deeds, under a specified form of government. It has its foundation in the contrariety between sin and the best good of the moral world; and its maintenance is necessary to secure the ends of a holy and benevolent administration. It is the moral universe in arms against sin, because sin tends to defeat the happiness of the universe. To extend pardon to the guilty, regardless of the claims of rectoral justice, would be to give impunity to sin, and thus resist and suppress the tendencies of good government.

To any scheme, therefore, that would pardon the guilty without satisfaction, the essential holiness and justice of God, as well as public justice, must ever stand opposed. These constitute the ground of *necessity* for atonement, and prove the correctness of the second proposition, viz.: "A satisfaction must be offered of such a nature as will honor the law, and secure the ends of the divine administration, while the sinner is released, and allowed, if he will, to renew his allegiance to God."

"All this, it may be said, only proves that the *essential rectitude* of God required that such a government should be adopted, as should inflict some marked penalty on offenses. It proves this, but it proves more, viz., that the *divine rectitude* required that the *most effectual* means should be adopted to uphold these rights, both as they existed *primarily in God*, and *secondarily* in his creatures. . . . . It may, therefore, be confidently concluded that there is no relaxation of right in the divine administration, and no forgiveness of sin by the exercise of mere prerogative."—*Watson's Inst.*, vol. ii, pp. 93, 96.

Our way is now prepared for considering the second main feature in this subject, viz.:—

2. *Christ, the sinner's substitute in satisfying for transgression.* "He died for us;" "He tasted death for every man;" "He was wounded for our transgressions;" "He was made sin (a sin offering) for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;" "He hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us;" "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not

perish, but have everlasting life;" "God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all." Such is the language of the divine oracles; language which clearly enough proves the necessity of man relieved by the interposition of Christ; that he is the medium of access to God the Father, and, by his sufferings and death, the procuring and meritorious cause of human salvation.

For a knowledge of the plan of salvation, *through Christ*, we are wholly indebted to divine revelation. There is nothing in the actualities or possibilities of human wisdom that could have provided to meet the exigencies of the case; much less anticipate the measures God would adopt for demonstrating his righteousness in extending pardon to the guilty.

For centuries before the personal appearance of Christ there was a felt necessity for some more perfect and assuring method of approach to God. To the Jew this deficiency was in part relieved; yet it was but in part: for the promulgations of Sinai did but impress the mind that man cannot be just with God. The condition of the heathen was still worse; they felt that they were under a divine curse: and after their best endeavors at propitiation, there was an awful apprehension that the favor of God was not secured. Oppressed conscience and the ominous voice of nature spoke of guilt in man, and wrath in God: their superstitious rites and self-inflicted penances were inefficacious to quiet their alarmed fears. Reason had spent her strength,—philosophy exhausted her resources,—yet the fearful gloom was not removed. They might hope for favor, but there could be no peace without assurance. Assurance has come; it is found in the Christian doctrine of atonement. The despairing mind is alleviated by the announcement, that God has sent his Son to be the "propitiation" for the sins of the world, and by the language of the great Propitiator himself,—"I am the way, the truth, and the life."

There are two important points involved in this division of our subject, as taught in the Scriptures. 1. "Christ died for us:"—that is, as a substitute, not for the *penalty*, but for the *sinner*, in satisfying the demands of penalty. The penalty has its satisfaction in Christ, who, in this work, is the sinner's *vicar:* or, as Fletcher remarks, "The Lord Jesus hath ransomed our lives by laying down his own." "His life was laid down as the price of our redemption from everlasting death to everlasting life."—*Works*, vol. iii, p. 447. The second point relates to the death of Christ, as *necessary* to the result achieved. It is well expressed by Mr. Watson:—

"Sin could not be forgiven without a divine atonement. In order to the satisfaction of divine justice in regard to sinners, the incarna-

tion and death of the Son of God were *necessary*. The death of Christ is uniformly exhibited in Scripture, not as one expedient of many, but as the *only hope* of the guilty."—*Sermons*, vol. i, p. 386.—*Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 106.

Not to dwell upon the consequences (neither few nor unimportant) which flow from the doctrine of *mere expediency*, as to the death of Christ for the salvation of men, it will be sufficient to say, that the general tenor of Scripture coincides with the view given above.

We believe the Scriptures teach not merely a necessity for a gracious interposition for the benefit of man, but a *real necessity for the death of Christ;*—a necessity arising out of the moral condition and relations of man: and that he was not only the fittest, but the only instrument, by which this work could have been effected. How else can we understand the following passage:—"O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." Matt. xxvi, 39. Clarke, Benson, Scott, Fletcher, Holden, Burkitt, and others, understand our Lord to pray that the cup of suffering now presented to his lips might pass from him, if consistent with the divine purpose to redeem the world: and the fact that it did not pass from him, but he drank it in all its bitterness, is in proof that there was no other way of opening to the world the door of hope and salvation.

How else can we understand the words of Christ after his resurrection? "Thus it is written, and thus it *behooved* Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day." The Greek verb "ἔδει," translated *behooved*, is from δεω, to bind, chain, or fetter together. It conveys the idea of *necessity;* that is, that the death of Christ was so necessary to redemption, that the latter event was bound up in, or chained to, the former; and the former must take place, or the latter can never be effected. The same word in connection with παθειν "to suffer," is used by the Saviour in the twenty-sixth verse of the same chapter; indicating a necessary connection between his work as Redeemer and the salvation of lost men: or, as the Vulgate has it, *Sic oportebat Christum pati*,—literally, "It was needful that Christ should suffer."

And such is the uniform tenor of Scripture. Hence, says the apostle, "When we were yet *without strength*, in due time Christ died for the ungodly." Rom. v, 6. "Neither is there salvation in any other." Acts. iv, 12. "No man cometh unto the Father but by me." John xiv, 6. "He looked, and there was none to help him, and of the people there was none with him; therefore his own arm brought salvation, and his righteousness, it sustained him."

Isa. lix, 16; lxiii, 3. There is not the least intimation in the word of God that any other method than that adopted would have availed to open the channels of mercy, and avert the impendent doom of a condemned world. We conclude, therefore, that Christ was the "only hope of the guilty;" his condemnation was our justification; his death was our life; had he not died we must have borne the heavy load for ever.

These points being established, viz., Christ the sinner's substitute, and indispensable medium of access to God, we approach the third and last question proposed for discussion.

3. *The sense in which Christ's death meets the demands of penalty.* The general acknowledgment that Christ is our Saviour, and that he died for our sins, is made without hesitation. But *how* his death operates to procure our deliverance, or what is the *nature* of that satisfaction made for us, and by which justice is appeased and the penalty averted, is a point not unattended with difficulty. And yet it is of great practical importance. It involves principles fundamental to the whole Christian scheme, and vital in their influence on experimental and practical religion. This is the great question,—the question we propose now to consider. We have already adverted to the extremes into which theologians have run on the subject of atonement; one of which finds its *ultimatum* in Antinomianism, the other in Socinianism and infidelity. The true view, as appears to us, lies directly between these extreme points. *Christ did pay the sinner's debt;*—not absolutely, but conditionally; not in the exact kind and quantity of suffering which the sinner would have endured had no Saviour been provided, but in *such kind* and *amount* as God was pleased to accept as full satisfaction of the claims of justice, in behalf of those who repent and accept the proffered boon. It is no part of our business to determine what kind, and how much, of suffering was requisite to this end: this point may be safely left to the determination of Him whose law has been dishonored, and whose goodness has provided the remedy.

That the sufferings and death of Christ were *vicarious* and *propiatory*, and, as such, accepted as a satisfaction of divine justice in behalf of sinners, is, we think, evident from the following considerations:—

1. On no other hypothesis can the fact of his sufferings be accounted for. Christ did not suffer and die on his own account. He had violated no law, and was therefore obnoxious to no penalty. Being "undefiled," "without spot," one who "did always those things which pleased God," it is plain, however we may explain

his sufferings, they were not endured in his own behalf. Nor had he, being innocent, such connection with a guilty race as necessarily involved him in their calamities and sufferings. He had experienced no derangement of any department of his constitution. True, he possessed the nature of man, but not by natural generation; hence not man's fallen nature. The human nature of Christ was not involved in the penal consequences of the fall: it was created and assumed by Christ for a specific purpose,—"that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death; that is, the devil." Hence, the angel said to Mary, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore, also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." Nor yet is suffering a necessary accompaniment of a work of benevolence, as performed by holy beings, excluding the idea of expiation for offenses. To suppose this, is to suppose the active manifestation of love toward the needy, attended with pain; or the ministrations of holy angels for the benefit of our race, the occasion of a diminution of happiness to those "ministering spirits." But if Christ did not suffer for himself, nor as a consequence of being connected with a fallen race, nor yet because of a necessary union between a work of benevolence and suffering, only one conceivable alternative remains, viz., his sufferings were *vicarious*. By this we mean all that is implied in saying, he suffered in our room and stead, on account of our sins, and with the view of delivering us by his sufferings from the punishment due to us as guilty sinners.

We know a distinction has been made between vicarious suffering and punishment; a distinction that has been overlooked not only by Butler, but by Knapp, Watson, and others, whose minds were equally acute; and a distinction which in this case, to say the least, is without a difference. Considering Christ, as we have, as an innocent and holy being, we see nothing more incongruous in the idea of punishment than of suffering. That Christ did suffer, all admit; and these sufferings must have been *inflicted*. But he did not inflict them upon himself, though he did voluntarily endure them. By whom, then, were they inflicted, unless we allow the account given of it by Isaiah?—"The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all;" "It pleased the Lord to bruise him;" "He hath put him to grief;" or, to use the translation of Bishop Lowth:—"Jehovah hath made to light upon him the iniquity of us all. It was exacted, and he was made answerable." How well this agrees with the declaration of the apostle, (Rom. viii, 32,) "God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all," it needs no argu-

ment to show. On this passage Clarke remarks: "The only-begotten Son of God was not sacrificed in a *figure*, but *really*, in order to purchase every blessing that man can need, and that the hand of God can bestow."

Whether the passion and death of Christ be denominated suffering, or punishment, it amounts to the same thing. There can be no punishment without suffering; and in this case it is equally clear there could have been no suffering without punishment: the suffering life and painful death of the Son of God, taken together, should be regarded in the light of a sacrificial offering. We take the ground, therefore, that the penalty of God's violated law *finds its satisfaction in the death of Christ;* and that this satisfaction constitutes the meritorious ground of the sinner's justification before God. This we argue,

2. From those passages which declare that "Christ died *for us;*" "He died the just *for* the unjust;" "He suffered *for* us;" "He died *for* all;" "He tasted death *for* every man;" "He died *for* the ungodly;" "He gave himself a ransom *for* all;" "He was made a curse *for* us."

The Greek prepositions "*αντι*," and "*υπερ*," used in these quotations, signify, "on account of," and "instead of;" but most frequently are used in the latter sense, especially when anything is said to be done by one person for another. So King David: "Would to God I had died *for thee;*" evidently the expression of a wish that he had died in the *room*, or *stead*, of Absalom.

Tholuck* says, "*υπερ* may signify *in favorem et commodum alicujus;*† and does so in John x, 15; Titus xi, 14; where the death of Christ is spoken of: but it may likewise signify *loco*,‡ synonymously with *αντι*, in which sense it is also used with reference to the same subject." St. Paul illustrates the meaning of the preposition *αντι*, and by consequence the sense in which Christ died for sinners, when he says, "Scarcely *for* a righteous man will one die, yet, peradventure, *for* a good man some would even dare to die." Here, "to die for a good man," says Doddridge, "is to lay down one life in order to save another." But God's love was commended toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died *for* us; that is, he laid down his life in order to save the lives of sinners. But why did Christ do this? The answer is found in, "Thus it behooved Christ to suffer." This satisfaction was demanded by the law of God, as the indispensable condition of human redemption. This is singularly plain from Gal. iii, 13: "Christ hath re-

* Tholuck on Romans. † Out of favor, and for the benefit of others.
‡ In the room, or stead, of others.

deemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse *for us*." Christ hath redeemed us from what? *καταρας του νομου*, "the curse of the law." How? Being made *υπερ εμων καταρα*, "a curse for us, or in our stead." Watson says, "*καταρα* everywhere denotes punishment proceeding from the sanction of law;" and he refers to 2 Peter ii, 14, and Matt. xxiii, 41, as proof. The curse rested upon the world "by the sanction of law." Christ took that curse upon himself, and by the sanction of the divine law the curse was endured by him in the room, or in stead, of the world; hence his sufferings and death were *penal*.

"When this phraseology is used in the New Testament with reference to Christ, it never means that he died to teach men, &c., but always, *instead, in the place, of men, to deliver them*. The meaning is this: since Christ suffered for our sins, we ourselves are freed from the necessity of enduring the punishment which they deserved."*

3. This is further evident from those passages which say Christ *bare* the sins of men. "The Lord hath laid *on him* the iniquity of us all—he shall *bear* their iniquities;" "Who himself *bare* our sins in his own body on the tree;" "Christ was once offered to *bear* the sins of many."

The verb *ανενεγκειν* is correctly translated *to bear;* being derived from a word which literally signifies *to bear, endure, support* what properly belongs to others, and thus confer a favor or benefit.

Now, we ask, in what other way could Christ *bear* the sins of fallen creatures, than by enduring punishment or suffering in their place? In no other way that we can conceive of, could he, by suffering, confer a favor on guilty sinners. It is useless to think of obviating this conclusion by regarding the death of Christ simply as "an expression of the evil of sin, of the divine abhorrence of it, and of the unalterable purpose of God to insist upon obedience:" for how could it be an expression of the evil of sin, &c., unless it was endured as the penal consequence of sin? And how could any benefit or favor thereby accrue to the sinner, unless Christ so suffered for him as to deliver him from the necessity of suffering for himself? To grant deliverance to the guilty on any other principle, would be to place forgiveness on ground independent of the atonement: that is, make the natural generosity of God sufficient security for the pardon of the penitent. We conclude, therefore, these passages teach the penal substitutionary character of Christ's sufferings; or, to use the language of Prof. Stuart,

* Knapp's Theology, vol. ii, p. 305.

ανενεγκειν, "to bear the sins means to bear the punishment, that is, to suffer the penalty due to sins."*

4. That the sufferings and death of Christ were penal and propitiatory, is conclusive from those passages which represent Christ as our *propitiation* and his death as *propitiatory*.

"To propitiate is to appease, to atone, to turn away the wrath of an offended person. In the case before us, the wrath turned away is the wrath of God; the person making the propitiation is Christ; the propitiating offering, or sacrifice, is his blood."—*Watson's Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 113.

God, the righteous lawgiver and governor, is justly displeased with man on account of sin—not so displeased as to be implacable; his displeasure moves in harmony with the benevolence of his character and government: hence it opposes an insuperable barrier to the world's release from condemnation and punishment, except upon terms that will vindicate his authority, honor the law, and secure the ends of a righteous administration. So far from being implacable,—actuated by a feeling of revenge,—the scheme of redemption has its foundation in his benevolence; he gives his own Son to execute the only plan that could effect the world's deliverance, in keeping with his attributes and the principles of eternal justice. Hence the following passages:—"Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." Rom. iii, 25. "And he is the propitiation for our sins." 1 John ii, 11. "God loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." 1 John iv, 10. The argument from these passages must turn upon the meaning of the words *ιλασμος* and *ιλαστηριον*: they are both derived from *ιλασχω*, which, says Watson, is often used by Greek writers to express the action of a person appointed "to turn away the wrath of a Deity."

Ιλαστηριον is an adjective, and must be joined with some noun understood. "The choice," says Tholuck, "lies between two,—*επίθεμα* and *θυμα*. If we choose the former the text will read, *propitiatory covering, or lid;* in Heb. ix, 5, denominated "mercy-seat," in allusion to Exodus xxv, 17, and Lev. xvi, 14, where the priest in making atonement was directed to sprinkle blood upon the "mercy-seat." Stuart says, "Ιλαστηριον understood in reference to this, might be translated the place or instrument of propitiation; the mercy-seat on which God was supposed to be seated, as on his throne; and from which he dispensed mercy when atonement was made for the sins of the people, by sprinkling it with blood."†

* Stuart on Heb., p. 454. † Stuart on Heb.

The ancient mercy-seat, therefore, and the services connected with it, were propitiatory in their character; and while they were efficacious in procuring the favor of God for the people, they likewise constituted the divinely appointed representation of Christ, the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," who has now become the true and real mercy-seat, or instrument of propitiation. Paul says, "If the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your consciences from dead works to serve the living God? And for this cause he is the Mediator of the new testament, that by means of death for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance."

If we connect *θὺμα* with *ἱλαστηριον*, we have, as the literal rendering, *propitiatory sacrifice*—"whom God hath set forth a propitiatory sacrifice, through faith in his blood." This view has the suffrage of Tholuck, as "most eligible, especially since it has in the New Testament the analogy of doctrine more decidedly in its favor."

Whether we consider *θύμα* or *επιθεμα* as the noun to be supplied, the signification clearly is, that the sacrifice of Christ was a real expiation, or propitiation, for the sins of the world. If we were obliged to fall back upon *επιθεμα* as the most proper word to be connected with *ἱλαστηριον*, the sense would not be altered, though it would be conveyed by a figure: for, to use the language of the eminent author last quoted,—"As the lid of the ark of the covenant, when sprinkled with blood, imparted to the Israelite a firm confidence of the forgiveness of his sins, in like manner the Saviour, and especially his death, is the security for our redemption, to which we may believingly look."*

The literal signification of *ἱλασμος* in 1 John ii, 2, and iv, 10, is *propitiation, atonement, expiation*,—words which, used as they are in the Scriptures in connection with the work of Christ for sinners, must, we think, convey to every unsophisticated mind the idea of satisfaction rendered for the sins of men by the personal sufferings of Jesus Christ. The learned Knapp translates the word *propitiator*, and remarks:—"Christ took upon himself, and bare the sins of men; that is, endured the punishment which men would have endured for their sins."†

5. That the sufferings and death of Christ were *penal* and *pro-*

* Comment. on Rom. iii, 25. † Theology, vol. ii, p. 306.

pitiatory (not figuratively, but really so) is evident, from the fact that the Scriptures make our justification and salvation depend upon faith in Christ, as having redeemed us by his *blood and death.*

It is the uniform doctrine of the Bible that our justification flows from the death of Christ. He redeemed us with his "precious blood." It "behooved Christ to suffer;" "that remission of sins might be preached in his name." Faith in Christ as having died for us, is made the *sine qua non* of our justification. We are said to be justified "by his blood;" "through faith in his blood;" "reconciled to God by the death of his Son;" and so on.

Of the many passages of this character that might be quoted at length, we present Rom. iii, 24–26, as being remarkably full and clear:—"Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time, his righteousness: that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

This paragraph sets forth three points, all which unite in confirming the doctrine of this article.

1. The justification of the sinner is an *act of grace.* "Being justified freely by his grace."

2. As an act of the divine administration, it is an *act of justice.* "That he might be *just* and the justifier of him which believeth:" it is no infraction of the justice of God; it requires no abatement of the claims of law to remit the sins of the guilty.

3. The claims of justice are harmonized with the work of mercy in extending pardon to the guilty. How? "Through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a *propitiation, through faith in his blood.*"

Mercy finds the channel of divine favor open to the lost sinner through the redeeming blood of Christ. Justice points to the propitiatory sacrifice and blood of Christ as the full satisfaction of its demands, while the sword is sheathed and a dispensation of grace is granted to a guilty world. "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." O wonderful plan! "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!!"

"Here the whole Deity is known,
Nor dares a creature guess
Which of the glories brightest shone,
The justice or the grace."

"God is judge in this process; not by the law of creation and of works, but by the law of redemption and grace. Not as merely just, though just; but as merciful. Not as merciful in general, and *ex nuda voluntate*, without any respect had to satisfaction; but as propitiated by the blood of Christ, and having accepted the propitiation made by his blood."—*Lawson.*

Such are the views of atonement presented and advocated by the standard writers of Methodism, as is clear from the following quotations:—

"In the fulness of time he (Christ) was made man, another common head of mankind, a second general parent and representative of the whole human race. And as such it was that 'he bare our griefs,' 'the Lord laying on him the iniquity of us all.' Then was he 'wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities.' 'He made his soul an offering for sin;' he poured out his blood 'for the transgressors;' 'he bare our sins in his own body on the tree;' that by 'his *stripes* we might be healed;' and by that one oblation of himself, once offered, he hath redeemed me, and all mankind; having thereby made a 'full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.' In consideration of this, that the Son of God 'hath tasted death for every man,' God hath now reconciled the world unto himself; 'not imputing to them their former trespasses.' And thus . . . the plain Scriptural notion of justification is pardon, the forgiveness of sins. It is that act of God the Father, whereby, for the sake of the *propitiation* made by the *blood of his Son*, he 'showeth forth his righteousness by the remission of sins that are past.'"—*Wesley's Works*, vol. i, pp. 46, 47.

"The agony of our Lord was a conflict; a violent struggle; a grappling and wrestling with the deepest horror; the agitation of a breast penetrated with the greatest sense of fear and amazement. The cause of his agony was, 1. The powers of darkness, legions of devils who poured on his *devoted head* their utmost rage and malice. Every wound which sin had given, and the devil had power to inflict, the pure and naked bosom of Jesus opened itself to receive. 2. The feeling of the weight of the wrath of God, (and who knoweth the power of his wrath?) as kindled against sin; the terrors of the Lord; the cup of trembling; the withdrawing of God's comfortable presence."—*Fletcher's Works*, vol. iv, p. 260.

"In all his sufferings, and in the depth of his humiliation, he possessed the glories of the Godhead; which ennobled and dignified, beyond conception and beyond bounds, all that he did, and all that he underwent for the salvation of sinners. Such a Saviour, being the gift of the divine Father to miserable men, must be a present of infinite value; and as it could proceed from nothing but infinite mercy and love, so it renders our salvation consistent with infinite justice and purity."—*Ib.*, vol. iii, p. 469.

"But the crowning purpose of our Lord's incarnation was, that he might suffer for the sins of men. His body was prepared for this very

purpose. He was made flesh that he might hunger and thirst, endure the contempt of the people, weep over Jerusalem, feel the hour and the power of darkness, agonize in the garden, and die upon the cross, and thus *pay the penalty*, the rigid satisfaction, death for death, and redeem a guilty world. . . . The death of Jesus Christ is the sacrifice of a divine person.

> "His Godhead with the manhood join'd,
> For every soul atonement made."
>
> *Watson's Sermon on the Incarnation of the Eternal Word.*

"He (Dr. Taylor) cannot allow that the death of Christ should be considered as *a price paid down* for the salvation of men; and I confess I cannot understand the apostle in any other way. Nor can I see the weight of many of his observations, nor the force of his conclusions, on any other ground than this,—that the passion and death of Christ were an atonement made *to divine justice* in the behalf of man; and that it is through the merit of that great sacrifice that God forgives sin. Nor can I see any reason why such great stress should be laid on faith, but as that lays hold on and takes up the sacrifice of Christ, as a *ransom price* for the redemption of the soul from the thraldom and misery of sin and Satan."—*Clarke on Romans* iii.

A brief notice of a few objections to the foregoing view of atonement will form the conclusion of this article.

Objection 1st. "It involves the doctrine of imputed guilt to the innocent character of Christ."

This is a *non sequitur;* it only involves a transfer of the *legal consequences* of guilt. And to suppose this impossible, is to war with fact. A certain form of this transfer (though not for the same end) exists in the case of the infant world; who, being themselves innocent of any participation in crime, do, nevertheless, experience in part the consequences of another's guilt.

It is a fact that persons may, and that some persons have, voluntarily assumed the consequences of the sins of others. This, to some extent, is done by every philanthropist, who, in the benevolence of his heart, foregoes ease, and endures labor and suffering, and expends his temporal substance, to save the profligate from the effects of their evil deeds. This was done by the Lockrian king, who, by the voluntary loss of one of his own eyes, saved his son from the full infliction of the terrible penalty he had incurred:—an act which has received universal commendation, and has been employed by many divines as a singularly apt illustration of the subject of atonement.

"If King Codrus loved his subjects so far as to disguise and offer himself to death, in order to procure them certain temporal advantages; if the Deciuses and Curtiuses felt so strong an interest in the welfare

of their country as to sacrifice their lives in order to deliver their fellow-citizens from a transient calamity; if a Swiss so generously devoted himself to death, by running to Sampach covered with the lances of conflicting hosts, to clear the way for his victorious companions; if mothers have sacrificed their own lives to preserve those of their children; is it not absurd to say that infinite bounty never could, and never would, perform an act of compassion equally glorious and efficacious, to deliver millions of souls from more dreadful miseries, and to procure to them the blessings of an infinite duration, and of an inestimable value?" —*Fletcher*, vol. iv, p. 223.

We know that these are rare examples, and that none of them come up fully to the Bible view of atonement, in connection with which there is a mystery, sublimity, and glory, found nowhere else; yet they all involve more or less the principle on which the mediation of Christ proceeds: and the fewness and imperfection of the examples, should not be employed as an argument to invalidate the principle.

But suppose, for the sake of the argument, that the experience and observation of men furnish no instances which bear the slightest analogy to the proceeding against which this objection is urged, it would not follow that there would be any impropriety in it. It is not safe to infer from the regulations men have established among themselves in this world, what would, or would not, be proper in a *divine plan* for the redemption of sinners. We may reason from the analogy of the *divine* government in *this world*, and here the argument is in our favor; but we must not regulate the divine proceedings by the analogy of human governments. It is the business of courts of justice to administer law as it is established by the supreme power of the state: hence they have no right to require or accept a substitute in criminal cases. The subordinate judicatories of the Lockrian kingdom had no right to adopt the expedient resorted to by the king;—there was nothing in the laws delivered to them which would authorize it. But the king, being the source of all law and authority to his subjects, might adopt any expedient within his power that would honor the law, support justice, and at the same time save his erring son. If, therefore, we had no revelation on the subject, and if the government of God furnished us with nothing illustrative of the principle, still, it would be an assumption which no one has a right to make,—to say that God may not allow a substitute to receive the penal consequences of sin in his own person, and thus let in light and hope upon a doomed world.

Moreover, if the objection under consideration be deemed valid, how are men to be saved? If Christ was not treated as a sinner for our sake, how are we to be treated as righteous for his sake?

If Christ was not condemned on account of *our sins*, how are we to be justified on account of *his death?* And how shall we understand the apostle:—"He who knew no sin was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." This view leaves the sinner without a meritorious sacrifice, without a guaranty of pardon, unless he may be justified on ground independent of the death of Christ.

Objection 2d. Another objection is based upon the supposed "impossibility that Christ should suffer to the extent necessary to honor the law by satisfying for the sins of men." But the question, we humbly conceive, does not relate to *quantity* but *value;* not commercial but *moral* value. If there be any force in the objection, it goes to say, there was not sufficient moral value in the sufferings of Christ to constitute a satisfaction in view of which the penalty may be waived, and pardon offered to the guilty. But by what standard is the value of Christ's sufferings to be determined? By his humanity? If so, then, indeed, is the objection valid, but the objector stands on Socinian ground; and to be consistent, he should go a step further, and deny the Godhead of the Saviour. We can just as well dispense with the divinity of Christ's nature, as the super-humanity of his sufferings. But if the infinite character of Christ as God, as well as man, forms the standard by which to compute the value of his sufferings, then, who is competent to determine the value with so much exactness, as to say it is insufficient for the purposes of redemption?

Objection 3d. It procures the sinner's release "on legal principles, to the exclusion of grace." This is a mistake, as will appear from the following considerations:—

1. The whole scheme is the effect of divine benevolence. "God so loved the world," &c. The foundation of the entire arrangement is laid in *grace*. Hence it is denominated "the gospel of the *grace* of God."

2. The object of atonement as effected by Christ was to remove the obstacles to human salvation, so that *grace* might flow to the sinner in harmony with holiness and justice; that he might be "justified *freely by his grace*, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."

3. The redemption of the world by Christ secures the salvation of the individual sinner, *only on condition of his faith:*—a condition which the *grace* of God enables him to perform. The vicarious death of the Saviour does not make void *divine grace*. "But as sin abounded, *grace* did much more abound; that, as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might *grace* reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord."

ART. VII.—*On Natural Theology.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D., &c. In 2 vols. New-York: Robert Carter. Pittsburg: Thomas Carter.

WHATEVER Chalmers publishes to the world is worthy of the world's attention. He brings to the investigation of subjects a mind almost unequaled for originality, deep research, discrimination, and power. He does not write for fame, but because he has a noble purpose to accomplish. The exigency of the times constrains him to take up his pen; and he writes because he has something to say. Neither does he beat the air, when he assails an error, or sets himself to defend a truth. He needs no eulogium on his own account, and his name is good recommendation of any book he pleases to publish.

Still, for the purpose of commending this treatise to inquirers after truth, it may be highly proper to give it a place among the works noticed in our excellent Review. We have no recollection of seeing this work noticed in our publications; and this is our apology for presuming, through this medium, to offer our observations to the public. And we now apprise our readers that we do not intend to review the whole of this treatise, but only to notice a few things in the beginning of it which we think especially worthy of attention.

The preface gives just enough of information respecting the nature and design of the work to enable the reader to form a pretty correct idea of the nature and importance of the subject before him. It opens by stating that the science of theology may be presented to the student in two different ways. The first method—which is the more common—is to begin with the being and character of God; "and then from this point of departure a demonstration is carried forward, in the footsteps of the history of the divine administration, from the first purposes of the uncreated mind to the final issues of his government in eternity."

The other method is, to begin "with that sense of God which is so powerfully suggested to every man by his own moral nature;" and treat the subject "in the order of those inquiries which are natural to the exercised spirit of an individual man from the outset of his religious earnestness when the felt supremacy of conscience within tells him of a law and tells him of a Lawgiver."

By the first method, the works of our best authors proceed "in the chronological order of the history of the divine government;" descending "synthetically from principles which have their resi-

dence in the constitution of the Godhead, and which transport us back to past eternity."

"By the second arrangement we are made to ascend in the order of man's fears and of his efforts to get relieved of them." Thus reversing the order of the first method, and so passing on through an early consideration of man's depravity, the character and government of God, the sanctions and requisitions of his law, the remedial dispensation, &c.: "thence, finally, and after the settlement of all that was practical and pressing, to the solution of the difficulties which are grappled with at the outset of the former scheme of theology." Our author does "not rigorously adhere to either of these methods;" but proceeds in such order as the state of the case seemed to render most expedient.

The treatise fills two volumes, 12mo., of four hundred pages each, and is divided into five books.

At the risk of "nauseating those of quick and powerful understanding," our author thought it advisable to be quite diffuse, and to employ many illustrations in the first two chapters of his preliminary views, in order, as he says, "to give the most plain and intelligible notices of their way even unto babes."

In reading this portion one cannot but feel sensibly the propriety of such an apology; for, in truth, the same idea will be so frequently presented in similar dress and relation, that one is in danger of becoming wearied of it before it is dismissed.

This, to some extent, is a trait in all the publications of this author which we have examined.

These two chapters are, "On the Distinction between the Ethics of Theology and the Objects of Theolgy;" and "On the Duty which is laid upon Man by the Probability, or even the Imagination, of a God." The next two chapters treat "Of the Metaphysics which have been resorted to on the Side of Theism."

In this part of the work we find particularly noticed Dr. S. Clarke's celebrated *a priori* argument on the being of a God; and Mr. Hume's objection to the *a posteriori* argument, grounded on the assertion that the world is a singular effect. Our author apprehends that some may be disposed to complain of the "impracticable obscurity" of these two chapters. But he thinks "the complaint should be laid not on the author, but on the necessities of his subject."

He solicits the attention of the more profound class of readers to the fourth chapter, which treats of Hume's celebrated argument on the side of atheism. The infidelity of this philosopher, he thinks, has never been adequately met by any of his opponents.

The error, in his opinion, has been this:—those arrayed against Hume have "conjured up a new principle for the purpose of refuting his especial sophistries;" and introduced "two gratuitous," and, he thinks, "questionable, additions to mental philosophy in the shape of two distinct and original laws of the human mind, which, anterior to the date of his speculations, never had been heard of; and probably never would, but for the service they were imagined to render in the battles of the faith."—*Preface*, p. 12.

Holding himself independent of these auxiliaries, our author proceeds to show, from the principle laid down by Hume himself, the entire fallacy of his argument. The last chapter of the first book is "On the Hypothesis that the World is eternal."

We give this sketch of the subjects of the first book, principally for the purpose of affording those who may not have examined the treatise, a little insight into our author's singular manner of treating the subject of natural theology. The other four books will compare with the first, in the important and interesting nature of their contents.

The first chapter of the treatise is devoted to the ethics of theology. And, with the author's usual prolixity, it extends through fifty-five pages. The principal effort of this chapter is to show the importance of distinguishing between the *objects* and the *ethics* of theology.

It is generally admitted that the duties we owe to God spring from the relations which we sustain to him. And it may, therefore, at first, appear that unless we have a clear understanding of the nature of the divine Being, we cannot obtain just conceptions of our relations and corresponding obligations. In other words, a knowledge of the *ethics* of theology might appear to be founded on a knowledge of the *objects* of theology. And as the principal object of theology is the infinite Being, who dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see;—having never seen his shape, nor heard his voice—and it being utterly beyond the power of any of our senses to obtain any perception of him;—it may appear that a knowledge of our duties must be as imperfect as our knowledge of the nature of God.

We may, indeed, have some faint illumination of mind concerning his wisdom, power, and glory, reflected from the visible creation; yet we are utterly unable to comprehend his holiness, benevolence, omnipresence, and eternity. And much of the operation of his government seems to be enshrouded with the most impenetrable mystery. How, then, it may be asked, shall we arrive at

any certainty in relation to the *ethics* of theology, if God, the principal *object* of theology, is so hopelessly beyond our reach?

Our author relieves us by a very extended and familiar illustration drawn from natural philosophy. But we must, in the first place, clearly discriminate between the *objects* and the *ethics* of the science. He says:—

"To understand this distinction, let us conceive some certain relation between two individual men;—as, for example, of a benefactor to a dependent, or one who has conferred a kindness to another who has received it. There is a moral or ethical propriety that springs out of this relation. It is that of gratitude from the latter of these individuals to the former of them. Gratitude is the incumbent virtue in such a case, and a benefactor is the object of that virtue."—P. 20.

Our author even takes the ground that to make gratitude a duty, it is not necessary that the benefactor be an actual existent. He continues:—

"Let a benefactor only be supposed to exist, and then we affirm, with as great readiness, that gratitude would be due to him. The incumbent morality is alike recognized, whether we behold a real object, or only figure to ourselves a hypothetical one. The morality, in fact, does not depend for its rightness on any such contingency as the actual and substantive existence of a proper object to which it may be rendered. The virtuousness of gratitude would remain a stable category in ethical science, although never once exemplified in the living world of realities; we derived our only notion of it from the possibilities which were contemplated in an ideal world of relations."—P. 21.

This is sufficiently startling; and certainly deserves careful investigation. It seems, however, to agree remarkably with our instinctive virtues. Let us be the conscious recipients of blessings, and even be so misinformed in relation to our benefactor as to have conceptions of him totally false in respect to his personality; yet, notwithstanding, we instinctively feel emotions of gratitude toward that false or ideal benefactor. The nature of the object may produce some modification of the gratitude excited; but it is evident that it is not the object itself that excites the emotion. This is produced by the *consciousness of being blest.*

Knowledge of the *benefaction* is necessary in order to *awaken the emotion;* but the knowledge of the *benefactor* in order to show to what object to *direct* it. Neither do our conceptions of the propriety of the virtue in the case depend on the knowledge of *many* objects to which it may be directed. Distinct conception of a single benefactor will be as efficacious as the knowledge of any number, however great.

While this may be true of our knowledge of the *ethics* of the case, it will not prove true in regard to the knowledge of the *objects:* this must be obtained by the inductive method; which may also be applied to the science of mind. "But the knowledge of ethics belongs to another and a distinct philosophy."

Our author now proceeds to a familiar and lucid illustration of the nature of *ethical* knowledge, as distinguished from knowledge of the *object;* from the difference between the *mathematics* and the *facts* of natural philosophy. He says:—

"The *objects* or data of science are ascertained by the evidence of observation; but the mathematics of the science proceed on an evidence of their own, and land us in sound and stable mathematical conclusions, whether the data at the outset of the reasoning be real or hypothetical. The moral proprieties, founded in equity between man and man, would remain like so many fixtures in ethical science, though the whole species were swept away, and no man could be found to exemplify our conclusions. The mathematical proprieties, founded on an equality between line and line, would in like manner abide as eternal truths in geometry, although matter were swept away from the universe, and there remained no bodies whose positions or whose distances had to be reasoned on."—P. 25.

It can be no objection to this argument, that, in order to apply it, we must make the tremendous transition from the finite to the infinite; for a triangle, whose base is the diameter of the earth, and which is applied to ascertain the distance or dimensions of Jupiter, is precisely the same in its essential properties, and in the certainty of its demonstrations, as one drawn on a slip of paper, and applied to ascertain the distance and dimensions of an object within the reach of the hand. And it does not matter to what object the triangle may be applied; it ever remains the same in its essential properties. Neither does it matter how *limited* or *extensive* our knowledge of the *objects to which geometry may be applied:* geometrical truth may be equally understood by the philosopher confined to his study, and by him who surveys the heavens from his observatory. Nor does a *new* object, of whatever distance, magnitude, or relation, make any change in our geometry. Our knowledge of mathematics would not, by the new object, be either increased or diminished. The new object does not *supply* the mathematics, but finds them already in existence; and as well adapted to the strange object as to those familiarly understood. Thus the same geometry which measures the objects in the familiar landscape, also measures those in the skies. Our author says:—

"It is enough that the triangle which comprehends any portion, however small, of his paper, hath the same relation and properties with the triangle which comprehends any portion, however large, of immensity. It is enough that what is predicated of the line which extends but a few inches, may also be predicated of the same line when prolonged to the outskirts of creation. And thus it is, that after observation hath done its work, and collected what may be styled the facts of astronomy, there is a capability in the human spirit, and upon no other materials than what may lie within the compass of a table, to unravel the principles of its wonderful mechanism; and in the little chamber of thought, to elaborate a doctrine which shall truly represent the universe, and is realized in its most distant processes.

"Whence were these mathematics derived? For our present purpose it is a sufficient answer to this question, that he did not go abroad for them. They may have enabled him to scan the cycles of heaven; but most certainly heaven's lofty concave is not the page from which his geometry was drawn."—P. 34.

We have endeavored to give our readers a glimpse of our author's reasoning thus far, with as much clearness and fullness as would consist with a review. If our observations seem unnecessarily extended and simplified, it is because we could not, with greater brevity, do justice to our author; who in this part of the work is so diffuse, and takes so much pains to simplify, that he himself apprehended danger of "nauseating" those of more discriminating and powerful minds. To consist with his design, it is quite necessary that his views thus far should be understood with all possible clearness.

Having prepared the way for the application of his argument, he thus proceeds:—

"And just so it is in moral philosophy. This science hath its objects that are ascertained by observation; and, apart from these, it hath its ethics, in which it can assign the moral relations that subsist between these objects. The facts of the science are just as distinct from the ethics of the science, as the facts of natural philosophy are from the mathematics of natural philosophy."—P. 35.

But can we ascertain the relation that man sustains to God, and his corresponding obligations, without a knowledge of the divine Being? By no means: no more than we could ascertain the relations the earth might sustain to an undiscovered planet. In order to *apply* mathematics, the object must be known. But this does not prove that the geometry may not be understood previously. The discovery of the new body would not create, or essentially modify, the geometry which may be applied to it. It finds the science already in existence and ready for its appropriate use.

And so with the ethics of moral science: they are not called into

being or essentially modified by new objects of the science, however near at hand or afar off, common or unusual.

We are now fully prepared to perceive how we may make the transition from the terrestrial to the celestial in moral science. It is not far from one *species of ethics* to another; but, *with the same ethics*, from one *object* to another. Just as in natural philosophy, with the same familiar mathematics, we transfer them from the more usual and near-at-hand objects to the more distant and sublime, without any essential change in the geometry itself. Our author says:—

"He who can resolve a triangle whose angles are inndivisible points on the parchment that lies before him, can resolve a triangle whose angles are planets in the firmament. And all that he requires to know, are the facts or the objects of the celestial physics, to make his mathematics as available in the natural philosophy whose field is the heaven, as he may have already made them in the natural philosophy whose field is this lower world.

"In like manner he who can assign the properties of that relation which subsists between a dependent family and their earthly benefactor, can assign the properties of that relation which subsists between the whole species and their heavenly benefactor. For this purpose he has no new ethics to learn; and all that he requires to know are the facts or the objects of this higher relationship, to make the ethics which he already has, as available in the moral philosophy whose field is the heaven above, as he has already made them in the moral philosophy whose field is the world below."—P. 38.

If it is anything in a writer's favor that he will not leave a point until he knows that the intelligent reader must understand him, our author's excellence in this respect is beyond dispute. But in striving for this kind of excellence he was aware, as he forewarns us, that it would be likely to "nauseate" those of quick and powerful minds.

At this stage of the argument the author very properly proceeds to show more distinctly the necessity and principal design of a revelation from heaven. And he does not depart from his favorite field of reflection—philosophy. As the mathematics and the objects of the sublimest department of philosophy have already been made to perform valuable service in his enterprise, so now the *instruments* of the science shall act their appropriate parts under his direction. The ubiquitous monument of Galileo—the telescope—occupies a position in the science too conspicuous to be overlooked by one delighting in the sublime. The wide transition in natural philosophy, from objects near at hand to the telescopic worlds, may be considered analogous to the not less wide transition in moral philosophy, from the terrestrial to the celestial. As,

in the first, the *telescope* is indispensable; so, in the last, the *Bible* is indispensable. But it is not the office of the telescope to give a *new geometry* to science; although it may supply the data of many a geometrical exercise. Its principal design, we well know, is to aid our feeble vision in obtaining knowledge of those *objects*, which, without the instrument, would be for ever unknown to us. We might, indeed, as did the ancients, from analogy, or imagination, *infer* the existence of many more than we could see; and attempt to demonstrate their complex relations. But *certainty* would be out of the question; and all attempt to harmonize and demonstrate a theory would, doubtless, end as the mighty efforts of the ancients did. They had geometry, and did admirably apply it to objects as far as they had light. The *telescope* was wanted, not as a pencil to calculate, but as an eye to see. It came. The effect upon the scientific world we do not stop to mention. Our author says:—

"A teacher from heaven, even though he should confine himself to the revelations of such facts and objects as had been before wrapped from human eye in the depths of their own mysteriousness,—though he should simply lift the veil from that which was before unseen, or, by the notices that he brought with him from the upper sanctuary, should bring forward into view a spiritual landscape, which, by its remoteness, was dim, at least, if not altogether invisible—though he should not be the expounder of any new morality at all,—might be the expounder of facts that would meet and call forth a doctrine, or a previous discernment of morality, which had been already in the world." —P. 40.

The Bible is the telescope of theology. What ancient mythologists seemed most to need, was, not to be informed that there is a Being superior to man, and that men are under obligations to him, for of this their own sages discoursed and their noblest bards sublimely chanted. They had the twilight of religious day. And so far as their light discovered to them the *objects* of theology, so far they seemed to have rational convictions of the proprieties founded on their perceived relations. What they appeared to need most, was authentic information respecting the proper object of human worship. The ethics they seemed to understand.

The human mind is so constituted that it delights in perfection: it desires to have everything matured or complete. When a science is imperfectly understood this disposition tends to discover, or to supply, what is necessary for the completion of that which is understood in part. And if the true light is not to be obtained, that which seems clearest, whether emanating from history, or flashing from the imagination, is very naturally employed.

Thus the ancients, already possessing some rational perceptions of the divine Being, but lacking that which was necessary to complete their knowledge, and supposing, quite naturally, that men are the noblest beings next to the gods,—what was lacking that was necessary to complete their imperfect conceptions, they drew from corrupted tradition or supplied from themselves; but principally, it would seem, from themselves: "They became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." So they had "gods many, and lords many;" some greater, some less;—divinities, like themselves, with corrupt appetites and passions.

The whole system of ancient mythology was nothing but some noble outlines traced upon the mind by the hand of traditional revelation, filled out and colored by the ambitious promptings of a depraved imagination. And this is, doubtless, the true solution of the common adage, the substance of which is, "Show us the gods of the people, and we will show the people of the gods." Such divinities as the light of mythology revealed to men they acknowledged and worshiped with a consistency which is worthy of our imitation. The ethics in the case not only existed, but operated.

Now, all must perceive how admirably the Scriptures are calculated to supply this lack of information. They do not begin by proving that there is a God: this would have been unnecessary. The sublime communication is opened with the *doings* of God; and gradually, but clearly, displays him in his unity, spirituality, goodness, holiness, and power. And it is not done didactically, or in the form of a regular science: the world needed to obtain the knowledge in a more agreeable and impressive manner. The Bible, therefore, lifts the veil that had concealed the divine Being from the world; and he is exhibited in the theatre of his sublime performances, creating and governing the universe. None who credit its communications, can remain ignorant of the true object of adoration.

It is not the *only* object of the Bible, however, to communicate knowledge of the objects of theology: men are depraved, and indisposed to obey the requirements which are not agreeable to fallen nature, however clearly the proprieties of the case may be revealed. They need the influence of the most powerful motives to incite them to deny themselves of ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in the world. And, furthermore, the world needed to have placed before them the divine method of salvation. All this the Bible does.

Do not the Scriptures appear continually to appeal—as to a pre-

vious conviction of a God—so to a previously understood ethics? What mean the multitudinous passages of this character? "Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Is he not thy Father that hath bought thee?" "If, then, I be a Father, where is my honor? And if I be a Master, where is my fear?" "And why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things I command you?"

It will be readily perceived that this question must have an important bearing on the doctrine of human depravity. Our author perceived this, and has met whatever of difficulty might be supposed to exist in the case. He is too thoroughly orthodox to permit himself to advocate any sentiment that is opposed to evangelical soundness; and too good a logician to throw out ideas before examining them in all their legitimate bearings. Whether we have quoted him, condensed the expression of his views, or added—as we have freely—observations of our own, we trust we have done him no injustice. And now may we not pause to inquire whether his views entirely accord with the views of Calvinistic churches, on the subject of depravity? To us it is evident that there is a diversity of opinion on this subject, even in the churches usually regarded as orthodox. It seems to be generally supposed that Arminians and Calvinists agree on this point. But is it not evident that many of the New School Calvinists are Pelagian and semi-Pelagian? And from such superficial views, there seems to be a shading down to Calvinists of the Calvinian school. With these last it seems to be generally supposed that Arminians agree on the subject of depravity; and that there were not in fact five points, but only four, on which Calvin and Arminius differed. Now, if it be not thought trifling, permit us to say that they appear to have differed in *four points and a half*. But, more properly, on depravity they partly agreed, and partly differed. And it is precisely on the point where they disagreed, that we would wish to examine the sentiments of our author. We shall deem it no small acquisition to the strength of the Arminian side if Chalmers is found enlisted with them. Now, if we can understand the Calvinist view, it teaches that man is totally depraved. And this is understood to be total darkness in respect to our relation and obligation to God; a total disqualification and disinclination for the right performance of any acceptable service toward him; and, indeed, an entire moral disqualification for the proper performance of any of the duties founded in the social relations. And we understand this doctrine to teach, that man in all cases *remains thus totally depraved until the moment of his regeneration*. Consequently, that, until this change, there is nothing good in any man, in thought,

word, desire, intention, or deed; but that, instead, every unregenerate man is in all things evil only, and that continually. How this could consist with any proper knowledge or sense of the ethics of theology, or with any due appreciation of righteousness, or with any sincere conformity to what was supposed to be the divine will, it is not easy for us to perceive.

It is not sufficiently known, we opine, that Methodists—the genuine Arminians of the present—do not entirely agree with this view of depravity. To what has been said, as being the Calvinist view of the total depravity of our nature, we do heartily assent, with the following exceptions:—

First. We do not think that all men *continue totally depraved until their regeneration.*

Secondly. We think man, *under the atonement*, is not, properly speaking, in a state of nature. He is not left to the unalleviated evils of total depravity. The atonement has not only secured grace *for* him, but a measure *in* him, by virtue of which he not only has moral light, but is often incited to good desires, and well-intended efforts to do what is perceived to be the divine will. On this point, *Dr. Bangs* has done essential service to truth in his "*Errors of Hopkinsianism.*"

Those who reject this view, and maintain the Calvinist, properly so denominated, must affirm, in order to be consistent, that all unregenerate men are precisely what they would be if no atonement had been offered; thus maintaining that the whole mediation of Christ secures absolutely nothing in any man, favorable to his salvation, until the moment of regeneration. Even if they admit that the Holy Spirit strives with men before conversion, they must affirm that the Spirit is never obeyed, and does absolutely no good; or else they must admit that unregenerate men do sometimes obey the Spirit, and that that very *obedience* is sin. Yea, furthermore, if they admit that the unconverted do sometimes yield to the strivings of the Spirit, they must then admit, or else deny, that the yielding or obedience is to be ascribed to the carnal mind. If it be said that the carnal mind obeyed, they contradict St. Paul; if it be admitted that the sinner, in yielding, did not act from the carnal mind, it must follow that he obeyed the mind of the Spirit, and, in so far, did a good deed.

If we do not misunderstand the Calvinistic view, no previous reflection, no solemn conviction, no religious desire, no sorrow for sin, no outward reformation, no confession or prayer—nothing of all this is good in the sinner; nothing of all this springs from the mediation of Christ. All this is the legitimate workings of un-

alleviated, total depravity. How truly, then, is Satan divided against himself! How faithfully he works in the sinner those desires and exercises which result in his salvation! How efficiently he aids the sinner in his struggle—we were going to say, in his struggle to escape from his sins! But as this might have the appearance of a good *desire*, at least, as it evidently is just what the Lord wishes him to do, just what Christ died to effect, we must leave that sentence unfinished until we come to represent the fairer view of the case.

Now it is certain that the sentiments of our author do not harmonize with this view of depravity; they seem perfectly to agree with the Arminian view, which, all ought to know, is Methodism. We are fully aware that plausible reasons may be advanced to sustain the erroneous view; and objections, of a degree of weight, urged against the truth. But these objections are far from being insuperable; and those reasons, in our opinion, do neither agree with history nor consciousness.

With the author of the treatise under review, we fully maintain the doctrine of total depravity. But we will not ascribe to it those exercises which tend to man's salvation; neither will we outrage common consciousness by denying them. We will not deny the doctrine of total depravity in the most effectual way, by denying its very *nature;* ascribing to it exercises and tendencies which, *in Christians*, we should not hesitate to ascribe to divine influence.

When we meet with any kind or degree of good, either in Christians or others, we will ascribe it all to God: our song shall be,—

> "Thou all our works in us hast wrought;
> Our good is all divine;
> The praise of every virtuous thought
> And righteous word is thine."

Before we dismiss this subject our author must be allowed to define his position. He says:—

"We are aware that, along with the total degeneracy of man, there has been a total darkness ascribed to him; but we feel quite assured that in the vagueness and vehemence wherewith this charge has been preferred, the distinction between the objects and the ethics of theology have not been enough adverted to. There is no such blindness in respect to moral distinctions that there is in respect to objects placed beyond the domain of observation, and holding substantive existence in a spiritual and unseen world."—P. 47.

And, still speaking of unregenerate men, he continues:—

"Even the worst of these, however, will pronounce aright in the great majority of ethical questions—and should the power of profligacy

or passion be from any cause suspended, if solemnized or arrested by the revelation of new objects from heaven, or (even without the intervention of aught so striking as this) if but withdrawn for a season from those influences which darken the understanding, only because they deprave the affections, it is wonderful with how much truth of sentiment virtue is appreciated, and the homage to virtue is felt. A thousand evidences of this could be extracted, not from the light and licentious, but certainly from the grave and didactic authorship both of Greece and Rome. And while beyond the limits of Christendom all those peculiar revelations of the gospel which relate either to past events or to existent objects are almost wholly unknown—we are persuaded that bosoms may be found which would do the homage of acknowledgment at least, if not of obedience, to its truth, and its purities, and its kindness, and its generous self-devotion, all the world over." —P. 48.

This is merely a specimen of much more that might be quoted, as much to the point. This does not result from total depravity, but from the operating Spirit within fallen men; not because they *are* regenerated, but to lead to regeneration. We may now perceive, in the light of this view, why the heathen, on equitable ground, may be in danger of perdition. It cannot consist with any rational sense of justice to consign the heathen to hell, merely because they inherit a depraved nature, or are under the dominion of that nature, if they have knowledge of no better way, and are destitute of grace by which they may be saved. If they are in danger of perdition, (and doubtless they are,) it must be on some ground more in harmony with the character of the just and merciful God. Must it not be for this reason? "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves; *which show the work of the law written in their hearts;* their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." Rom. ii, 14.

Our author thus comments on this text:—

"In this passage he concedes to nature the knowledge, if not of the objects of theology, at least of the ethics. There might need, perhaps, to be a revelation ere any moral aspiration can be felt toward God—but without such a revelation, and without any regard being had to God, there might be a reciprocal play of the moral feelings among men, a standard of equity and moral judgment, a common principle of reference alike indicated in their expressions of mutual esteem and mutual recriminations."—P. 51.

In the chapter "On the Duty which is laid upon Man by the Probability, or even the Imagination, of a God," much of the argument of the previous portion is repeated. The author felt the

importance of distinguishing between the objects and the ethics of the science. A considerable degree of light respecting the latter, with a fainter illumination concerning the former, he considers to be the foundation of universal accountability. He also deems it very essential to discriminate between atheism and antitheism. A man may be an atheist without being an antitheist. The antitheist denies that there is a God, and is ready to undertake to prove that there is none.

"The atheist does not labor to demonstrate that there is no God. But he labors to demonstrate that there is no adequate proof of there being one. He does not positively affirm that God is not; but he affirms the lack of evidence for the position, that God is."

This is quite evident, and strictly in accordance with the etymology of the terms. But we apprehend that this distinction is not sufficiently observed. Arguments, constructed with great logical skill, have sometimes proved powerless in their application, because they were directed, as the saying is, against a "man of straw." It is while treating of this subject, that our author brings out that mighty demonstration, occasionally referred to, that it is impossible, in the nature of things, to disprove the being of God. We cannot allow ourselves to attempt a synopsis of it, for fear of marring its noble proportions. It should be read, as written by his own hand. The conclusion is as follows:—

"For man not to know of a God, he has only to sink beneath the level of our common nature: but to deny him, he must be a God himself. He must arrogate the ubiquity and omniscience of the Godhead."

In carrying forward his general subject, the position is taken by the author, that it is not necessary to be assured that there is a God, in order to be laid under obligation to act in the premises. He says:—

"The very idea of God, even in its most hypothetical form, will bring along with it an instant sense and recognition of the morality and duties that would be owing to him."

Man would be laid under obligation to search into the evidence of the being of a God, and to act from the light that he may obtain. An extended illustration of this sentiment is drawn from a supposed case of conferred benefits. A destitute family are abundantly supplied by some unknown benefactor. Gratitude is the appropriate duty in the case; but they know not to whom to direct it. They understand the ethics of the case, but are ignorant of the object. Now, while they luxuriate upon the bounty supplied them,

if they do not *care* to know the benefactor; if they are not affected by *suspicion* respecting him; if, when a *clew* is afforded, they neglect to follow it up; if they heed not *probability* in the case; if still *absolute certainty* were demanded before the recipients of the bounty would direct their reluctant gratitude; if evidence to prove the identity of their benefactor be received with indifference or reluctance, it would show "palpable delinquency of spirit in all this; and it would become still more evident should they distinctly refuse the calls that were brought within their hearing to prosecute an inquiry. The grateful man would not do this. He would be restless under the ignorance of him to whom he owed the preservation of his family. He would feel the uneasiness of a heart whose most urgent desire was left without its object."

The application is too apparent to detain us; and we pause only to observe, that it appears to have been precisely in accordance with this disposition that the Athenians erected an altar to the unknown God on which to offer their testimonials of grateful adoration. It was to increase their knowledge of the unknown object of their worship that St. Paul opened that sublime discourse concerning the God whom they ignorantly worshiped. It is on this ground, doubtless, that we should feel apprehensions on account of the heathen. The ground of accountability seems to be, that "light has come into the world." And the condemnation will be, because "men love darkness rather than light." We need not advocate the horrible principle of sending men to hell for the sin of the first transgressors.

Our author, as might be supposed, has fully canvassed this matter; and he carries along the unbiased judgment to acquiescence with his conclusions. These appeals to common sense and consciousness are not easily resisted. Hear him as he approaches the conclusion of his argument:—

"To resist God after he is known, is criminality toward him; but to be satisfied that he should remain unknown, is like criminality toward him. There is a moral perversity of spirit with him who is willing, in the midst of many objects of gratification, that there should be not one object of gratitude. It is thus that even in the ignorance of a God, there may be a responsibility toward God. The Discoverer of the heart sees whether, for the blessings innumerable wherewith he hath strewed the pathway of every man, he is treated like the unknown benefactor who was diligently sought, or like the unknown benefactor who was never cared for. . . . Even though a mantle of deepest obscurity lay over the question of his existence, this would not efface the distinction between the piety, on the one hand, which labored and aspired after him; and the impiety, upon the other, which did not miss

the evidence it did not care for, and so groveled in the midst of its own sensuality and selfishness."

Chalmers is a giant. He loves to grapple with mighty things. He seems to be conscious of his own strength; and he knows that truth has nothing to fear in a fair contest. He does not, therefore, lie in wait for his antagonist in wily ambuscade; but resolutely buckles on his armor, and marches out into the open field to attack, or to be attacked, as necessity or expediency may decide.

In battle, he has no contemptible stratagems to practice upon his enemy; but he meets him face to face: and he deals with him honestly, with solid, logical missiles, aimed with unerring precision. But he is not the man that will dash into battle on the spur of the moment. He must first carefully reconnoitre his enemy's position, and fully acquaint himself with his powers and resources. He must first survey the entire breadth of the field, and select his own position; and even then he will linger in half battle array, while he more perfectly arranges his own resources, and perfects the order of his artillery: and, when ready for action, he will not dash into the conflict like an impatient cavalier; but approaches slowly and cautiously, half conquering by the wisdom of his arrangement and the impression of his majesty. Nor does he, in the heat of action, ever get into confusion, and forget his propriety. He uses nothing to irritate his opponent; he has no personal malice to display; he is never unnecessarily severe; he conquers scientifically. His antagonist has nothing to complain of but the weight of his arm, and the skill of his arrangements. And withal, too, he is a generous combatant; for though he pushes his antagonist to desperation during the conflict, yet he cheerfully gives him quarter whenever he demands it. He gains his victories more easily than many others; for he is so courteous, so generous, so honorable, and, withal, so renowned for his prowess, that his antagonist feels it almost an honor to surrender to such an opponent: and, as he has nothing of maltreatment to fear, and does not expect to be bound to the triumphant chariot of the victor, he is disposed to yield to such a conqueror at the first excusable opportunity. If Luther was a Cromwell, Calvin was a Cæsar; if Edwards was a Marlborough, Wesley was a Wellington. But who is Chalmers? Chalmers is a Washington! Necessity compels him to take up his arms; he fights, not for glory, but for truth and righteousness; and he is ready to sheath the sword when it can be done with safety. He prefers peace; but he is not afraid of war. Where he can best serve the interests of truth and goodness, there he

takes his position. He is loved and respected while he lives; he will be honored when he is dead.

As a literary production, this treatise has brilliant excellences and prominent imperfections; the former more numerous than the latter. Among its imperfections, must be noticed its tiresome tautology and its continual verbosity. The same idea, in some instances, meets us so frequently that we are apt to become wearied with its familiarity; and sometimes it seems to struggle under the weight of its cumbrous phraseology; and so multitudinous, at times, are the expletive words and sentences, (parenthetic, without the sign,) that many of them are less clear and forcible than they might otherwise have been.

Of the general plan of the argument, probably no fault could be found: but, in the minor arrangements, there is too little distinctness in separating the portions not intimately connected; there is too much blending of the different parts of the argument. In consequence of this, it is usually difficult to detach any particular portion from its connections, in order to contemplate it by itself.

The style of Wesley, Harris, Upham, and many others, in this respect, is much superior. The work would be greatly benefited by a more liberal use of *italics;* they are scarcely ever met with in the treatise. If the chapters could be divided into several sections it would be an improvement; but decidedly the best improvement would be a judicious abridgment. Many of the periods are too long; so long, that we almost get out of breath *thinking*, before we get to a stopping place. What is the use of periods from twelve to twenty lines? As to the punctuation, we are compelled to say, it is unworthy the general excellence of the work. Much of this defect in punctuation must be attributed to the awkward construction of the sentences; but something of it can be ascribed to nothing but negligence. We did mark several passages for illustration; but we have already, we fear, said too much. And whatever may be said about the author not being a dashing warrior, it will be evident to all who examine the treatise that he is a *dashing* writer. The pages are full of dashes; some, indeed, used with propriety, but many—perhaps most—where something else would be better.

We are duly apprised that the dash is a great favorite with some; but, notwithstanding, there must be some rules of propriety to regulate the use of it. If not, if they may be used anywhere, then let us dash our periods, colons, and commas, into oblivion; and dash our dashes upon our pages without scruple.

Having done with the less-pleasing part of criticism, we gladly

hasten to say a few things much more in accordance with our feelings of veneration and admiration of the author. Spotted he may be, indeed, as a writer, but he is a spotted sun. The truth appears to be this, he is so entirely engrossed with the greater things of his subject that he pays too little attention to the lesser; like some noble veteran marching into action, with his step measured by martial notes, who keeps his form erect, his eye on the face of his enemy, and his arms scientifically poised, but who forgets these smaller proprieties as he leaps to grapple with his foe. But where battles are fought on the plains of logic; where the ear is not stunned by clashing thunders, nor the eye blinded by the smoke and dust of the conflict; where all are expected to keep scientifically cool—in such contests, (to dismiss the figure,) the writer must not forget that, after all is said, we must approach to an understanding of his ideas through the little avenues of words, parentheses, colons, and commas. And should a Scotchman ever forget that the noble Graham of Wallace's day had his bosom pierced through a little crevice in his armor?

The style of Chalmers is quite original—Chalmerian. He probably has, and ought to have, no imitators; for who can be a Chalmers but Chalmers? We must, in this matter, be content to admire him at a respectful distance, as we would an Achilles in the successful use of his armor; and, in such a case, our most prudent course would be to acknowledge his superior greatness, his valor, and his achievements; and, not presuming to imitate, not daring to envy, be satisfied with *wishing* we were Achilles ourselves: but, since we are not, and cannot help it, and there is no use in trying, join cheerfully in the chorus of his praises, and be content to be what we must be. D. D. B.

Lima, Jan. 4, 1847.

ART. VIII.—*A Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.* By Rev. GEORGE COLES. New-York: published by Lane & Tippett, for the M. E. Church. 1847.

WHY should a new Concordance be made? Is not this another instance of literary plunder,—seizing a transatlantic book, changing it a little, perhaps for the worse, here and there, and then palming it off upon the community as the genuine product of American brain? We confess such was our fear when this book was announced; but mature examination has dissipated the fancy, and

convinced us that no great and laborious undertaking was more needed than this which is just accomplished. The Bible,—the Bible, is the one great instrument of apostolic men. With that in their hands, and the love of God in their hearts, and a sound judgment, they can go out, whether as pioneers of civilization, or among the enlightened and misled, and point them to the fount of endless life. If, in addition to this, a Hymn-book can be given them, songs of praise will soon mingle with devotion and instruction, and divine worship will be complete. Next to these two should certainly be placed the Concordance. The Bible is perfect, the Hymn-book and Concordance should be;—the one as an exponent of the enthusiasm, the confidence, and enjoyment of the Christian, the other as the most valuable aid to the investigation of the inspired word.

Men conversant with the Bible, and who could spare their time from an immediate enforcement of its claims upon their fellow-beings, have ever loved to study it; and what would appear to others the most forbidding and tedious toil, has been endured by them with cheerfulness and delight. We believe that the energy which has carried some commentators and Biblical critics through their apparently superhuman labors, has been something more than the zeal of a classical critic, bending his mind for years upon the text of some merely human and not superior author. They have toiled to aid all future generations in obtaining the mind of the Spirit. Verily, if they have done this in prayer, and for good, great will be their reward.

It is evident that a minute examination of the text itself, a collection of parallel or apparently conflicting passages, an elucidation of scripture by scripture, would be among the first efforts of Biblical students. But the character and worth of these investigations would be modified by the advancement and demands of the age. In the time of the "wonderful doctor," Roger Bacon, who seemed to stand in scientific and literary pursuits almost alone, at least in England, who was confined in a cell in his old age twelve years from his practice of the "black art," whose knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was supposed to be a means of communication with infernal spirits—in this age, when the building of the two arches of London bridge cost less than the "faire written" Bible bequeathed by W. de Howton to the Abbey of Croxton, it could not be expected that any studied aids to the examination of Scripture would be furnished. And yet then it was that Antony, of Padua, wrote his Concordantiæ Morales, or concordant passages, according to the Vulgate. This may be regarded as a germ of concord-

ances, and therefore deserves great credit. Many discoverers in the sixteenth century surpassed Columbus, but he was the leader and prince of them all.

The first real Concordance was prepared by that indefatigable Dominican friar, the cardinal Hugo de S. Caro, provincial of France. Having completed his *Correctorium Bibliarum*, or Correct Text of the Bible, with the various readings in the margin, he wrote an excellent commentary on it all, dividing the text for convenience' sake into chapters, which have been used according to his division ever since. There remained still another task for him, and that was to construct an extensive index, or concordance, by which any desired passage might be found. Deeply impressed with the difficulty of the project, he is said to have called five hundred monks to his aid. Notwithstanding all this care, it was not free from error, and was far from complete; though it is the basis of all modern Concordances. It was written in Latin, and published in the year 1238. Soon the Hebrew and Greek texts underwent that close examination and arrangement to which the Vulgate had been subjected, and finally various translations were made. The Greek *Ταμειον*, of Erasmus Schmidius, is among the best, and is said to leave but little more of the kind desirable in Greek.

In the year 1550 appeared the first English Concordance. It is entitled "A Concordāce; that is to saie, a worke, wherein by the ordre of the letters A, B, C, ye maie redely find any word conteigned in the whole Bible, so often as it is there expressed or mencioned. By John Marbek."* The difficulties attending the production of such a book, great in themselves, were enhanced by the unaccountable persecution to which all industrious and independent scholars were in that age subject. An unlearned but untiring man, he undertook, for his own improvement, to copy with his own hand the Bible; but by the advice of another was influenced to attempt the translation of a Latin Concordance into English. Having proceeded through the letter L, he was seized, on some foolish pretext, imprisoned, and his papers lost. When liberated, he began again, and finished the work; but for want of means, and from the size of the book, could not get it published, and finally rewrote and condensed it all in the form in which it at last appeared. The above volume, though a prodigy in its day, would furnish but little assistance at present; as then reference could be made only to the beginning, middle, and end of chapters, since it was not till five years after this was published that the great French printer, Robert

* Townley's Biblical Literature, vol. ii, p. 270.

Stephens, in the intervals of a horseback ride from Paris to Lyons, divided the chapters into verses.

By far the most popular English Concordance is Cruden's, which has already been used more than a century; and certainly it should not now be superseded by another, unless defects are detected and avoided by its rival. Its principal defects are the following:—1. It is larger than necessary. By omitting parts of the passages not necessary to recall the whole, it may be abridged, and be equally useful. 2. It is incomplete. Though a slight use of it may not expose this, yet it is not always possible to find the desired text by reference to some important word. 3. It is not invariably accurate, though far superior in this respect to its predecessors. The most thorough Biblical students have long since noticed its deficiencies and wished for another. Dr. A. Clarke preferred Butterworth's, yet acknowledged this to be imperfect. Dr. Scott, the commentator, designed to prepare one himself, and actually devoted some years to the project, but relinquished it through other pressing duties. When asked if Cruden's would not answer every practical purpose, he replied as follows:—"The errors and deficiencies in Cruden are tenfold more than are generally suspected; and I believe several reasons induce even the proprietors to wish to substitute a new work, under a new name, in the place of it. Had I not been impeded by age and infirmity, and unexpectedly taken off from completing it, I am persuaded it would have been published. As it is, I have my labor for my pains."*

But it seems that this drudgery, as many would term it, was not thrown away; for as he informed his son,—"Whether this work ever comes to anything or not, it repays me for my labor by the delight I receive from having the whole body of Scripture thus kept *constantly revolving* before me."†

If preparing such a work be of so great advantage, how profitable must be its frequent use!

It is the destiny of everything imperfect to pass away. However impregnably defended, it must disappear. This is true of both great and small things. Again,—whatever is good and correct, however encumbered with the imperfect and the feeble, will not be totally ruined with them. It will re-appear like truth in philosophy, which re-presents itself amid the dissolution of successive systems, and thus proves its own indestructibility. But our present deep thinkers and mighty intellects could never have become what they are, had they not been preceded by others not inferior, but still their servants. They have but to remove the rubbish of

* Life of Thomas Scott, D. D., p. 299. † Ibid., p. 298.

former generations, strengthen and illustrate what they had discovered, and add a little to the universal stock. The pioneer has indeed a laborious task. The rough wilderness must be subdued; but the freshness of hope, the spirit of the leader, encourage him. One after another follows, each adding to, and correcting, the plans of the preceding, till the regular city, and village, and town, with roads, orchards, gardens, and canals, show the triumph of Christian civilization. Without Socrates, Plato could not have written; and Plato has modified, and directed, and strengthened the philosophy of all his successors. There is now no original writer on philosophy, or morals, or theology. We breathe the spirit of the past. Though not a sentence may be taken from another, yet the thought itself is but the perfection of others' thoughts.

Thus is it with lexicographies and all books of reference. The labor of the present age is to complete the efforts of the preceding. Though the Latin has been the language of the literary world for centuries, and the Greek studied as long, within a short time have the best Lexicons in these languages appeared. This we believe to be true of Concordances. The volume now under consideration has avoided many previous errors, amended inaccuracies, supplied deficiencies, and rescinded superfluities, and now presents itself as adapted to render the student all the aid that can be afforded by a work of its class. No small task is it to edit such a volume. Many a ready writer can produce, *currente calamo*, in a few weeks, a volume larger than this; but often even then its life, like that of an ephemeron, will be less than the time employed in bringing it into being; but the production of an extensive volume, of which almost every word must be examined again and again, and every line verified by reference to another book, is a task from which nine-tenths of our bookmakers would instinctively shrink. Again, the value of such a work depends much upon its typographical accuracy. Frequent errors in print would justly procure its condemnation, yet nothing but great care could prevent them. So far as we have examined this book, its execution is an honor to its compiler and the publishers.

Little need be said upon the usefulness of such a work. As in nature nothing is insignificant, but all items in God's great plan, so in revelation, nature's great counterpart, all its portions are but parts of one stupendous whole. Limited, and consequently often erroneous, are the thoughts of that man who confines his view to one field of observation, as to one of the many phases of the universe; so, too, all the parts of God's word must be faithfully studied, and weighed, and adjusted to each other, to give a correct

theology. Division of labor may produce the best resultant in the business world, but often from antagonistic and mutually destructive, rather than harmonious, forces, unless superintended by some great minds which comprehend the whole. Happy is he, who, from his resting point of observation, can comprehend and mutually adjust the whole. As Tholuck remarks, far preferable is that philosophic zeal which results from extensive knowledge, and manifested in well-directed effort, to the rash energy applied to produce an immediate good, irrespective of distant and inevitable effects. The minister of the gospel who studies the writings of any man or class of men, be they ever so holy, more than he studies the Bible, will inevitably be a loser, if not led astray. At best he will be but an imitator, one remove further from the great exemplar. The laws and properties of light can never be educed from observations on the moon. The rays have lost much of their intensity, and some of their properties, by their visit to this opaque orb. Why gaze at the reflector, when the luminary itself blazes over us? A successful ministry must always be studious of the Bible. History teaches it, not only by reference to the most prosperous and adverse ages of the church, but with as great clearness, and more point, by individual cases. The style of the preaching of Peter, the most influential of the apostles, may be inferred from the well-attested fact that the gospel of Mark is a condensed report of his discourses. It is a unanimous tradition of the church, founded upon the direct statement of ancient authors, that Mark accompanied Peter, and committed to writing the discourses by which he attempted to induce both Jew and Gentile to follow the Lord.* This is the testimony of Jerome, also of Irenæus, who lived in the second century, as quoted by Eusebius:—"Peter and Paul proclaimed the gospel and founded the church at Rome. After the departure of these, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. And Luke, the companion of Paul, committed to writing the gospel preached by him, that is, Paul."—*Eccl. Hist.*, b. vii, c. viii, p. 188, Book Room ed.

Thus Peter and Paul preached the simple gospel. Paul, indeed, could quote heathen poetry, but only to follow it by the unpalatable and purely Scriptural doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

Addressing a people to whom the Bible is a household book, and the gospel a thousand times told story, it may be right to range into the domain of mental philosophy, or the walks of science, for

* Kitto's Bible Cyclopedia; article, Mark.

illustrations and confirmations of the truth, but that is all. When has the church arisen with energy and beaten back its foes? When the Bible was the object of its intense study and deep reverence. The true successor of the apostles, Wesley, wielded unencumbered this apostolic weapon. Not one printed sermon has he left us which does not abound in references to different passages of Scripture, or quotations from them, and which does not derive its richness from the divine treasure judiciously assorted in it. The most eloquent strains of Whitefield were molded of Scripture language, and designed to convey Scripture truth. It was when he said, "O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord," that the attention of thousands was caught, and their hearts touched. Jonathan Edwards, philosopher as he was, and as able to stand as any other, resting upon intellectual strength solely, studied intensely, and relied invariably upon, the Bible. Revivals have ever been produced only by a careful elucidation of Scripture truth. The triumphant success of the early followers of Wesley, both in England and this country, can be attributable to nothing else, so far as human agency is concerned, than to an exclusive and life-like presentation of gospel truth. Had they been learned they might have accomplished more,—remaining equally holy, and retaining their attachment to, and preference for, the word of God; but had they suffered themselves to be seduced by philosophy or literature from the wells of pure knowledge, had their affections been divided between Isaiah and Homer, Paul and Plato, the truth and an earthly reflection of it, they never would have produced the moral revolution of the past century. Men of one idea have ever been the molders of man's destiny, the authors of lines deep drawn in the features of the past; so men of one book are alone partakers of the true missionary enthusiasm of an apostle.

In this age we have reverend authors of learned and labored treatises, on subjects as various as ever entered the mind; many of which have no connection with the glory of God or the salvation of men, either from temporal or spiritual evil. It may be that such men are called of God to this work; it may be that such labors as other men perform for filthy lucre, or the bubble reputation, are undertaken by them for the glory of their Master: but we greatly fear that they have entered into the rank of Christian ministers unbidden, or forgotten their calling. We plead not for ignorance. Nay, we plead rather for a just appreciation of heaven and earth, the untold magnificence of the one, not neglecting the real value of the other. We plead for the discovery and comprehension of God's great moral plan, while his natural plan, confessedly inferior,

and all of men's moral and political plans, however insignificant, shall not be passed by. Perfect knowledge produces modesty, an extended vision only gives correct information. But while it is right for ministers to extend their field of vision as far as possible, all this human knowledge, whatever its name, should be looked upon as contemptible when compared with the divine effluence of sacred writ; nor should its attainment, even for a single day, conflict with present effort to promote the Redeemer's kingdom. It must be wrong to spend more time, prompted by a mere instinctive thirst for knowledge, which an unregenerate mind may feel as well as a child of God, which may burn in Satan's soul as well as glow in Gabriel's, than in that particular work for which the Holy Spirit has designated us. The gospel is unyielding and definite in its claims. It has ever been the policy of our great enemy to give an elasticity to its requirements that would allow them to swell into absurdities, or diminish into practical non-existence. Were the professed ministers of Christ in these United States to become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Bible, such a spirit as we might rationally expect from a prayerful, docile examination of its truths, the ecclesiastical history of our country for the next ten years would be far different from any other portion in all time—like the first century of our Lord, but we verily believe more extended and abundant.

We hear much of a learned ministry. Have we forgotten that God can work by a holy ministry, whether learned or unlearned? Have we forgotten our origin, as Christians?—For the immediate successors of the apostles were unlearned. As Methodists? Have we forgotten many of our fathers? A learned ministry, though each member of it were skilled in all the wisdom of man, able to charm listening multitudes by his eloquence, to astonish the most profound by his deep investigations and fund of knowledge, and had thus, on account of his talent, obtained proper credentials from the church as a minister of Christ—a learned ministry like this would be the greatest curse to the church and world. Every such imbodiment of unsanctified learning in ministerial character would be a miniature Satan. But a holy ministry God will honor, learned or unlearned. If learning rests upon the sanctified, it blends well with the gifts of the Spirit. The fire of intelligence in the eye mingles well with the beamings of Christian love.

Let the Bible, then, be the object of unceasing study. It is for this reason that we hail the publication of this book as eminently useful. It is not information, but a guide to it. Its object is to encourage and assist in the examination of a book, which, if ever the

millennium arrive, will be—if not published in mammoth illuminated editions, nor praised for its poetry, nor principally valued for its antiquity and curious information—enshrined in the hearts of Christians, and universally acknowledged and appreciated as Heaven's best gift to man. H.

Amenia Seminary, May 16, 1847.

Art. IX.—*Sketches of Matters and Things in Europe.*

The place where we set foot for the first time upon European soil was in *Liverpool*, England. It was on a beautiful afternoon that we came up the Mersey in the steamship "*Britannia*," with colors flying, and cannon discharging, and hearts pulsating with delight at having successfully terminated a somewhat perilous voyage across the Atlantic.

We immediately saw evidence of some extraordinary exciting cause. Small sail and steam boats were plying up and down the river, and streamers were flying from the tops of hundreds of masts, while the docks were crowded with well-dressed persons, who seemed to say, Ye are indeed happy to have arrived just now. No sooner were we boarded by an officer from a small steamboat in quest of *the queen's mail*, than we learned that a great pageant was just in the act of coming off. *Prince Albert* was in town to lay the corner-stone of a new dock, and also of a new mariners' hospital.

This, thought we, is good luck; but we were soon taken all aback by the information that our baggage could not pass the custom-house until the next day, as the officers were all enjoying holyday. Notwithstanding this, trunks and packages were slowly coming up from the hold. The first mate was surly, and would give us but little satisfaction in our anxiety and haste. Presently a gentleman stepped on board, and cried out to this subaltern mariner, "Out with the luggage! you ought to have had it on deck before you touched the dock." Now matters were a little changed. The man, whose voice during the passage had pealed through the rigging and seemed to strike terror to the hearts of the poor tars, now, in his turn, is struck dumb by the stern voice of authority, and bounds for life fore and aft to redeem himself from the suspicion of inattention to his duties.

In short order two pyramids of trunks, boxes, bundles, and packages, were moving upon huge carts toward the custom-house.

There a scene followed. Trunks were turned inside out, and clothing and all sorts of matters—dirty linen, hats, caps, boots, shoes, &c.—were strewed about in wild confusion. It was well for him who had the faculty of looking honest, and who had his baggage in a compact state, indicating him a mere traveler. A poor old Frenchman, who had a countless number of unmentionables in an ugly square box, was infinitely vexed; and muttered and grumbled sadly, in consequence of having the whole mass not only stirred up from the bottom, but unceremoniously scattered upon the pavement. We were suffered to pass with a slight inspection, and betook ourselves to our quarters; but the procession had disappeared.

The prince, with the noble lords and gentlemen, had retreated to the place of entertainment; and, with all the aid that roast beef, plum pudding, and generous wine, could afford, were trying to make themselves happy.

In the mean time we were taking our first meal in old England. After taking our seats by a bare table, we were put to our trumps to give the waiter information as to what we would have. A few common articles were, after some hesitation, mentioned. Observing us to delay, the waiter said, "Your tea is ready." There it was, sure enough, before us. Everything was in the appropriate receptacle—the hot water in the teapot, and the tea in the canister! "Waiter," said one, "why don't you make the tea?" The fellow took the hint, and shoveled a quantity of tea into the pot, and shut down the lid. At the proper time one of the company poured out the tea, and we proceeded.

After the cloth was removed, a talkative Englishman, lying upon a sofa, commenced a yarn of edifying gossip about the royal family. "The queen knows how to discipline Albert, there's no doubt of that—a royal express came on last night, ordering the prince not to sit at the table after twelve o'clock; and at that hour he promptly retired." Much more of the same sort was said which we shall not record. At length he turned and accosted us:—"You are from America?" "Yes, sir." "You came in the steamer." "Yes, sir." After several questions about our passage, he began to touch our nationality. "And did you really want to get into a war with Great Britain?" "Some did, but the great majority—in which was embraced all the better sort—did not." "Well, her majesty was making vast preparations. England is the most wealthy and powerful nation in the world. We should have annihilated your commerce and destroyed all your seaports in two months." "That would not have been an easy task," responded we; "but what

then? We have a curious way of swallowing up armies of foreign invaders in America, and we can fortify any position in a few hours with rocks and stumps in such a way as to defy British powder and ball." "Poh! that's American brag." "Well, but don't you know that you spent a million of dollars in the late war in bombarding a small fort, without removing a stone, and only killing and wounding less than a score of persons?" "No! where was that?" "At Baltimore, where Gen. Ross was killed." "There's some mistake about that." "No mistake, sir, on our side of the water. There are many things connected with the wars between Great Britain and the United States which are all wrong, or were never chronicled here, which in America had a real existence, and are left upon the records of history." "Well, America is a great country, no doubt, but England could buy the whole of it and sell it again." "Not exactly. British gold failed to enslave America when she was young and weak, and the possibility of success in that line is constantly receding." So terminated this edifying conversation. This, thought we, is a fair specimen of the manners against which we shall have to fight our way through the kingdom. But, happy for us, it was the first and the last foolish confiict of the kind into which we were tempted to enter, until we left her majesty's dominions.

At night there was a grand illumination, which we went to see. After patrolling the streets until late bedtime, and becoming almost blind with gazing upon the brilliant spectacles which glared upon our vision on every side, we retired to rest.

Liverpool is the second seaport in the British empire. It stands on the shore of the Mersey, two hundred and four miles west of London. Ancient records show that the name had, during the unsettled state of orthography, undergone some changes. At different periods it was written *Litherpul*, *Ly'rpul*, *Lyurepul*, *Lyrpole*, *Lyverpole*, *Lurpool*, and *Leverpool*, until custom fixed it in its present form. Its etymology is uncertain; but the most probable conjecture is that which derives it from *lither*, lower, and *pool*, with reference to a small creek, in an act of parliament called "The Pool," which formerly occupied the site of the old dock and Paradise-street.—*See Ed. Enc.*

Liverpool is not among the ancient towns of Great Britain, but has arisen into importance within the last fifty years; within which time it has more than quintupled its inhabitants. It carries on an extensive commerce with the West Indies, South America, the United States, and the East Indies. Four-fifths of the trade between the United Kingdom and the United States now centres in

Liverpool. As a packet station, perhaps, it is second to no port in the world except London. The packet ships, or *liners*, to New-York and other ports of the United States, for beauty, size, and speed, are justly admired. They leave the port weekly, and, together with the Atlantic steamers—five of which are now running, and their number is to be increased—constitute a chain of communication between Liverpool, and New-York, and Boston, so constant and regular in its operation as to bring this great emporium of England and our commercial ports into close connection, and almost immediate proximity.

During the civil war, Liverpool was invested by the royal troops under Prince Rupert, and finally taken. It was, however, soon recovered by the parliamentary troops: in the mean time the town suffered severely, great part of it being destroyed by fire.

"The markets of Liverpool are very remarkable structures; that of St. John occupies nearly two acres of ground, the whole under one roof, supported by one hundred and sixteen pillars.

"The zoological gardens comprise ten acres of ground, and are laid out with a good deal of taste.

"The manufactures of Liverpool are not important. There are several sugar refineries, some small foundries, a good deal of ship-building in wood and iron, a manufactory of steam engines for vessels, and manufactories of anchors, chain cables, and similar articles naturally in demand in a large port.

"The value of the corporation estates is estimated at three millions of money, and the annual income, derived from rents and dock dues, has increased to upward of three hundred and twenty thousand pounds. A great proportion of this income has been devoted to the improvement of the town, including the building of churches and other public edifices. The sum expended in these objects, and in widening the streets, between 1786 and 1838, amounts to one million six hundred and sixty-eight thousand three hundred pounds.

"The site of Liverpool is low and unhealthy. According to the registrar-general's return of births and deaths, the deaths and marriages are double, while the births are little more than half, the number of the average of all England.

"In 1700 the population of Liverpool was only four thousand two hundred and forty; in 1841 it amounted to two hundred and twenty-three thousand and three. It returns two members to parliament.

"The country around Liverpool abounds in every direction with fine residences. Of these the most important are Knowsley Hall,

(Earl of Derby;) Croxteth Park (Earl of Sefton;) Ince Blundell, the seat of the Blundell family; Childwall Abbey (Marquis of Salisbury;) Speke Hall (Mr. Watt;) Hale Hall (Mr. Blackburne;) Woolton Hall, &c.

"At Everton is the cottage where Prince Rupert established his head quarters when he besieged the town in 1644."—*Black's Tourist of England*, pp. 194, 195.

The literary and charitable institutions of Liverpool are ample and well endowed. It contains thirty-six churches belonging to the Establishment; besides which, there are eight belonging to the Wesleyan Methodists, seven to the Baptists, seven to the Welsh dissenters, six to the Scotch Kirk and dissenters, three to the Unitarians, five to the Independents, five to the Roman Catholics, three to the New Connection Methodists, one to the Society of Friends, and three to other dissenters.

The condition of the poor in Liverpool is said to be decidedly bad. The proximity of this port to Ireland brings into it multitudes from Dublin, who are often left in circumstances of extreme want. A large proportion of these persons are miserably lodged. There are not less than eight thousand cellars in this city, in which are lodged from thirty-eight to forty thousand, all of which are miserably ventilated, and most of them dark, damp, and filthy. Exclusive of these places, there are said to be twenty-four hundred courts, in which about seventy-two thousand persons are lodged. The filth of these courts is not removed oftener than once a year, though it produces an intolerable stench; and they are seldom free from pestilential diseases.—*M'Culloch.*

This mass of poverty and wretchedness is not indigenous. It comes from *Catholic* Ireland, the source of an abundance of the same sort in all our Atlantic cities. While all countries are indebted to Ireland for many useful and thriving laborers, they are at the same time infested with her paupers, and cursed with the moral degradation and corruption which they carry with them wherever they go.

Our course lay from Liverpool to Bristol, through Birmingham. The country nearly the whole way exhibits a high state of cultivation, and is without the appearance of domestic wretchedness. The farm houses are generally small, but neat and comfortable. It was the first of August, and the hay and the greater part of the wheat were housed. A few Irish laborers were seen reaping, but the farmers generally seemed to be employed in preparing their fallow grounds. The grass fields exhibited a freshness scarcely equaled in this country in June. The cattle and sheep were all

fat and plump—not one of Pharaoh's lean kine could be seen. We could easily see why Englishmen are so fond of roast beef and boiled mutton.

From Liverpool to Birmingham we took seats in the first class of cars. A well-fed gentleman, whom we believed to be an Englishman, took a seat by our side. We supposed that we should have no privilege of plying the stranger with questions, for we had learned from travelers that Englishmen are always reserved and cautious. And the reader may judge of our surprise when our fellow-traveler inquired for Dr. Peck. We immediately answered to the name, and asked, "What knowledge have you of me, sir?" "O," responded our friend, smiling, "I never had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with you, sir, but I saw your name upon your trunk, and being an American, I felt as though I had met an old acquaintance." The spell was broken—our fellow-traveler was the captain of a packet from Philadelphia, and a highly intelligent gentleman, well acquainted with the localities which were constantly coming under our observation. So the society of our new acquaintance was to us as profitable as it was agreeable.

Birmingham is the principal hardware manufacturing town in England. In 1839 it contained one hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants. Like all the manufacturing towns in England, it presents a dingy appearance, and the most prominent objects are the high chimneys, and the vast clouds of black smoke which they vomit forth. There are in this city, in addition to the immense manufacturing establishments, many objects of interest,—such as churches, schools, hospitals, libraries, &c., which, as we could not take time to examine, we will not attempt to describe. In taking a run through the city, an ingenious blind beggar attracted our attention. He had a small dog with a strap about his neck, the end of which he held in his hand, while the sagacious little animal held in his mouth a tin kettle of the capacity, perhaps, of a gill, into which those who were disposed cast their alms. The poor man was piteously crying out, "He crowneth the year with plenty, he filleth your barns with good things," &c. Beggars in Europe often seem to be such by profession; and they certainly carry the art to a high state of perfection. They sing a song, repeat poetry, deliver a rhapsody, quote Scripture, or perform some odd prank, or call to their help some tractable animal for the purpose, first, of exciting attention, and then moving sympathy.

Birmingham has been somewhat celebrated for riots. In 1791 a riot arose from a festival in commemoration of the French revolution, in which the library of the celebrated Dr. Priestley was

destroyed. This eminent philosopher and heterodox divine emigrated to America and settled in Northumberland, Pa., where his sepulchre remains to this day; and, if his epitaph tells the truth, *he* there "sleeps until the morning of the resurrection." In later times there have been great disturbances among the operatives, some idea of which may be formed by reading *Dr. Durbin's* "Observations."

The only really pretty things we saw in this town—for we did not go into the toy manufactories—were the vegetable gardens on the outskirts of the town, which are leased and cultivated by the better sort of persons engaged in the manufactories. They consist in parcels of ground of a few rods square inclosed by hedges, with every nook and corner of them filled with esculents, which appeared to be well cultivated, and were beautifully fresh and flourishing. In the corner of each of these gardens is a little brick building of perhaps six feet square, where the garden implements are kept. These garden plots not only furnish the operatives who lease them with vegetables, but afford them means of interesting and healthy exercise.

From Birmingham to Bristol we took seats in the *second* class of cars. The company was decent and respectable. We found many who conversed freely, and asked a multitude of questions about America. All sorts of matters were discussed, from the genius of our republican institutions down to the right way of making a *corn-cake*. The last item here mentioned may seem ludicrous to an American reader. But we found everywhere in the United Kingdom much inquiry with regard to the use of *corn-meal*. The general opinion seemed to be that it made a most wretched species of bread, scarcely fit for horses. We told them what was the plain truth, that the whole difficulty was in the cookery—that our American women could make most delicious and nutritious food of Indian corn-meal in twenty different ways. To this we often saw indications of strong doubts.

At Bristol we took lodgings at "The Full Moon," a small, but rather comfortable, hotel. Arriving on Saturday evening, Aug. 1, we paid our respects to Dr. Newton, and found him very kind and cordial. He assured us that in due time we should be introduced to the conference; but advised us that such were the circumstances of that particular period of the conference, that there might be some little delay in the matter.

On the sabbath we had the happiness to hear four sermons. At 7 A. M. we listened to *Mr. Rule*, late missionary to Gibraltar. He is a short, dark-complexioned man, not remarkably fluent or ani-

mated in manner. But he preached an instructive sermon, and one which could not fail to make a good impression. In the mean time we should not forget to mention the fact that when we reached the chapel, as it was not quite time for the commencement of the service, a prayer-meeting was in progress in the vestry. We listened to one prayer for several minutes with great delight. It was appropriate, copious, and fervent, and was responded to by many hearty *amens*, which altogether made us think of most blessed scenes we had witnessed at home, and left upon our mind a sweet conviction that the God of Wesley and Fletcher was still with the parent branch of the great Wesleyan family.

At 10 o'clock we heard *Mr. Atherton*, the president of the conference. This gentleman is between sixty and seventy years of age, hair white, and face wrinkled, of full habit, inclining to corpulency. He stands erect in the pulpit, and speaks with ease and fluency. The sermon was characterized by perspicuity of style and exactness of expression. If the preacher had exhibited anything like an effort to recollect himself, we should have supposed that the whole discourse had been written and carefully committed to memory. His positions were clearly stated and well sustained, and, as a whole, the sermon was a capital specimen of evangelical preaching. His manner was dignified, and the better sort of his hearers must have gone away to think, to pray, and to resolve upon a closer adhesion to the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

The whole service occupied more than two hours. Dr. Newton read the church service. A long hymn was then read by the president, all of which was read and sung at intervals, two lines at a time. Then followed a copious prayer, the whole of which seemed to proceed upon the supposition that, after *reading prayers* in relation to all possible cases and contingencies, it was then necessary to *pray* over the same things in such language as spontaneously arose. We observed the same thing whenever we heard the church service performed in the Methodist chapels; after reading the long prayers out of the book, the preacher goes directly to God, with a prayer indited by the Spirit, and coming from a full heart. Though this makes the service, to an American Methodist, tedious, it still shows, what was to us a very interesting fact, that the Wesleyan ministry in Great Britain are not likely to exchange the spirituality of worship for the mere form. Though we could very well have dispensed with the *reading*, we should not have been willing to spare the *praying*. When the Methodists shall cease to be, as our fathers were, "mighty in prayer," we hope God will grant us another revival of pure primitive Christianity.

At three, P. M., we listened to a discourse on the subject of "Christian joy," from the *Rev. Mr. Roland*, in "Mr. Wesley's chapel." Of the chapel we shall speak hereafter, only noting, at present, that it was the first chapel which Mr. Wesley built in England, and is consequently a most interesting relic of olden times. The sermon was well studied. The style was chaste, the argument clear, and the thought and illustrations often elevated. Though the congregation was a medley, and was small, the preacher seemed to lay himself out to make a deep and permanent impression, and if we could judge from the state of our own feelings, he succeeded in his object. Mr. R. is a small man, of about fifty-five, considerably marked from small-pox, of some originality, and considerable fire in the region of his sensibilities, though of a kind and unobtrusive spirit.

At night we traveled nearly across the town to hear the celebrated *Dr. Beaumont*. The large chapel was filled to suffocation. We, through the kindness of a friend, secured a seat in front of the pulpit, where, though we could hear very well, we could not see the speaker without assuming an unnatural and painful position. But, notwithstanding this, we caught many a glimpse of the orator when in his highest flights. Dr. B. is an extraordinary man—a man of genius and of a most brilliant imagination. There is about his discourses—proceeding upon the supposition that the one we heard was a fair specimen—a luxuriance of imagery which not only approaches, but actually reaches, the extravagant. His figures, his language, his gestures, are marked, strong, often violent. A stranger, however much he may be delighted with the corruscations of Dr. B.'s genius, and the power of his eloquence, is nevertheless painfully affected with his laborious utterance, violent jestures, and bodily contortions. His voice is sometimes high and sometimes low; his enunciation sometimes excessively rapid, and at others drawling. But the greatest fault in his elocution is the painful extent to which he prolongs some of his sentences, and hangs upon the last word. This is carried to such an extent in some instances, that he seems to have pumped from his lungs the last particle of air, and occasioned a collapse of the vital organs from which they will never recover. His countenance is flushed and distorted, and you have time to ask yourself, Will he ever breathe again? When, all at once, he raises himself up, draws in a long breath, shakes his head back and forth most violently, and then sets off upon another excursion.

The above were our reflections upon the first hearing we gave Dr. B. Upon subsequent information that some of the defects of

his oratory were the consequence of a natural defect in the roof of his mouth, which is but partially remedied by artificial means, our unpleasant impressions nearly subsided.

It is said that, in the commencement of his ministerial career, Dr. B. was only moderately acceptable; but, at present, he is reputed to be one of the most popular preachers in the Wesleyan connection. He never rises in the conference without attracting attention. And we observed that everybody, as soon as his voice was heard, brightened up, and gazed as though they expected something extraordinary, and were ready to give decided tokens of approbation or displeasure. Often his thoughts and associations were so peculiar as to call forth a spontaneous burst of laughter. We cannot say we admire this gift in a speaker, especially in the grave deliberations of a conference; and yet it was difficult for us to suppress expressions of the emotions which seemed almost mechanically to rise upon his magic touch.

We shall now proceed to give an account of the Wesleyan Conference, and the impressions which the proceedings of that body, and the accompanying events, made upon our mind. We shall not be particular to mark dates, as it is not our object to treat the subject in the narrative form.

The meeting to hear the candidates for admission give a relation of their Christian experience excited much interest, and the large chapel was crowded to a perfect jam. We succeeded, with much ado, in securing a seat where we could see the young men, who were all seated in the front of the gallery. After the services were opened, Dr. Newton, the secretary of the conference, called the names of the candidates, each one rising and answering to the call. They then took their seats, and the president addressed the audience to this effect:—The Wesleyan Methodists have ever laid great stress upon the doctrine of a change of heart, and the witness of that change. They have, consequently, been exceedingly jealous lest the ministry should lose sight of this great doctrine. They have always insisted that the men who are to explain and enforce this doctrine, should themselves know what it is by experience. Hence they require a public statement of their religious experience upon the part of those who are about to enter upon the duties of the ministry, that the people may know that they have a pure and apostolic ministry, who are prepared to say to them, Follow us as we follow Christ.

The young men then rose in order, and gave an account of their conversion to God, and their call to the ministry. The relations were simple, clear, definite, and evidently original. There was no

second-hand story, nothing made up of catch phrases—no copying. Each showed out his own individuality, and seemed to give vent to a deep current of holy feeling. We remarked that, with not more than one exception, the whole number had been religiously educated, and were the children of Methodist parents. The services were long, but the attention was unabated—it was indeed a spiritual feast.

The conference examination was conducted by the president; and, that the reader may have some idea of its character and extent, we will give the questions as we minuted them down at the time. 1. What is religion? 2. What the rule of faith? 3. What the evidence that the Bible is the word of God? 4. How has God revealed himself? 5. How has he revealed his attributes? 6. Is a distinction to be made between his natural and moral perfections? 7. Has he made a revelation of the mode of his being? 8. How do you prove the plurality of persons in the Godhead? 9. What think ye of Christ? was he human or divine? Answer, Both. 10. Do you regard the relation of Father and Son as relating to the divine nature? 11. What are your views of the third person of the trinity? first, of the divinity, and, second, of the personality of the Holy Spirit? 12. Do you find in the Bible the doctrine of providence? How do you define it? What Scripture for it? 13. Whence does it appear that there is another life? 14. What the duration of the soul's existence in punishment? Here a candidate interposed the question, Is it necessary to see the reasonableness of a doctrine independent of Scripture? 15. What is the image of God in which man was created? 16. What is the present condition of man? 17. What scripture proves the universality of human depravity? 18. What is there in favor of the *totality* of this depravity? 19. What evidence that it is derived? Dr. Bunting took occasion to make some remarks upon the *original guilt* of man and its universality, and to mark the distinction between the Arminian and Pelagian theories. 20. Now as to the doctrines of grace, How do you prove that the death of Christ was restitutional? 21. What are the benefits of Christ's death? 22. What is the condition of justification? 23. What is redemption? 24. What is preparatory to justifying faith? 25. May we know that we are justified? Here Dr. Bunting, who watched the examination with great attention, noted a distinction between the evidence of consciousness and the witness of the Spirit. 26. For whom were the blessings of redemption provided? 27. How far do they extend? from all sin? 28. What particular idea do you attach to sanctification? 29. May it be so lost that the subject of it may perish? 30. How many

sacraments are there? 31. Is the sabbath of perpetual obligation? 32. What scripture proves this? 34. You have read Mr. Wesley's Sermons: can you prove these various doctrines in Mr. Wesley's words? 35. What books have you read? One said, Most of Mr. Wesley's Works, Fletcher's Works, Watson's, Prideaux's and Shuckford's Connections. Another said, The whole of Wesley and Fletcher, and Pearson on the Creed. Another, Wesley, Watson, and many scores of works of various kinds.

A peculiarity of the examination was, that the same question was proposed to each candidate, and each one was required to give a distinct and an original answer; so that there were as many answers to each question as there were candidates. This method, of course, put the candidates upon their resources—for it was only in a very few cases, where the question would admit of no variety in the answer, that any one ventured to repeat an answer which had been given before. It also protracted the examination to a tedious length.

After all this, the regular disciplinary questions were asked from Grindrod's Compendium, which were answered simultaneously. One of the questions is, "Will you drink no drams?" One of the candidates wished, before he answered this question, to propose one to the president. On gaining permission, he asked, "What are we to understand by drams?" The president promptly answered, "Undiluted spirits." Several remarks were then made by the venerable president in relation to *teetotalism*, about as far from orthodox, in our view, as his definition of *drams*. The *teetotalers* were treated with great severity, being set down as a pack of mad fanatics. Still the president laid some little restriction upon the young men in their use of wine. He advised them, in general, to avoid its general use until they were *forty years of age*, when he seemed to think it would be necessary to take a little for the stomach's sake. We were exceedingly sorry to find that the Wesleyan body in England so extensively give the sanction of their practice to the habitual use of wine. They seem not to have become sensible of the fact, that the wines in common use among them are strongly alcoholic, and, consequently, intoxicating, and that their example, in this respect, goes to paralize the nerve of the temperance reformation. We must say, much as we esteem the excellent men who compose the Wesleyan Conference, we were grieved with their course upon the temperance question. That body ought to be in the van of the temperance army. But, we are sorry to say, they are not there. If our humble voice could reach them, we would earnestly exhort the influential and leading members of the

conference to look into the subject with more care. We would say,—Venerable fathers, call us not a "*teetotal fanatic*" for urging what multitudes among you and around you think in secret—and sometimes whisper—that it is high time for you to take an advance position, at least to come up to the standard which our venerated founder set up a century ago. Your countenance, your example, your hearty co-operation, are wanted in the cause of *temperance*—which is but another name for *total abstinence from intoxicating drinks*. Are you sure that your wine, ale, beer, stout, &c., are necessary, or conducive to health? Are you certain that your example does not enhance the evils of intemperance in the kingdom? But we must forbear. What we have said is in the honesty and simplicity of our heart, and we hope will not wound the feelings of any one of our much-valued friends on the other side of the water. Thus much we feel compelled to say, and yet our feelings are far, very far, from being relieved.

The next topic which became a subject of conversation was the use of tobacco. Upon this point the president was a little more stringent than upon the use of wine, notwithstanding, as is said, and as he virtually admitted, he is himself an extravagant *smoker*. The old gentleman seemed somewhat oppressively to feel what Sir Walter Scott said of himself, that he had created a giant that he could not kill. His confessions were frank and full, and his admonitions to the young men to avoid the rock upon which he had split were strong and explicit.

The question was asked the candidates whether they had any objection to the *liturgy*. One wished to know what was to be understood by "our bishops and other clergy," and in what sense they could use this language in prayer. The president said, "You may substitute superintendents, helpers, and preachers." Dr. Bunting proposed, as a substitute, "all ministers of the gospel." We should think it would be no greater sin to reform the liturgy in several places, and have one adapted to the use of the chapels, than to change the language and alter the sense in the act of performing the service. But in this matter we would not dictate, if we could, the course to be pursued. We are so Puritanic that we could never be confined to the use of any liturgy we have yet seen.

After the examination was completed, Dr. Bunting arose and remarked, that the young men had exhibited a thorough knowledge of the topics upon which they had been questioned; and, upon the whole, he thought the examination satisfactory. He then moved, and Mr. Marsden seconded the motion, that the candidates be received. The question was taken, and passed upon the whole *en masse*.

The ordinations were preceded by the liturgy of the Church of England, which was read by Dr. Newton, upon whom this part of the service seemed always to devolve, and who performs it with great gravity and propriety. After the liturgy was concluded, the president called to his aid Rev. Drs. Bunting, Newton, and Hannah, and the Rev. Messrs. Marsden, Stanley, and Jackson, who imposed hands in common with him. The peculiar form of words employed by the president, upon the imposition of hands, was as follows:—"Mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost for the work of the *ministry*, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands," &c. Then, putting into the hands of the candidate a small Bible, the president said:—"Take thou authority to preach the word of God and to administer the holy sacraments in *our* congregations." The ceremony was truly impressive.

After the ordinations, *Mr. Stanley*, the ex-president, delivered the official charge, the duty devolving upon him according to usage. His address was founded upon Acts xx, 24, "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

The venerable speaker *first* proceeded to speak of the apostle's *ruling desire*, as expressed in the text: 1. It had respect to his own personal salvation,—"that I might finish my course with joy." The speaker gave a sketch of St. Paul's conversion and early history: those things in which he had gloried he "counted loss for Christ,"—avoided the temptations to apostasy by looking constantly to Jesus,—"I keep my body under, and bring it into subjection, lest, by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway." St. Paul was martyred in 66; but no biographer was present to tell the story of his triumphant exit, as in the case of Stephen. But a short time before he says: "I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight," &c.

2. Another leading object with the apostle was, *fidelity* in the ministry,—"And the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus." 1. The *origin* of the apostle's ministry was *divine*. He says, "I am an apostle, not of man, nor by man." In a qualified sense every true minister of Jesus Christ may say the same. It is not the business of the church to call, but merely to *recognize* ministers. 2. The object of his ministry was, "to testify the gospel of the grace of God." The primitive ministers of Christ had none of those temptations to assume the sacred functions which are now

presented in some quarters. They were not offered *thousands a year;* did not vie with Jewish and pagan priests in the riches of their habiliments. The object of their call was to save sinners from hell. The gospel they were called to preach was "the gospel of the grace of God." In "grace" the plan was devised, the merit achieved, the means provided, the work begun and completed. "The head-stone" of the system will be brought forth in "shouting, Grace, grace unto it." You will never be happy or successful in your work without Christian experience. Paul saw the influence of his ministry upon many classes—Lydia and her house, the jailer and his house, and multitudes besides. The venerable Wesley once said, "I would not live to be useless."

The speaker next proceeded to speak of the apostle's *zeal.* 1. St. Paul's zeal was *enlightened.* Some expend all their zeal upon mere trifles—raise the ocean into a tempest to waft a feather or to drown a fly. 2. It was a *benevolent* zeal. Many have a cruel and murderous zeal: such is the zeal of the Papists. Paul's zeal was "love in action." 3. It was a *constant* zeal. Not like the crackling of thorns under the pot, now in the torrid and then in the frigid zone. 4. An *ardent* zeal. "The love of Christ constrained him." 5. St. Paul's zeal was *fearless.* He was never afraid of an adversary; he was a valiant moral hero. The doctrine of the cross was a most unpopular doctrine, and yet he *gloried* in it. A remarkable instance is his reproving the apostle Peter.

You will have to administer discipline. In this you must be *impartial.* There may be men of influence in the church, who have spots in their character. You must show them no favor on account of their position in society. Paul feared nothing; he was "in perils oft," but was never moved from his steadfastness.

You will have to contend with false doctrines; one which is quite common at the present time is *baptismal regeneration.* Baptism is not regeneration, nor does it regenerate. This is evident from two facts: 1. Baptized infants exhibit no signs of regeneration. They are just as peevish, fretful, and obstinate as before. 2. Paul did not baptize many—only one household, and a few besides. Now this would seem strange were baptism either regeneration or the means of it. Had he believed the doctrine of baptismal regeneration he would have baptized all he met, for certainly he would not fail to regenerate as many as he could.

My dear young brethren, "the fathers" are falling rapidly; we rejoice to see so many strong young men coming forward as their successors. May God bless you!

The address was an hour long, wanting eight minutes. It was

a truly instructive discourse, but delivered in rather a languid tone. Nothing in it seemed to create any sensation, except the passage relating to *baptismal regeneration*, which made a considerable stir among the ministers.

Mr. Stanley is perhaps five feet eight inches high, and of fair proportions—rather full habit, and between sixty-five and seventy years old. His hair is perfectly white, and eye rather languid. He speaks with great deliberation and precision; but has contracted the unpleasant habit of drawing his breath through his nose, and screwing his mouth, first one way, then the other, at the end of almost every period.

It is a truly refreshing circumstance—one which reflects great honor on the Wesleyan Conference, a majority of which is made up of men in middle life—that *the fathers* enjoy so honorable a position in the conference, and evidently feel that they are neither under foot nor in the way. *Mr. Stanley* and *Mr. Atherton* have probably enjoyed their last conference honors. Their juniors seemed pleased with their having elevated them to the presidency just before they leave the effective ranks. This they must soon do. Their old age is green and pleasant; but they must soon bow to the fate of all mortals.

We took much pains, and made no little sacrifice, to attend the sittings of the conference, which we were permitted to do, after a formal vote of the body had been taken upon the subject, on the representations and recommendation of *Dr. Newton*. The president politely introduced us and our traveling companions to the body, and gave us seats. We had too strong a desire to see the mode of doing business in the Wesleyan Conference, and to witness the tone and spirit which characterize the body, to let anything interfere with our attention to the proceedings. The general aspect of the body was more mature than that of any American conference we ever attended. There was a greater proportion of old and middle-aged men than is usual with us. But it must not be forgotten that all the Wesleyan preachers do not attend the conference. The attendance is regulated by the district meetings. Of course those who remain at home are mostly the younger class.

The president is seated upon a platform, immediately in front of the pulpit. Dr. Newton sits at his left, a little in the rear, and the two assistant secretaries at his left. Dr. Bunting and the other ex-presidents occupy the right. There are seats upon the platform for perhaps thirty persons, which are occupied, in addition to those above mentioned, by the missionary secretaries, delegates from Ireland, superintendents of missions, and ministers from other

countries. In the body pews, before the pulpit, sit "the hundred," who constitute the "legal conference." The seats in the rear and under the galleries seem to be occupied without regard to age, as old and young are mingled together.

The backs of the pews are surmounted with a narrow board, a little inclining, and each man has an inkstand with paper and quills before him. The whole arrangement is quite business like.

The great man of the body is *Jabez Bunting*. He is full six feet high, of full habit, rather inclined to corpulency, a fine, erect figure, flush countenance, benevolent eye, bland and prepossessing in all his manners. Shrewd and politic, discriminating and far-sighted, accustomed and trained, for many years, to business habits, and possessing an easy elocution and felicity of diction, he exhibits a combination of the rare qualifications which command universal respect and deference. He is emphatically *great in council*. Dr. Bunting is never absent from his seat during business hours. He watches with eagle eye every item of business which is transacted. He has an opinion, a mature opinion, clearly and fully made up, of everything that is enacted. And when things take a wrong turn, he is upon his feet, and commences, even in the most exciting discussions, with a smile playing upon his countenance, to lead matters in the right direction. He seldom speaks more than five or ten minutes; after producing the impression which he designed—saying just enough, and not a word too much—he takes his seat, apparently without the least concern for his cause. In one instance we saw him stave off an unwelcome subject, and defeat a powerful argument, which had been roundly applauded, by a few expressions of admiration of the elocution and talent of the speaker, and a mere concession that the subject was well worthy the attention of the appropriate committee, and yet adroitly killing the whole thing by a few *doubts*. In another case, after a man had mounted his seat, and made a strong speech against his appointment, the doctor fairly choked him down by a little management. The appointment, said the doctor, is just the thing for him. He has been rising for several years, and now he will have an opportunity to rise more rapidly than ever; then, turning most kindly toward the brother, he said to him, "Do now, R., *keep up while you are up;* what is the use of your now losing the fairest chance you will ever have to gain a high position of usefulness?" The doctor knew right well where to touch him; if his judgment was not convinced, his weak place was successfully assailed, and he kept his seat in right good humor, and let the matter pass.

In relation to his own appointment as missionary secretary, Dr.

B. remarked, that he did not know but he was about worn out; sometimes he thought he was; but then he did not wish to decline service in the church so long as he was able to do anything. He did not wish to stand in the way of any one better qualified than he was for the post which he occupied. He then made an allusion to some sort of a publication, which he called "a fly sheet, or a fly leaf," by an anonymous writer, in which he was represented as *excessively ambitious* and *greedy of power*. "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan!" ejaculated the old president, with a stern and severe tone and countenance. "But," continued Dr. B., smiling, "I doubt if this is the right way to get rid of me. It wakes up the old man, or the old *Methodist preacher*, or the old *Christian*, and rather disposes me to hold on." "But," continued the doctor, "I must soon cease to labor. I feel the approach of age and infirmities, and must, before long, give place to others." The work was done. Dr. B.'s calumniator was regarded with disgust and horror, and the old veteran cheered on in the conflict.

In free conversation we asked one what the conference would do when Dr. Bunting died. "O!" he answered, "we want the doctor to live as long as he can, and when he goes we shall perhaps be able to do without him. I don't know that we shall then need a successor. He has done the work of a generation to come in arranging our financial system, and, with the results of his labor before us, our way is clear."

Dr. Newton holds his age well, having changed but little since he was in this country. He is the same indefatigable, boundlessly popular man that he has been for many years. He speaks but little in the conference, and what he says is in a plain, matter-of-fact style, without the least rhetorical flourish.

Drs. Hannah, Jackson, and Dixon, occupy a highly respectable standing in the body. Their opinions—though, so far as we had the opportunity to observe, they were always put forth in a simple, unpretending manner—are always highly respected. They are all probably over fifty years of age, and are becoming gray.

We shall not occupy the reader's attention with remarks upon other individual members. The body, as a whole, for gravity, intelligence, and moral worth, would not suffer by a comparison with any body of divines in the United Kingdom. There are many men in the Wesleyan Conference of high literary and scientific endowments, and eminently gifted as ministers of the New Testament. They are courteous and hospitable, though not in general so free and unreserved as we Americans are, in their intercourse with strangers.

We have often been asked if we preached at the conference; and have been obliged to say to our friends that we were not invited to do so, and that our fellow-travelers were treated in the same way. As this looks to American Methodists exceedingly uncivil, we have to explain. And we now introduce the subject, not because we have the slightest sensitiveness in relation to the matter, but for the purpose of bringing out a peculiarity of English Methodism. So far as our feelings were concerned, we honestly say we were truly gratified with the fact that we were permitted to hear, and were not called upon to preach. But for the explanation. The stationing committee meet a week before the opening of the conference; and in due season the appointments are all made out, and published beforehand. We have a copy of the appointments for the Bristol Conference, which we brought away with us. This being done, it is not an easy matter to turn one of the men appointed, and published to preach, out of his place. Often the sermon is upon some set theme, and is always thoroughly elaborated. Had we and our friends been there in season, or had our coming been anticipated, we should doubtless have been upon the "plan of appointments." We, in this country, are not so stereotyped and methodical as are our brethren in Great Britain. We can preach at conference, or let it alone; and are generally quite happy to procure a substitute when we can get a good one, and indeed we are not always very careful as to the quality of the men we put into our own shoes. But a member of the Wesleyan Conference feels himself bound to fill his own appointments, come what will.

Several matters were discussed before the conference which excited much interest. The applications from the district meetings for an increase of the number of laborers, in several instances called forth considerable discussion. The application was made through the chairman of the district, who read the resolution upon the subject from the minutes of the meeting. Great vigilance was exercised by the leading members lest the supply of laborers might exceed the means of support. Some wanted "another married man," others "a newly-married man," but more "a single man."

A considerable discussion arose in relation to an application for a preacher for a chapel in Scotland, erected by a lady, who proposed to settle upon the chapel the annual interest on certain bank stocks in America, which she held, for the support of the preacher. It was asked how many members there were in society. Upon hearing that there were only some twenty-five, Dr. Bunting and

others made strong objections. Some asked, Are not these stocks upon banks in the States which have *repudiated?* Dr. Beaumont advocated the application of "this *elect lady*" with great zeal, but it failed. We said, in private conversation, that such a nucleus as that for a church and congregation in America would not be slightly passed over. The answer was, We have not the same room for expansion here that you have. This is doubtless the true state of the case. While such a beginning, in this country, almost anywhere, would soon result in a strong church, in the British Isles it might remain for years without sensible increase.

We were much interested in a discussion which commenced in relation to a new edition of Benson's Commentary, with pictorial illustrations. The discussion took a wide range, and finally fell upon the matter of *cheap* and *popular* publications. Mr. G. Osborn delivered a very eloquent speech, which had evidently cost him some considerable pains, in favor of modifying the plan of the Book-Room publications, so as to accord with the improvements of the age. He introduced several specimens of books which were published at other houses; and by a comparison with Methodist books, undertook to show that they were much cheaper. His arguments were clearly stated, and warmly urged; but did not convince *Mr. Mason*, the agent, nor *Dr. Bunting*. The former earnestly maintained that to adopt the plan of cheap publications would in all certainty end in utter bankruptcy: while the latter "was not much inclined to run after new things." The conference, he said, were certainly brought under great obligations to Mr. O. for the ability with which he had treated the subject, and the light he had shed upon it; and he hoped the book committee would "take the matter into serious consideration." There the whole subject ended.

But the matter in which we felt the deepest interest was the reading of the appointments. The rough draught is made out by the committee, who labor upon it for a week before the conference commences its session, upon data gathered from the chairmen of the districts, and communications received from the officiary of the several charges, and also from the preachers. This draught is first rapidly read by the secretary, without remarks. As the whole matter is to be sanctioned by the conference, the second reading is more deliberate, and subject to interruptions. During the first reading all is perfect stillness: the only exception is a little note-taking in several quarters. When the reading closes, there is a universal bustle, as though every man had fixed his eye upon some point in the plan which would pinch somewhere.

On the second reading, the appointments which are questioned are debated. It should be observed, however, that but comparatively few are called in question at all. When the secretary is arrested, the scene is animated; and to us it was exceedingly novel. To an American Methodist it looks strange to see a man arise, and plead his claim to a better appointment; and to hear others with equal confidence and earnestness deny that claim in his presence. But all this takes place without a rupture; and when the matter is settled, which is done by the president saying, "Let it pass," or, as is sometimes the case, by a vote, all remain quiet.

The debates in the Wesleyan Conference are more in the character of the discussions of a popular assembly, than in our conferences in this country. Feelings of approbation or displeasure are often expressed. Sometimes, "Hear, hear," and at others, "No, no," are heard in all directions; and occasionally a speaker takes his seat in the midst of thundering applause. When, as upon several occasions was the case, the scene becomes confused, the president arises upon his feet, and cries out with a strong voice, "Order, order." If the turmoil is not abated in a moment, which is usually the case, fifty voices are heard crying out, "The chair, chair, chair." This shortly restores silence and order. The American reader will wonder at all this; but he must not judge a convocation of divines in England by American rules of propriety. We make the record simply as a matter of information. At the same time we must note with emphasis, that the British Conference reach their results about as soon, and are fully as well satisfied with them, as is the case with bodies in this country who conduct their business in the most noiseless and quiet manner.

Upon the whole we were gratified, highly gratified, with our visit to the British Conference. As we have already intimated, we made some sacrifices to attend the sessions of this body. Some of our friends made interesting excursions to *Tinton Abbey*, *Bath*, *Kingswood*, &c.; and it would have been highly gratifying to us had we accompanied them; but we waived the pleasure to be able to form as correct an opinion as possible of the mode of doing business in the conference. We did wander abroad, and spend some little time in sight-seeing, before we left Bristol; but cannot now give the reader the results of our observations.

Art. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Evangelical Alliance. Report of the Proceedings of the Conference held at Freemasons' Hall, London, from August 19th to September 2d, inclusive*, 1846. *Published by order of the Conference.* London: Partridge & Oakley, Paternoster-row. Octavo, pp. 607.

This is the first and the only official history which has been given to the public, in any form, of the acts and debates of the celebrated *London Conference*. The speeches are reported by the official reporter, and are presented with unusual accuracy. There is a charm about the book to one who was present, and listened to the distinguished men who gave direction to the councils of that conference, which it can have to no one else; but it furnishes a rare treat to any pious and intelligent mind. Even to those who seem determined to regard the *Evangelical Alliance* as "a great humbug," or "a splendid failure," the book cannot be without interest. We can most confidently invite the attention of all—both friends and foes of the Alliance—to this book. Few can peruse its pages without being made better; and none but incorrigible sectarians will become weary of them. The work, in addition to the acts and speeches, contains an appendix of nearly one hundred pages, composed of communications from distinguished individuals not present, and bodies of Christians, together with an alphabetical list of the members; receipts and expenditures, &c. This work may be had at the Book Room, for the low price of $1 75, without discount. We hope our preachers especially will early avail themselves of the present opportunity of procuring a copy.

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2. *A History of Rome, from the earliest Times to the Death of Commodus.* By Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. Harper and Brothers.

In his preface to this work, Dr. Schmitz remarks, with perfect justice, that, in spite of all the efforts of the most celebrated scholars of the last half century, the books on Roman history generally used in schools at the present day continue what they were fifty years ago. It was mainly to remedy this defect that the present work was undertaken; and it seems to us admirably well fitted to supply the want which has been felt so long. It imbodies all the recent discoveries of the eminent scholars referred to; and presents their conclusions, interwoven with the regular course of the narrative, in a remarkably clear and intelligible light. It is by far the best condensed history of Rome now before the public, and merits general favor. We commend it especially to the attention of all who are interested, in any way, in the cause of education.

3. *An Essay on Church Polity: comprehending an Outline of the Controversy on Ecclesiastical Government, and a Vindication of the Ecclesiastical System of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By Rev. Abel Stevens, A. M. 12mo., pp. 206. Lane & Tippett.

This work embraces the substance of the great controversy on church government, so far as it interests the M. E. Church and her opponents. It is a clear and very satisfactory defense of our church polity against high Churchmen and high Congregationalists. The argument is sufficiently expanded, and the authorities are sufficiently numerous, for all ordinary purposes. For those who have not the means of consulting more voluminous works, the present Essay is the best thing we have seen. On the question of "apostolical succession," it should not supersede *Powell.* But being more general in its scope and design, and adapted to the particular features of American Methodism, it meets present contingencies more fully. The method of the work is natural, the argument clear and conclusive, and the style is characteristically free and easy. We most earnestly commend this little volume both to our preachers and people; and hope it may soon be universally known and duly appreciated.

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4. *The Writings of George Washington, with a Life of the Author.* By Jared Sparks. Harper & Brothers.

The public has been acquainted for several years with the great value and interest of this collection. It is a monument, not less of the industry and intelligent research of the compiler, than of the peerless commander and statesman whose writings it contains. It is the most extensive and valuable magazine of materials for a history of the American Revolution yet offered to the public. Washington was from first to last the heart and soul of that great struggle; and these volumes contain the record of its rise and progress—not only in outward form, but in the spirit and temper of the people, and in the mind of their great leader. His habits of method and of consummate prudence led to the preservation of all important documents connected with it; and these have been collected and arranged by Mr. Sparks, with a care and skill peculiar to himself.

The work was originally published in thirteen elegant volumes, and sold at a high price; not so high, however, as to exclude it from the libraries of immense numbers of our people. The Harpers are now issuing a new edition, in the same number of volumes, from the same stereotype plates, and in a manner almost equally rich and sumptuous; and yet at a price—one dollar a volume—which must give it an unbounded circulation. Three volumes of this edition have been already issued. We commend it very heartily to public favor.

5. *The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II.* By Henry Hallam. From the fifth London edition. Harper & Brothers.

For nearly twenty years this work has maintained its rank as the ablest and most impartial history of the state of government in England yet offered to the public. The author combines the qualifications of sound scholarship, laborious research, and a cautious yet independent judgment, to a degree seldom reached by historians. His style is clear and precise; and every doubtful or disputed point is examined with all the candor and zeal of an honest inquirer after the truth. The successive editions of the work have undergone such alterations and corrections as the progress of longer inquiry has rendered proper, and the present reprint is from the latest and best of those issued hitherto. It is published in a very handsome octavo volume, and ought to be well received. An eminent critical authority has justly and felicitously characterized the work as follows:—"Its whole spirit is that of the bench, not of the bar. He sums up with a calm, steady impartiality, turning neither to the right nor the left, glossing over nothing, exaggerating nothing, while the advocates on both sides are alternately biting their lips to hear their conflicting misstatements and sophisms exposed."

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6. *The Juvenile Speaker: comprising Elementary Rules and Exercises in Declamation, with a Selection of Pieces for Practice.* By Francis T. Russell, Instructor in Elocution at Princeton and Rutger's Colleges. Harper & Brothers. 1847.

Notwithstanding the number of books that have appeared on this subject, the one before us possesses merits and advantages that should commend it to public favor. The author is the son of Mr. William Russell, a gentleman extensively and favorably known in this department of education.

The object of the present work is to present the first principles of elocution, as they apply to the practice of boys in declamation; to reduce every principle to immediate practice by the introduction of appropriate exercises; to illustrate the principles of gesture; and to furnish young speakers with a supply of suitable pieces for a more extended application of the rules of elocution. From these and other excellent features of the work, we have no hesitation in recommending it strongly to teachers, as a most useful and desirable book; and we are very confident that any class of pupils that should be made thoroughly and practically acquainted with its principles would become better and more correct speakers than a majority of those who graduate from our high schools and academies.

7. *Astronomical Maps.* By Rev. Hiram Mattison, of the Black River Conference.

These maps constitute what appears to us a successful effort at making the study of astronomy easy and pleasant, even to children. There are in the set sixteen maps, thirty-five by forty inches, embracing the different appearances of the heavens, and the phenomena of the heavenly bodies. They are suited to the use of schools, and may be advantageously employed in the instruction of private classes in the sublime science of the heavens. We most cordially recommend them to the attention of teachers; and most ardently hope that our friend, who has in his state of ministerial superannuation had the strength and perseverance to carry his plan to so high a state of perfection, may find an ample reward in the patronage of a generous public.

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8. *Ecclesiastical Polity: its Form and Philosophy.* By Rev. A. N. Filmore. 12mo., pp. 216. Rochester: Harrison & Luckey. 1847.

From the cursory examination which we have been able to give this work, we are very favorably impressed with regard to its real merits. The genius of Methodism is brought out with a strong hand, and in a clear light. Radicals will ultimately find that their true policy is *silence*. Every assault they have made upon original Methodism has resulted in a defeat. The present work is equally an antidote for *high churchism* and *radicalism*; both of which are as contrary to the Bible, as they are ruinous in their practical operations. We have no hesitation in recommending the work of brother Filmore to our readers.

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9. *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi, by the three great European Powers, Spain, France, and Great Britain; and the subsequent Occupation, Settlement, and Extension of Civil Government by the United States, until the Year* 1846. By John W. Monette, M. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

These two handsome octavo volumes are devoted to the historic records of the great Western Valley, already fast becoming the most important section of our rapidly expanding country. This valuable work is therefore a most opportune and desirable contribution to our national archives. If the work is in part void of methodical arrangement, and occasionally disfigured by inelegancies of style, yet these are but minor defects, and more than compensated by the great collection of facts and documents which the author has gathered from the existing sources at home and abroad, in many instances rare and heretofore inaccessible. Some colored maps accompany the work—one describing the French, English, and Spanish possessions in North America in the year 1745, which cannot fail at the present time to prove interesting and valuable in determining disputed points as to boundary lines between us and our Mexican neighbors. We heartily commend this highly important production of Dr. Monette to the attention and patronage of our readers generally, for it deserves a permanent place in every private collection.

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10. *Homes and Haunts of the most eminent British Poets.* By William Howitt.

The Messrs. Harper have conferred a favor on all lovers of elegant literature by their beautiful edition of this work. It is comprised in two splendid volumes, enriched by a series of nearly fifty exquisite engravings, descriptive of the "homes" of the sons of song. We are much mistaken if this work do not prove eminently successful; and sure we are that all who will take the trouble to inspect it, and read

a few pages, will not hesitate to purchase and peruse them throughout. Mr. Howitt —himself a poet of no mean pretensions—has performed his task in a genial spirit. His scenes, gossip, anecdotes, and biographical sketches of the poets, are given with charming effect, and evince an appreciation of his subject that is truly delightful. We may add that these charming volumes include characteristic notices of these immortal men, from the times of Chaucer down to our own day: interspersed with which will be found a large fund of rich anecdote, and private elucidation of character, not to be met with elsewhere. Speaking of these volumes, we observed in the columns of an Albany paper, the other day, that they were pronounced "worth their weight in gold." This, though a designed hyperbole, is great and just praise.

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11. *The True Evangelist: or an Itinerant Ministry, particularly that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, explained, guarded, and defended.* By Rev. James Porter. With an Introduction, by Rev. Abel Stevens. 18mo., pp. 162. Boston: Waite, Peirce, & Co.

We have not been able to give this book a careful perusal; but from what we have read of it, and from the high recommendations which it has received, we have no doubt that it is emphatically *a book for the times*, and every way worthy of the confidence of the public. *Mr. Stevens*, in his introduction, says,—

"It is, as it should be, a popular discussion of the subject, in style and spirit, but proceeds on a solid theoretical substructure. The details of the discussion are there amply traced, more so than in any other work extant. I doubt not that its circulation will tend very effectually to correct the prevalent prejudice against our ecclesiastical system, and invigorate the interest of our people for it."

We hope this little book will have an extensive circulation. At this moment efforts are in progress to disaffect our people with our Scriptural itinerant plan. This work of brother Porter comes just in the right time.

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12. *Myrtis, with other Etchings and Sketchings.* By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Harper & Brothers.

This beautiful volume comprises a dozen fugitive pieces in prose, from the popular and instructive pen of Mrs. Sigourney. An author so well established in the good opinions of the public as the present requires little in the way of criticism or commendation. The same gentle and kindly virtues which her muse inspires, we find glowing in her more sober prose.

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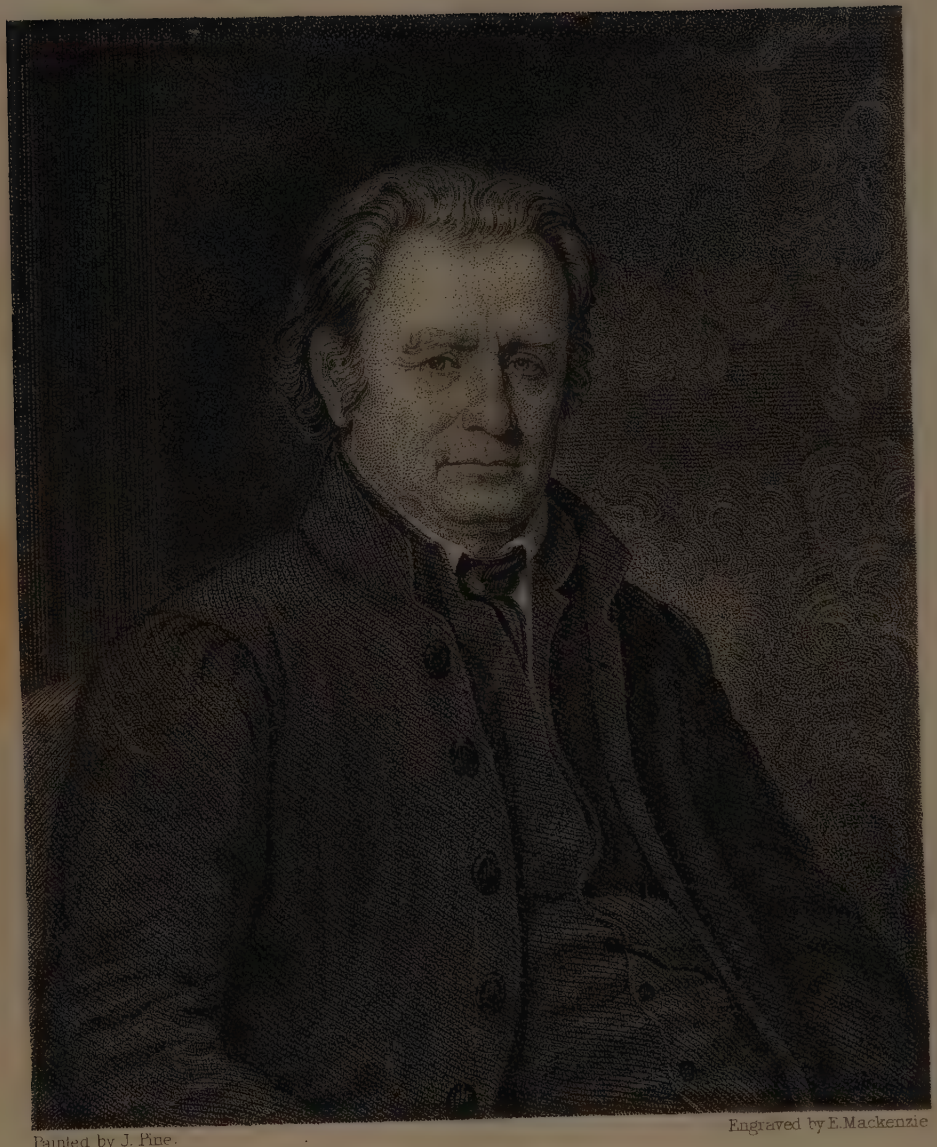
13. *Christian Love: or, Charity an Essential Element of True Christian Character.* By Rev. Daniel Wise. 24mo., pp. 128. Boston: C. H. Peirce. 1847.

A refreshing little volume—full of instruction and encouragement. The theme itself is enough to secure the attention of the true disciple of Christ. In this cold world, where all is selfishness and hatred, "Christian love" is the grand *catholicon*. Whoever wishes help in the cultivation of this heaven-born principle, will be much profited by carefully and devoutly reading this manual. It is got up in an inviting style, and is just suited for a kind of pocket companion.



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REV. JAMES B. FINLEY.

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Published at The Book Room 200 Mulberry St. N.Y.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1847.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*The Pictorial History of England: being a History of the People, as well as a History of the Kingdom. Illustrated with several hundred Wood Cuts; Monumental Records; Coins; Civil and Military Costume; Domestic Buildings; Furniture and Ornaments; Cathedrals, and other Great Works of Architecture; Sports, and other Illustrations of Manners; Mechanical Inventions; Portraits of the Kings and Queens; and remarkable Historical Scenes.* By GEORGE L. CRAIK and CHARLES MACFARLANE; assisted by other contributors. 4 vols. 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THE value of a truly good history of England issuing from the American press, attractive in form, and at a price which brings it into popular use, cannot be overrated. We care not with what other work of science, learning, or literary art, it be compared, in all its deep and enduring influences on the American mind, such production, we hesitate not to affirm, will rank *first*. Setting aside our religion, there will be found no such teacher as our own ancestral history—none whose lessons will be found so familiar or so persuasive, so practical or so much needed. There is, in short, no such mine of national wisdom for us Americans as the study of English history. Our silver and gold may have come to us from other regions, but what is better than silver and gold has come to us mainly from *old* England. Never, surely, in the past history of the world has the great problem of man and his capabilities, of society and its institutions, of religion and its influences, been so fully or so satisfactorily worked out, as in that *little* island which looks so small, and counts so great, as we cast our eyes over the terrestrial globe. With all its defects, too, the British constitution has yet been the freest and the best working which the nations of the earth, with their ten thousand experiments, (setting

aside, of course, our own,) have yet lighted upon; and we may add that, with all its drawbacks, the British character has still corresponded with its noblest institutions. Nowhere do we find more sterling virtues, more practical good sense, purer national morals, or sounder Christian faith; and nowhere out of our own land, certainly, equal industry or skill, with its corresponding national wealth and power. Now all this has been the result of a long, *long* experiment, of which a true English history (a history, we mean, of the *people* as well as of the *government*) gives us the successive steps of advancement or retardation,—an invaluable guide, therefore, to all younger nations that would tread like it the path of power. Thus much, at least, those *not* her sons may admit. To those who *are*, we commend the affectionate eulogium of their own Camden:—"O! fortunate Britannia! The masterpiece of nature, performed when she was in her best and gayest humor, which she placed as a little world by itself by the side of the greater, for the admiration of mankind; the most accurate model which she proposed to herself, by which to beautify the other parts of the universe."

Or, to put its value in a comparative light, what a blank would not the page of modern history become to us with the name of England blotted out! We could better spare the Spanish, Italian, German, and even French, combined. With the English left, we should scarce miss one moral or political lesson of history. But, under the loss of the English, what a vacuum in all political and social wisdom! All would suffer dim eclipse. For what is there, we may ask, in our whole national training that came not out of that fountain? But as inheritors of England's experience, where did we get our common law, or Bill of Rights, or writ of habeas? And where else, but as graduates in her school, did the framers of our federal constitution learn their singular wisdom? For what, in truth, is all English history but our own history; and the English language, literature, poetry, and faith, but the living rock out of which our own has been fashioned? To whatever quarter, then, we turn, we cannot, as Americans, get England and her history out of our eye, nor, what is more, out of our *heart*. Nor should we if we could. To a people of "movement," as we are, it is all important to have something in their horizon *fixed*. Afloat as we are on a restless ocean, the popular will our only rudder, it is very needful to have some clear headlands to sail by; and, with shifting pilots at the helm, to have at least a settled chart before us, from good authority, and steady beacon-lights. Under this image does English history ever present itself to our minds.

With this natural, though perhaps needless, preamble, we come at last to our true subject—the splendid work before us—and hold the country at large a debtor to the liberal and enterprising publishers who have put it forth. So much praise, at least, is due to them in advance. They have added to the public stock of interesting reading, a work well calculated to tell powerfully and permanently on the rising mind of the country. Thousands and tens of thousands will be more or less influenced by it. The heroic and thrilling story of an ancestral home cannot but work deeply on youthful feelings, and improvingly on all; and thus make the publication of this History, as before said, a national benefit. Indeed, setting aside their issue of the BIBLE, we know of nothing that has come forth from the prolific press of the Harpers that better entitles them to be regarded as public benefactors than the work now before us. Its novelty of form and beauty of execution make its success certain, while its contents make that success a national blessing. Of such value do we hold the volumes before us. We hail them with pleasure, too, from another cause. It is substituting "the solid bullion of the English line" in place of "French wire"—the enduring interest of a moral and true narrative for the spurious excitement of a licentious and fictitious one. It speaks well for the country that it is prepared for such exchange, and it speaks honorably for those who are willing to risk "business profits" by making it, because *un*willing to make gain of that which would bring their country loss. The present publishers are men that may safely leave "Sue" and his novels, "et hoc genus omne," to publishers who are more ready to weigh gold against religion, and private interest against the public weal. But to turn to the work itself, which has its own high claims to merit, independent of the value arising from its subject. It is "history" in a new and more instructive form. It is the novel exhibition in *literary* labor of that same principle which has brought perfection into all *material* labor, namely, "subdivision of labor;" that is, distribution of "parts," with a view to higher perfection in the "whole." This is its leading feature; a principle which, however obvious and elsewhere familiar, is yet now, we think, for the first time distinctly applied to what it is yet peculiarly applicable to—the preparation of a great national history. It is at once evident what ample room, or rather need, here exists for its application. The varied and minute knowledge demanded in the historian, the stores of the antiquarian, the research of the scholar, the learning of the jurist, the science of the economist, the attainments of the theologian, the taste and reading of the man of letters, the

heart of sympathy to conceive and the hand of power to delineate men and events, as well as the eye of the soldier to realize truly and narrate vividly what, alas! forms too large a portion of the historic page—all these and many more incongruous demands belong to the historian's task, and will be made and must be answered by him who henceforth undertakes to satisfy the public mind in a great national history. But what single individual can even pretend to bring to the task such varied qualifications? and yet which one can be dispensed with? In any one point a marked failure brings condemnation on the work, and breaks down its reputation on all points. To take an instance or two: Hume's ignorance in Saxon, Gibbon's deeper ignorance of religion, Alison's ignorance in military affairs, and Sir Walter Scott's ignorance in financial matters, have each respectively struck down the reputation of their histories even on points wherein they were competent judges. Now from these well-known examples it is clear that a thoroughly good history, more especially of such a country as England, must in its execution be an "exhaustive" work, and therefore, to be successfully treated, must be entered upon and carried out, as the work before us has been, through means of a subdivision of labor —many heads as well as many hands, each skillful in his own department, each confined to his own task, yet all working to a common end. This leads us to speak more specially of the plan of the "Pictorial History of England."

It is a republication for American readers of an English work originally issued in London, in monthly parts, by Charles Knight, the well-known publisher of the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." It bears therefore, in some degree, the stamp and seal of that association. Its authorship, however, is shared by a number of writers, though under the editorial supervision of a single head, namely, Mr. George L. Craik, "whose various works upon the literature and general antiquities of Great Britain have made him favorably known in this department." The manner of such division is as follows: English history is first divided into periods, each period forming a distinct book. The books again are subdivided into chapters, each chapter being devoted to a distinct department confined to the history of that period. Such distribution is sevenfold, each department having its own author—one specially skilled in the subject assigned to him. The departments and authors' names are as follows:—

1. "Civil and Military Transactions," by Mr. Charles Macfarlane.

2. "A History of Religion," by Mr. Thomas Thomson.

3. "Constitution, Government, and Laws," by Mr. A. Bisset.

4. "National Industry," one chapter by Mr. Planche, all the rest by Mr. J. C. Platt.

5. "Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts," chiefly by Sir Henry Ellis.

6. "Costumes and Furniture, Manners and Customs," by Mr. Planche and Mr. Thomson.

7. "Condition of the People;" author not stated.

Such is the magnificent plan of the work, and so faithfully is it executed, that we are not surprised to learn that it "engaged the constant and unwearied labors of the several writers employed upon it for upward of seven years, and that the copyright cost the original proprietors little less than fifty thousand dollars."

Looking now again at the probable result of such literary subdivision, we have at least two noble instances in our language to guide us—one in translation and one in science. The "received translation of the Bible," in the reign of the first James, was thus made, being the united product of forty-seven of the most learned and pious scholars of England, working, first singly, and then combined on their common task. The result, we need hardly add, was such as no *one* mind or pen could possibly have effected—a work at once so vast, so varied, so rich and beautiful, and yet so simple, as to have become a "pillar" at once of our literature and of our faith;—a splendid monument of what may be effected in literary labor by bringing to bear many and varied minds, under a common impulse, to work out one harmonious whole. The other instance is one more recent, perhaps more questionable in its success, though certainly more analogous to the case before us. We allude to the series of the eight Bridgewater Treatises, looked at as what they were intended to be, harmonious parts of one great argument. Up to that time the religious argument of "design," as seen in the works of creation, had been handled by one single mind, whether the facts were drawn from the animal, vegetable, or inorganic kingdom. But it was soon evident that in the advanced state of modern physical science, such mastery of the subject could not come from the single mind; there would be either marked deficiency in part, or else general superficiality, and the argument growing out of those facts be proportionally defective. Thus Paley, however acute as a reasoner, was but a tyro in science. He studied anatomy and revised his natural philosophy only that he *might* reason upon them. His knowledge, therefore, went not beyond the needs of his argument. But not so in the subdivided treatment of the question. Take, for instance, Bell's argument in

anatomy, or Whewell's in general physics. They reasoned and wrote on these subjects *because* they understood them. Their argument, therefore, grew out of their science, and not, as with Paley, the science out of the argument. Now this is strikingly analogous to the case before us. What Hume knew of Saxon antiquities or English law arose out of the very work he was engaged in, but which, to be *well* done, demanded a *previous* acquaintance with them. His knowledge of his subject was the stock with which he *ended* his labors, instead of being, as it should have been, and as in the case, for instance, of Mr. Bisset, the lawyer, or Mr. Planche the antiquarian, in the work before us, the stock with which he *began*. This it is which gives to the history under review a character of thoroughness and completeness unattained and unattainable in a work resulting from the stores of any *single* mind. "Cuique in suâ arte credendum est." This it is that here satisfies us. We rest our faith not on vague, but specific confidence; not merely that the author is *candid*, but that he is *learned;* not only that he is above deceiving others, but also beyond being deceived himself. *That*, in history, is at least equally essential to the student's confidence. This, however, is the *strong* side of the question. We will not deny that it has also its *weak* side, and that is the danger of losing by division what in all art is the highest element of power as well as of beauty—we mean UNITY; unity of plan, of purpose, of teaching—unity, seen, felt, and understood. Now a history, the product of many minds, while it gains as a "storehouse of knowledge," will, without great care, be very apt to lose somewhat as a "teacher of wisdom." "Philosophy instructing by example" was the early, and must ever be the highest, eulogy of history. Will it continue, we ask, under its new form, to merit it? This, certainly, is a question not without its grave bearings. It is a danger not to be scorned, and one that can be met only by the watchfulness or governing weight of some one presiding intellect. In our day and land, at least, we could ill spare history as the GREAT MORAL TEACHER of the nation—next to religion, the greatest and most powerful. And since, as a people, we have already cast out religion from our government, and Christianity from our laws—since, as a nation, we repudiate the name, and make light of its precepts—what have we left, as a state, to guide us? Whose teachings are our rulers, or rather those who rule our rulers, willing to hear? Philosophy, with them, has no honor, authority no weight; they hold cheap all grave wisdom, and stand in awe only of living opinions. Still, however, they bow somewhat to the name of history. That "chronicler of the past"

is still a word of power among them. It is the last teacher which the willful, arrogant mind is ever found to cast off. Therefore, we say, should history, in all its high moral influences, be cherished among us, and strengthened and enlarged, not merely as a voluminous record of the *past*, but as a wise, prudent guide of the *present*, and a sagacious prophet of the *future*. Therefore would we watch carefully, lest in this new and enlarged scheme of history increase of knowledge be bought with decrease of wisdom, and its students learn facts and lose lessons. But there are also in it minor difficulties. How, in such a scheme, shall *repetition* be avoided—the same events, reflections, narratives, and characters, almost necessarily coming up with equal claims in different divisions? This, in the Bridgewater Treatises, is unquestionably a great source of their weariness. How, too, shall *consistency* be secured amid the independent views of independent minds, looking freely at the same fact or character? and, if not in agreement, by what scale are their differences to be weighed, and the reader's judgment guided? We state these practical difficulties plainly and strongly, because they have thus presented themselves to our mind, growing, as they do, out of the plan itself. We do not say they neutralize its advantages, but we do say they are such as demand a skillful hand to avoid them. Now, in the work before us, they have been, speaking generally, either very happily or very skillfully avoided. Occasional repetition is no doubt to be found, and here and there slight discrepancies to be detected, but not such as in any degree either to weary or embarrass the reader. Its execution has enlarged English history as a storehouse of knowledge without sensibly weakening it as a school of wisdom, and strengthened its hold on the intellect without losing it over the imagination and the heart. Now this we esteem the solution, so far as it has gone, of a great problem; and if our subsequent remarks shall somewhat modify the praise, we trust it will be laid to the account of our anxiety to give to this new form of history its highest perfection, and in our search after the ACTUAL in history not to lose sight of its loftier IDEAL. In all of man's greater works such twofold elements must combine. They constitute, in truth, man's double nature—the "utilitarian" and the "heroic;" the one looking on history but as a "congeries" of dead facts, the other as a "fountain" of living causes; the one seeing in its details little beyond the vulgar workings of self-interest or low ambition, the other the deeper current also of loftier feelings. With the one, history is but a vulgar spectacle, which man governs and time soon closes; to the other, it is a high and solemn drama, overruled by a power

greater than man, and directed to loftier ends—a drama of which we here see but the beginning and progress; the *αναγνωρισις* which brings all right lies not upon earth. Of such a tone, we think, must all true history partake. Under the light, or prejudice, as some may call it, of these general principles, turn we to the work before us—the great "exemplar," as we may term it, of this novel method. The first special merit we shall note in it is its "professional" learning on all points. Turn where we will, we are always in the hands of a master—one entitled to teach, and to whose judgment, therefore, the reader defers without scruple. This thoroughness of knowledge is perhaps most striking, because most easily measured, in the incidental questions that history brings up. Take, for instance, "ecclesiastical architecture," a subject to which our national taste is now so strongly and wisely turning. In the greatest of English histories hitherto, how little has been said upon this point, and of that little how much wrong, and all superficial! Here, on the contrary, the architect may both study his science and find his models—quote the work as authority, and rest safely upon its conclusions. We give an illustration at random:—

"The perpendicular Gothic is essentially and exclusively English, 'and heartily,' says Professor Willis, 'may we congratulate ourselves upon it, when we compare it with the sister styles of France and Germany.' It sprung up in our country as a new and vigorous shoot, and flourished during a period when the continental Gothic, exhausted by excessive luxuriance, was declining irretrievably. The principal characteristic of this style, and that to which it owes its name, is the perpendicular direction of the mullions of the windows, which are carried up in straight lines till they reach the curve of the arch, the subdivisions of the head of the windows being also, for the most part, formed of lines having a similar tendency. These perpendicular lines being crossed at right angles by transoms, the whole becomes a combination of open panels. 'Paneling,' says Mr. Rickman, 'is the grand source of ornament in this style—indeed, the interior of most rich buildings is only a series of it; for example, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, is all panel except the floor; for the doors and windows are nothing but panels included in the general design, and the very roof is a series of them in different shapes.'"—P. 211, book v, ch. v.

We have said above that our national taste is "wisely" turning to this matter. We repeat it, for we have much to learn, and the study of English models is our best lesson. They will teach us the great law of REALITY and TRUTH in our religious *structures*, as well as the *devotions* to which they are consecrated. Large or small, humble or adorned, of wood, brick, or stone, the law is the same. It is for God's eye rather than man's—the best we have,

but without the too common falsehood of pretending to be what it is not. Therefore we say, let the structure ever be governed by the material, and all ornament be but enrichment of its necessary parts. But this is too wide a subject to be thus incidentally opened.

Accompanying such artistic statements the reader has also before him drawings from the best models, such as the nave of Winchester Cathedral; Bishop's Palace, Lincoln; St. Mary's, Oxford; and King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Or, to turn to another incidental topic, yet full of historic interest, and one in which the "pictorial" value of this work shines pre-eminent—we allude to the "coins" of England, a subject in itself a minor history, and, as here exhibited to the eye, one of the surest lights of general history. Few persons, probably, are aware that coins still exist in England, of a date *anterior* to the Roman invasion, of gold, tin, and iron—confirming to the letter the precise words of Cæsar: "Utuntur aut a're aut nummo aureo aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo." Of these coins, the tin and iron are doubtless of native workmanship, but the gold as obviously Grecian; some incontestably so, as bearing the imprint of Philip II. of Macedon; though whether brought into the island by Phenician navigators, or as part of the booty of the Gaulish invasion of Greece, we are left to conjecture. But, however decided, it is clear that coined money was *there*, both foreign and national—a fact which goes far to show a degree of wealth and social advancement among the Britons at the time of Cæsar's landing very different from the popular notion of a race of painted and half-naked savages, by whom Cæsar was opposed, and, as is pretty clear, in spite of his own account, *worsted*. It was but a fanciful as well as an *Irish* picture of the poet, that exhibited at Rome the martial "cloaks,"

> "which from the *naked* Picts their grandsires won."

We would also refer to the Druidical history of the island, here given, as full of interesting and novel research. (See pp. 65 and seq., vol. i.) It exhibits "Druidism" as an offshoot, evidently, from an oriental stock, Brahminic in its mysticism and Egyptian in its policy. A ruling priestly "caste," their prominent doctrine the metempsychosis, their leading science astronomy, their highest duty self-immolation, all clearly point to an eastern origin. In its more general "phase" Druidism was but the natural and necessary domination of intellect over *force*, mind over body; but the conservative element, therefore, of states and empires in every stage of civilization, and without which social institutions cannot

long subsist. Viewed in this light it deserves more philosophic attention than it has hitherto received, and we are pleased to find that Mr. Thomson here thus treats it. Their fundamental doctrine was, in truth, that of a future life, of their firm belief in which the geographer Mela gives this rather dubious proof, in which not a few Christians follow them; namely, that "many put off the payment of their debts till they should meet their creditors in the shades below!!" A clearer proof of the Druids' power is seen in the fact of their utter extermination by their Roman conquerors. They were found to be the keystone of an independent state; usurped dominion could not take root till the natural dominion of religion was removed. Let America learn at least this lesson from their fate, namely, that liberty and religion stand or fall together—that there is no security for national freedom apart from national faith. But still the Roman domination brought with it the seeds of a higher civilization. Says Mr. Bisset, the able author of the constitutional portion of the work,—

"It is interesting, to an inhabitant of Great Britain at the present day, to reflect that toward the beginning of the Christian era, more than fifteen hundred years ago, this island actually possessed, for a period of above three hundred years, nearly the whole of the Roman civilization; that, in the second and third centuries of the Christian era, the inhabitants of Britain enjoyed personal security; and, after the payment of the Roman taxes, security of property; arts and letters; elegant and commodious buildings; and roads, to which no roads they have had since could bear comparison, till the establishment of the present railways."—Vol. i, p. 80.

Among the many neglected points of early English history here ably and faithfully treated, we would especially note that of the primeval British Church, and its planting, if not by the apostles themselves, at least in apostolic times. That St. Paul himself visited the island "Ultima Thule," is an early and wide-spread tradition. That Italy was not the intended limit of his labors westward is clear from his own language. Twice he speaks of Spain as an *arranged* journey: "Whenever I take my journey into Spain," says he; and again: "I will come by you into Spain." Rom. xv, 24, 28. Now that he carried out such determinate plans, it is surely most reasonable to suppose; nor can any argument against it be drawn from the silence of Scripture, for it is clear that the narrative of St. Luke in the "Acts" terminates abruptly with the writer's personal knowledge, and leaves unaccounted for at least four years of the apostle's active life intervening between his first and second imprisonment at Rome. Or, if not personally the Britons' teacher, another very current tradition

makes him such through his own British converts made at Rome, that city being, at the very time of St. Paul's abode there, the enforced residence of many noble British captives—like St. Paul, "bound, yet free"—and who afterward, as we know from heathen authority, returned to their native homes, *doubly* free, if, as tradition reports, they had become, through Paul's preaching, followers of that faith which alone makes free. To Christians whose faith, like ours, has descended through that island channel, it is pleasing to trace it up to this its apostolic head, and to see British princes among those Roman converts whom St. Paul speaks of as made "even in Cæsar's palace." Philip. i, 13. But apart from this its traditional origin, which would make the British Church as ancient as that of Rome itself, enough is here brought forward from *unquestioned* history to show fully and conclusively both its independent origin and its ecclesiastical freedom; and in the name of all those spiritually descended from it, would we here thank the authors and publishers of the present History for bringing forth so clearly this hinging point of our own ecclesiastical history. It comes home to many branches of the church of Christ, in the new as well as the old world—the historical exposure of that πρωτον ψευδος of the Church of Rome, namely, that she is "the mother and mistress of all churches." The same fact comes forth, too, in the history of the Irish Church, in which St. Patrick, its great apostle, appears as neither *from* Rome nor *under* Rome. It is pleasing to see, too, how even imperial Rome was outstripped in her conquests by these faithful soldiers of the cross. "Even those places in Britain," says Tertullian, (contra Judæos, A. D. 209,) "hitherto inaccessible to the Roman arms, have been subdued to the gospel of Christ."

But to qualify somewhat our eulogium on this religious portion of the history, we would that its author (Mr. Thomson) had brought to it a mind somewhat more disciplined, more exact in theological learning, more reverential in things sacred, and with a more catholic spirit for opinions and practices differing from his own. There is a certain high-minded, liberal philosophy, without which the history of religion cannot be truly written. To view it aright, the historian must be able to rise out of the narrow present in which he dwells. Through the power of natural sympathy he must cast himself on days gone by, take his "stand-point" there, live as they lived, feel as they felt, and thus, appreciating all their spiritual wants, feel for and with them, as man for man. Thus alone can the historian of man enter into the great brotherhood of humanity, and, coming near to its heart, speak aright its feelings. In this

spirit, we say, must all true history be written, more especially that which touches on the deeper questions of our common nature, and under this light must our estimate be formed of those who, in times past, have differed widely from us in religious opinions or practices.

These observations have been here called forth by what we cannot but deem language unworthy of grave and liberal history. Thus, in reference to the matter just spoken of, the Christianizing of Britain, he says:—

"Some have attributed the work to St. Peter, some to James the son of Zebedee, and others to Simon Zelotes; *but, for so important an office as the apostleship of this island, the majority of writers will be contented with no less a personage than St. Paul, and they ground their assumption*," &c.—P. 67.

The italics are our own, but the sneer is the author's, and applies to such thorough scholars as Bishops Pearson, Stillingfleet, Burgess, and Archbishop Parker, as well as to their unquestioned authorities, Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Theodoret. Or, to take another instance, a little later, he thus speaks of "the venerable Bede," a name associated with all the glories of Alfred, and all most venerable in Saxon piety and learning. After stating (p. 70) as an unquestioned fact, on Bede's own authority, the discomfiture, in solemn argument held, of Pelagius and his followers, (in their heretical denial of the need of divine grace,) Mr. T. goes on not only to discredit his own witness, but to cast a general slur upon his veracity, as gratuitous as it is obviously contradictory. He says,—

"Bede was too *orthodox and too credulous to have doubted the tradition, if it had affirmed that the arguments of the Gallic bishops on this occasion struck their antagonists* DEAD *as well as dumb.*"

Now from the pen of Gibbon such language would be in place —a clever "side-thrust" at orthodoxy and religious credulity; but in a noble and ingenuous history of a noble and Christian people, we enter our solemn protest against its use; and, holding all such evidences of a sectarian spirit (of which, it is true, there are not many) as blots upon its fair page, cannot, as honest critics, pass them by without a condemnatory notice. It is surely but a shallow philosophy, as well as a spurious Christianity, that sees in the *Past* only error and darkness, and light and truth but in our own day. Let us remember that we too shall soon stand in the same category of time, in the eyes of those who come after us, and not now sanction a rule by which our own opinions shall be so summarily held up to contempt, nor say nor think that wisdom was

born with us in the nineteenth century, lest we too be counted fools in the twentieth.

Now this want of a reverential and sympathizing tone in matters of religion is, in truth, our *only serious* criticism on the execution of the great work before us. Our complaint is not of the facts stated; they are, in general, studiously accurate; but it is the absence we feel of a more loving and gentle spirit in the manner of giving them. We miss the softened light of an humble and self-judging heart, giving the inward as well as the outward picture—withholding every harsh epithet, every gratuitous imputation, and realizing the beauty and power of Christian sincerity amid many errors of doctrine and many superstitious practices of life. Of this gentle catholic tone—in itself so Christian, in its influences so favorable, and in its spirit so congenial to all high philosophy—we confess we have sometimes wondered at the want, in the perusal of these volumes; and we would that in this last and highest merit of history, a work otherwise so perfect should not be in any degree deficient.

Among its novel and unquestioned merits, and one that will not be justly appreciated till actually examined, is its *pictorial* character. We have already spoken of this as touching the coins of England; but, as is evident, *that* is but one of its numberless applications. The arts and arms of bygone days—persons and places—their dress—plays, trades, public and domestic life—what is there that the pictorial art may not be called in to illustrate and explain?—and this with a precision and clearness infinitely beyond words, limited but by the genuine remains which time has left us, whether of the things themselves or their delineation, in illuminated manuscripts, ancient tapestry, original portraits, or early drawings. This vein at least of history has never before been so thoroughly worked out, and its results add incalculably both to the value and the interest of the work. To take a single instance, showing the applicability of such documents hitherto cast aside as mere lumber. From one single piece of tapestry—that of Bayeux in Normandy—more than *twenty* different historic scenes are derived, not one of which but adds something of interest to our knowledge of the events, manners, or arts of the time. The note, p. 186, bearing on this hitherto neglected work of art, illustrates so fully our position that we give it at large.

"The Bayeux tapestry is a roll of linen, twenty inches broad and two hundred and fourteen feet in length, on which is worked in woolen thread, in different colors, a representation, in seventy-two distinct compartments, of the whole history of the Norman Conquest of Eng-

land, from the departure of Harold for Normandy to the rout of the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. It embraces all the incidents of Harold's stay in Normandy, and has preserved some that have not been noticed by any of the chroniclers. Every compartment has a superscription in Latin, indicating its subject. A specimen of these titles is given in one of the cuts below. The Bayeux tapestry is said by tradition to have been the work of the conqueror's queen, Matilda, and to have been presented by her to the cathedral of Bayeux, of which her husband's half-brother Odo, one of those who rendered the most effective service in the invasion of England, was bishop; and the delineations, which correspond in the minutest points with what we know of the manners of that age, afford the strongest evidence that it is of this antiquity. It was preserved in the cathedral of Bayeux till 1803, having been wont to be exhibited for some days every year to the people, in the nave of the church, round which it exactly went. It is now in the hotel of the prefecture of that city, where it is kept coiled round a roller, from which it is unwound upon a table for inspection. An engraving of the whole, in sixteen plates, colored like the original, and one fourth of the original size, was published by the Society of Antiquaries, in the sixth volume of the 'Vetusta Monumenta.' The cuts we have given are reduced from these plates."—Book ii, chap. i, p. 186, note.

Here and there, indeed, these illustrations are not so rigidly historical, being copies of modern pictures and supposed scenes—as, for instance, "Boadicea haranguing the Britons," from "Stothard," p. 40; or the "Christian missionary," from Mortimer. Such, however, have still their value and their general truth. To *one*, however, of these unauthorized "illustrations" we would take direct exception, as tending only to mislead. We allude to the picture of the "Cingalese" village, (p. 30,) as illustrative of a British one—a parallel equally without proof and without probability, the one being a tropical, the other a highly inclement climate. We could also have wished a little more of delicate and artistic execution, especially in the female portraits. That of Mary, queen of Scots, for instance, rather shocks the chivalry of one who bears in his heart or memory the beauty of the original from which it is taken, seen as we saw it some forty years ago, and gazed on with tearful eyes, as it hung in that fated chamber where Rizzio fell, clinging to the robe of his traduced mistress, and where is still shown, staining the floor, the "spot of blood that will not out!" But passing by such, perhaps, unreasonable demand, we can hardly give too unqualified praise to this portion of the work. It is scarcely too much to say that it has indued the reader of history with a fresh sense and a new eye, enabling him to live in past ages, to realize their scenes and occupations as things present, and

the actors in them as men like ourselves—flesh and blood. Henceforth they cease to be to us NAMES, they have become PERSONS; and in proportion to that change are the awakening lessons they read to us, whether of guidance or warning:—

> Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Such is the value of *true* pictorial illustration. Visible things are made visible, and a glance thus teaches more than pages of explanation. Among all the recent advances in education, we hold none superior to this—teaching by the eye—knowledge that belongs to the eye; and we take comfort in thinking that we early did our part in the good work, urging its adoption for the illustration of the ancient classics, as we now commend its application to modern history. It is still, however, a fountain unexhausted, and we hazard little in saying that the present work will establish its use. Henceforth no history will be deemed complete without it. But we have not yet spoken of another all-important branch of this subdivided work, and one too that merits very high encomium—we mean that "on the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England." This is executed by a barrister of the name of Bisset, to us unknown, but who evidently brings to his task not only the legal knowledge to do it justice, but the philosophy that doubles its value. He is clearly of the school of Guizot in his generalizing views, and often brings them out with great power and sharpness. Take, for instance, the picture given of the early Roman dominion in the island; (p. 70;) again of the Norman Conquest; (pp. 544 et seq.;) wherein he closely follows the lead of that great French statesmanlike reasoner. The merits as well as the interest of this portion of the work grow with the growth of the British constitution, and open to the American reader, at least, invaluable political lessons. It shows the unexampled prosperity of England as the slow but sure growth of her civil and educational institutions, and those institutions, again, as themselves the product of national character; deriving their strength and efficacy not from written, but *un*written law; not from words and phrases, but from morals and religion; from national honor, individual integrity, and sound education. Now such picture is to every people a great and valuable lesson; above all to a people like ourselves, overrating, as we unquestionably do, the securities to liberty that come from *written* constitutions, and underrating what are its only permanent safeguards—private virtue and public morals. In the calm of general prosperity, paper and parchment *seem* strong, and we think

them the foundations on which the state rests; but in the storm and whirlwind of party they are soon torn to tatters, and nothing stands save virtue and honor—the people's virtue, based on religion, and the nation's honor, that grows out of both. The indignant lines of the poet have more than once been recalled to our thoughts in reading this portion of the work:—

"What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised battlement or labor'd mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate—
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd,
Not deep and broad-arm'd ports,
Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride,
Not starr'd and spangled courts,
Where low-brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride:
But MEN—*high-minded* men—
Men who their *duties* know—"

We have spoken of Mr. B. as a worthy scholar of the great French historiographer; in one respect at least he is a safer guide,—less metaphysical, and holding closer to authorities. His mind, if a less discursive, is at least a more *legal* one, and better trained in that school which lies at the foundation of the English character as well as law, and without which no historian, however sagacious, can read aright the English constitution; we mean the school of practice—"stare in decisis." Such history, wisely given, can hardly be overrated in its happy influences over the American mind. Of that constitution ours, let us remember, is but an offshoot—ingrafted on a younger stock, and transplanted to a more vigorous soil, but still growing out of the same strong Anglo-Saxon root, nourished by the same vigorous juices, and demanding, therefore, similar culture. Let then, we say, its cultivators in the new world look well to its growth in the old, and American statesmen study out the true working elements of the Anglo-Saxon race in that little island which, under Providence, has given to that race its dominion. How far *we* have in all cases improved in deviating from the English model, in the formation of our federal constitution, is certainly an open question. We would here touch, "en passant," but upon one deviation, which certainly has *not* worked well. We allude to the exclusion from our national legislature of the "heads of departments." Their exclusion was intended as a "check" against executive influence Few will now deny that it has worked an opposite result—doubled that influence by casting over it the veil of secrecy, thus turning argument into intrigue, and by making ministers *invisible*, making them also *irresistible*.

Such have been its *direct* evils; its indirect ones are still greater. It has rendered knowledge, talent, fitness for business, needless qualifications for those high offices. Were its incumbents bound to stand, as English ministers do, openly, day after day, and night after night, in the face of the people's representatives, to answer their questions, defend their own measures, and give to every fair inquirer all needful information, how clear is it that neither ignorance nor incapacity could stand there one hour, and thus the state be saved from at least one fertile source, now open, of mismanagement and misgovernment! What better guard, indeed, has legal ingenuity ever found against abuse or unfitness in any trust, than that the agent be confronted with his principal, and the trustee be made to stand up and justify his acts in the face of those whose concerns he manages? Such, then, was the mistake of American theory correcting English practice. It was the *people's* arm of power they cut off, and not the *executive's*, and thus much they might have learned from English history. They would have there seen no English minister daring to hold his place *one day* after he had lost the confidence of the people as expressed by its house, not a single instance of it occurring (with the exception of the Duke of Wellington holding on for a few days in 1830) since the year 1688. And we might add, as a further point wherein political theory was at fault, the "*qualified* veto" of the American president turning out a tyrannic power, while the "*absolute* veto" of the sovereign of England stands as a dead letter in its constitution, and *has stood* so for at least one hundred and fifty years. Now on this count, too, of political wisdom, do we hail with pleasure a work like the present, that brings home to the American citizen the true workings of that constitution out of which his own was mainly taken.

But we have not yet spoken of that department of the history which, though now deprived of its old exclusive monopoly, still forms its largest portion. Of the "Civil and Military," Mr. Charles Macfarlane is designated as the author; a name again, through our ignorance, to us unknown, but evidently one well fitted for his task, both by thorough research and general ability. He writes like one who has mastered his subject—freely and fully. His narrative is always flowing, often highly picturesque; his estimate of character unprejudiced, and his reflections, if not deeply philosophical, at least sound. Occasionally we might have preferred a little more condensation in details, and perheps a little more of *reticence* in matters "contra bonos mores," where the great ends and moral uses of history are not subserved by it. But wholly to

avoid the mention of what offends the moralist and the Christian is consistent neither with the facts nor object of history. The duty of the historian is fulfilled when he puts such facts in their true light—revolting, and not attractive. This, we need hardly say, Mr. Macfarlane and his coadjutors seldom fail to do; so that the work may be commended to family use as a moral and Christian history of England, as well as a highly interesting and deeply learned one. Sometimes, indeed, as already hinted, we could have wished a little more of *heart* in it, and perhaps, as touching the Church of England, a more affectionate and filial tone. We may be wrong in our judgment, but still we *do* think that no one can write *truly* the history of England who does not feel that sentiment toward the Church of England. So deeply inwoven has that church ever been in the fates and fortunes of the realm, and so conservative an element has it proved, through all its social revolutions, that we greatly doubt whether one who should look with a hostile or indifferent eye on its early or later struggles, whether against Roman domination or popular tumult, could tell the English story aright. And we are perfectly satisfied that he who can now see no beauty in her solemn services, no merit in her saintly martyrs, no reverence in her time-honored sanctuaries, and no blessings in her pious educational endowments, is to the same degree unfitted for unfolding thoroughly the true working elements of her national greatness. But we are far from charging such defect on the work before us. We only say that we sometimes miss what we think would have added to it a new grace and a deeper truth. Among the incidental marks of that to which we allude, is the habitual use, throughout the work, of the term "Catholic" as identical with the Church of Rome. Now such language is as false in theology as it is in fact. No one portion of the Christian church has a right to appropriate to itself that apostolic epithet. To yield the title to Rome is to acknowledge her claim, a surrender that has never been made by any portion of the Greek or oriental churches. In western Europe, too, the Church of England (to say nothing of other branches) has ever claimed a share in that title, as part of her primitive heritage, and daily so uses it, not in its arrogant Roman sense, but in its apostolic and Christian, as a bond of brotherhood with the universal church of Christ, from the first ages till now. In recalling it then to its true use, all sound branches of the church are equally interested with that of England. The feelings of Christendom are at length awake upon it, and we venture little in saying that the day has gone by when Roman usurpation of the term, or even careless use of it by

others, will be silently passed over. The "estray" will be reclaimed by its rightful owners, and, as one of the "notes" of the primitive church, be borne by all who hold to primitive doctrine. No matter when or where carelessly dropped, no matter how long falsely claimed or publicly worn, against the Christian's birthright there can be no "statute of limitation;" the church "catholic" is the church "universal," and the Church of Rome must be content to be described by an humbler epithet.

We may not close our notice of this magnificent History without some mention of that which comes nearest to our own labors—its "literary" portion. This, too, is a novel addition. Beyond a few brief words of conventional praise or trite criticism, what could the student of Hume or Rapin have heretofore learned of Chaucer or Spenser, or any other literary name? Now he opens the volume of history and finds it a very "ars poetica;" not the poet's name only, but his works, his special merits, his chosen models, his laws of versification, his influence on the taste and literature of the day, together with choice extracts illustrative—all these go to make this portion one of the newest and most interesting of the many additions which this work has made to English history. It fills up a "vacuum"—supplies a "desideratum," which all students felt, but few or none knew where or how to remedy. Let such turn, for instance, to the fifth chapter of the sixth book of the present work, and see how large addition will be made to their previous stores as gained from preceding historians.

But we must conclude our too extended though still imperfect sketch. Not only is the *subject* of the History too vast to be adequately examined, but even the *manner* of treating it. We have contented ourselves, therefore, with indicating some of the leading merits of this new plan, as well as pointing out what appear to us some of its inherent difficulties and dangers. That they have been altogether avoided or overcome in the work before us, we do not assert; but we do say they have been so in a very high degree, and that it has resulted in what may well be termed a magnificent work—one which distances all that has gone before it, whether we look to accumulation of materials, to thoroughness of research, to varied knowledge, to interesting narrative, or, lastly, to that which will be its most attractive feature, its unnumbered pictorial illustrations. We need not say we *wish* it success—it will *command* it; but we do say that we hail its appearance as a national benefit; for in proportion as it makes us sound English scholars, in the same proportion will it go far to make us sound American citizens.

ART. II.—*Homes and Haunts of the most eminent British Poets.* By WILLIAM HOWITT. 2 vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1847.

MANY thanks to thee, friend Howitt, for these pleasant volumes. They are neither biographical nor critical, but occupy just that ground which no one is better qualified to cultivate than thyself. And there are more to come. The dramatists, with the exception of the greatest of them all, are passed by, with some dear masters of the lyre, of whose homes and haunts we have almost the promise in thy brief advertisement. Disappoint us not in this matter; and though it may cost thee thousands of miles of travel, as did the volumes before us, yet is there abundant treasure in the poetic commonwealth of England; and no other living man may follow in the vein thou hast opened; or, if he follow, may find those gems and precious things, and give them to us in the freshness of thine own simplicity and singleness of purpose. Tell us about the smooth Waller; and about Young, merry and jovial in his life, but sad and sombre in his poetry. Make us better acquainted with Akenside and Beattie, and the gentle Allan Ramsay. We would know something more, too, than the mere biographer or the professional critics tell us of our dear friends—friends they are, though we never saw them—Milman, whose heroics Byron slandered; kind Miss Mitford, and stately Mrs. Norton; Browning, a true poet, less admired than she to whom he gave his name, when he blotted from fame's fair temple—Elizabeth Barrett: tell us of them both, now that they two are one; and leave room in thy volumes for all that thou mayst glean of him, the recently departed, who caused the tear and smile so pleasingly to blend, and whose name will live while oppression riots on half-paid toil, or man wears linen. But let us turn from what we wish to what we have; and with a well-earned compliment to the publishers, who have given us these volumes in a style most befitting, in the perfection of typography, and with striking embellishments, sit we down together, gentle reader, to the feast before us.

As was most proper, the genial CHAUCER heads the list; albeit the lapse of five centuries renders it extremely difficult to track his haunts, more especially as former biographers seem to have confirmed Tyrwhitt's assertion, that just nothing of him is really known. That he was born in London, he tells us himself; but whether he was educated at Oxford or at Cambridge is uncertain. The probability seems to be that he studied at both universities.

He became in early life a courtier, and, according to Rymer, received many solid tokens of royal regard. In the thirty-ninth year of his age the king granted him an annuity of twenty marks. Seven years after, he was made controller of the custom of wools, &c., in the port of London, and had a grant for life of a pitcher of wine daily. On the accession of the second Richard he had another annuity of twenty marks, and from that sovereign, as well as from Henry IV., he received many tokens of special favor. He was, successively, envoy to Genoa and ambassador to France, where, according to Froissart, he conducted a treaty of marriage between the young prince of Wales and the French king's daughter.

But the life of the "father of our truly English poetry," as he is justly styled, was not all sunshine. Owing to his connection with the Lollards, and for other reasons not so well known, he incurred the king's displeasure, was obliged to surrender his annuities, and to flee from his native land. On his return he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he was treated with great rigor; and on his liberation, which was effected not without dishonor to himself, he wrote his "Testament of Love," in which he complains "of being berafte out of dignitie of office, in which he made a gatheringe of worldly godes." His great work, the *Canterbury Tales*, was written when he had reached his sixtieth year; remained in manuscript more than half a century after his death, which occurred in the year 1400; and was first issued from the press of the celebrated Caxton. Our author says:—

"Spite of the rude state of the language when he wrote, the splendor of his genius beams and burns gloriously through its inadequate vehicle.... The language has gone on perfecting and polishing; a host of glorious names and glorious works have succeeded Chaucer and the Canterbury Tales, making England affluent in its literary fame as any nation on earth; but, from his distant position, the father of English poetry beams like a star of the first magnitude in the eternal hemisphere of genius.... The life and the characters he has represented to us are a portion of the far past, rescued for us from the oblivion that has overwhelmed all that age besides. To the latest ages men will read and say: 'Thus, in the days of Wiclif, of John of Gaunt, and Richard II., did men and women look, and act, and think, and feel; thus did a great poet live among them, and send them down to us, and to all posterity, ten thousand times more faithfully preserved than by all the arts of Egypt and the East.' Quaint as they are, they are the very quintessence of human nature. They can never die. They can never grow old."

But who reads Chaucer nowadays? Few, indeed, very few. The attempt is too much like working one's passage; and readers

dislike toil, and prefer the ease of the railroad, and, if it might be, the speed of the electric telegraph. With the multitude the enjoyment and the pleasure are found not by the way, but at the journey's end; not among the jewels of the author, but at the finis of the printer. It is some sort of satisfaction to know that the loss is their own; and gratifying to transcribe, here, the joyous outburst of one who has studied his antique language and uncouth spelling, and found therein an ample recompense. *Labor ipse voluptas.*

"There is an elastic geniality in his spirit, a buoyant music in his numbers, a soul of enjoyment in his whole nature, that mark him at once as a man of a thousand; and we feel in the charm that bears us along a strength that will outlast a thousand years. It is like that of the stream that runs, of the wind that blows, of the sun that comes up, ruddy as with youth, from the bright east on an early summer's morning. It is the strength of nature living in its own joyful life, and mingling with the life of all around in gladdening companionship. For a hundred beautiful pictures of genuine English existence and English character; for a world of persons and things that have snatched us from the present to their society; for a host of wise and experience-fraught maxims; for many a tear shed, and emotion revived; for many a happy hour and bright remembrance, we thank thee, Dan Chaucer, and just thanks shalt thou receive a thousand years hence."

A greater in the world's esteem, though scarce an equal, follows: Edmund Spenser, born also in London, and, like his predecessor, for many years a courtier and a dependent on the great. He took his master's degree at Cambridge in 1576; thence removing to the north, he wrote his *Shepherd's Calendar*, which he dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, by whom, and the great earl of Leicester, he was introduced to the queen of England. Elizabeth received him graciously; and it is said, though from her known parsimony the fact is questionable, she made him a gratuity of a very large sum in those days—one hundred pounds. In 1579 he was employed on a mission to France, and in the next year was made private secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland. His life, however, was far from happy, and he found, to his sorrow, that to have friends at court implies having enemies also. It was enough for the prosaic Burleigh that Spenser was a "rhymer," as he called him, and the protégé of his rivals, Leicester and Sidney. "All this," said the sturdy treasurer, when he received the queen's command to pay the poet a hundred pounds, "all this for a song!" To the bitter and unceasing enmity of Burleigh, and the vexations consequent thereon, the poet evidently alludes in the following expressive lines in his "Mother Hubbard's Tale:"—

"Full little knowest thou that hast not try'd,
What hell it is in suing long to byde;
To lose good days that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
To have thy prince's grace, yet want his peers';
To have the asking, yet wait many years;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eat thy bread with comfortless despairs;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

A part of the forfeited estate of the traitor Desmond, containing some three thousand acres of land, in the county of Cork, was granted him through the influence and interest of his friends. Here, in 1590, he wrote the first parts of his master-piece, "The Fairie Queene." Six years after he published the remaining cantos. At Kilcolman—so was his estate called—he passed several of his happiest years. In the society of an affectionate wife, whom he celebrates in immortal verse, with his children growing up about him, and in the midst of scenery the most magnificent, he poured forth streams of melody, cheering and perennial. But all this happiness, and the labors and the life of the poet, came to a speedy and a mournful termination. In the memorable rebellion of Tyrone, an infuriated mob, with savage yells, burst open his dwelling at midnight, set it on fire, destroyed his property, his books, and several unpublished poems; and, keenest pang of all, his youngest child, in his cradle, perished in the flames. Distracted, he fled to London. In poverty, heart-broken, he died there in 1598. His friend, the earl of Essex, was at the expense of his funeral, "which was attended," says Camden, "by poets, and mournful elegies, and poems, with the pens that wrote them, thrown into his tomb."

"Ah! what a warning for a thoughtless man,
Could field or grove, or any spot of earth,
Show to his eye *an image of the pangs*
Which it hath witness'd; render back the echo
Of the sad steps by which it hath been trod!"

Thus touchingly moralizeth Wordsworth, in sad contrast with the poet's own description of what Kilcolman was in the bright sunshine of his prosperity:—

"Beside the same a dainty place there lay,
Planted with myrtle-trees and laurels green,
In which the *birds sung many a lively lay*

Of God's high praise, and of their sweet loves' teene,
As it an earthly paradise had been."

In no mood for penning a panegyric, or for the needless task of dwelling upon the beauties of his verse, let us simply say that, as a poet, he accomplished his great mission:—"to breathe lofty and unselfish thoughts into the souls of men; to make truth, purity, and high principle, the objects of desire."

Of SHAKSPEARE, the great and peerless, whose statue, "in the Walhalla of British poetry, must be first admitted and placed in the centre, before gradations and classifications are thought of," our author has gleaned but little that is new. His homes and haunts in London have disappeared before the march of improvement. The theatres, at the doors of which, on his first appearance in London, he held horses, and where afterward he enacted his own inimitable characters; the house at Bankside where he resided when in London; Paris Garden, where the queen, her nobles, and ladies, were wont to amuse themselves at bear-baits, while Willy looked on and studied human nature; the Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside, where, on club nights, he met the choice spirits of the age—are gone, all gone. "If the fame of men depended on bricks and mortar, what reputations would have been extinguished within the last two centuries in London!" Not so, however, with the quiet village of Stratford upon Avon. The house in which the poet was born is still standing; and "there"—we quote our author—

—"there stands the house in which he wooed his Ann Hathaway, and the old garden in which he walked with her. There, only a few miles distant, is the stately hall of Charlecote, whither the youthful poacher of Parnassus was carried before the unlucky knight. There stands his tomb, to which the great, and the wise, and the gifted, from all regions of the world, have made pilgrimage, followed by millions who would be thought so, the frivolous and the empty; but all paying homage, by the force of reason, or the force of fashion, vanity, and imitation, to the universal interpreter of humanity. It is well that the slow change of a country town has permitted the spirit of veneration to alight there, and cast its protecting wings over the earthly traces of that existence which diffused itself as a second life through all the realms of intellect. There is nothing missing of Shakspeare's there but the house which he built, and the mulberry-tree which he planted. The tree was hewn down; the house was pulled down and dispersed piecemeal by the infamous parson Gastrell, who thus 'damned himself to eternal fame' more thoroughly than the fool who fired the temple of Diana."

In his habits Shakspeare was abstemious and moral. A lover of home, and devotedly attached to his domestic hearth, he annu-

ally retired from the dissipated company of the witty and the gay, to spend all the time in his power in the peaceful place of his birth and the purity of his wedded home. Of his prudence and economical habits no better evidence is needed, than that he who came to London in his twenty-third year, poor, friendless, and glad to seize upon any employment that might give him honest bread, had laid by, before forty, a fortune calculated to be equal to a thousand pounds a year at the present day. Passing by the pages in which our author dwells, dolefully, on the fact that some of the descendants of the poet are still living in but moderate circumstances; and the well-merited castigation which he gives to those "who annually turn Stratford and their club into a regular 'Eatonswill,' on pretense of honoring Shakspeare;" and excusing the insertion of a long account of his visit to Stratford, made and first published some seven years ago,—another evidence of an author's partiality for his own offspring,—we must say that the want of something better was a poor excuse for their insertion in the present volumes. When a man has nothing to say, it is always best to say nothing; and certainly no honor is done by devoting pages of commonplace thought to him of whom John Milton gloriously asks:—

> "What needs my Shakspeare for his honor'd bones
> The labor of an age in piled stones?
> Or that his hallow'd relics should be hid
> Under a stary-pointing pyramid?
> Dear son of memory, great heir of fame!
> What need'st thou *such weak witness of thy name?*
> Thou, in our wonder and astonishment,
> Hast built thyself a long-lived monument."

In a kind of parenthesis between the writer of these lines and him of whom they were written,—a miserable mud cottage between two gorgeous palaces,—we have *Abraham Cowley*. It would puzzle thee, Howitt, to give what to thyself shall seem a good reason for placing *him* among the "most eminent British poets." True, he had his admirers in his lifetime, and at his death was buried in Westminster Abbey. His body lies in close proximity to those of Chaucer and Spenser, but by thine own confession he was a mere constructer of toys and gewgaws; a dealer in artifices, conceits, and fustian. As says the old gastronome:—

> "Unless some sweetness in the bottom lie,
> Who cares for all the crinkling of the pie?"

And Cowley is nothing but crinkling: a mere dealer in "fricasseed snow." The house in which, in 1608, the great MILTON

first saw the light was destroyed by the memorable fire; else had it been, to this day, a shrine for as many pilgrimages as the bard of Avon's modest dwelling. His father was in easy circumstances, and early discovered the budding genius of his son, whose delight in books was so intense, even from infancy, that he seldom left them till after midnight. Over the pages of Spenser, whom he calls his master, the youthful Milton was wont to bend with intense enthusiasm; and, encouraged and urged on by parental smiles in his boyhood, he drank deeply at the Pierian spring. Our author laments, as others have done before him, and as we do, though lamentation is useless, that more restraint was not placed on the studies of the lad. Perchance, if it had been so, he had not lost his sight; and then, again, perchance the Paradise Lost had not been written, and to this day there had been no real epic in the English language. At Christ's College, Cambridge, which he entered in his seventeenth year, he wrote, as is well known, elegies in Latin verse, unsurpassed, if equaled, by any that have been produced since the Augustan age. On leaving his alma mater, where, the cynical Johnson tells us, though he says he is ashamed to tell it, "he received the indignity of corporal correction," meaning that his tutor whipped him, he went to reside at Horton, in the county of Buckingham. Here, besides thoroughly reading the Greek and Latin authors, he made himself so well acquainted with the Italian, as to be enabled to speak and write the language with such fluency as to astonish the most learned natives. On his tour through that country he was honorably received by the most distinguished men of the age, spent some of his happiest hours, and made preparations for his great poem, the scheme of which he had already conceived. Hearing, however, of the national troubles in his own land, "instead of proceeding forward," we quote the eloquent Warton, "to feast his fancy with the contemplation of scenes familiar to Theocritus and Homer, the fires of Etna and the porticoes of Pericles, he abruptly changed his course, and hastily returned home to plead the cause of ideal liberty." He came back, and engaged in the humble but honorable task of teaching school; and here, says our author—

"We encounter one of the most disgraceful pieces of chuckling over his lowly fate, to be found in that most disgraceful Life of our great poet and patriot, by Dr. Johnson. On Milton's head, Johnson poured all the volume of his collected bile. Take this one passage as a specimen of the whole:—'Let not our veneration for Milton forbid us to look with some degree of merriment on great promises and small performances; on the man who hastens home because his countrymen are

contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the scene of action, vapors away his patriotism in a private boarding-school.' The passage is as false as it is malicious. Milton did not promise to come home and put himself at the head of armies or senates. He knew where his strength lay, and he came to use it, and did use it most effectually. He did not say, 'I will be another Cromwell,' but he became the Cromwell of the pen. He did not make great promises and show small performances; he did not vapor away his patriotism in a private boarding-school. He took to a school, because he must live; but he soon showed that every moment not required for teaching his private pupils was ardently and unceasingly devoted to teaching the nation and the world. His pen was worth a thousand swords; his thoughts flew about and slew faster than bullets or cannon-balls. Shame to the old bigoted lexicographer! must every true son of his country and lover of truth exclaim, when he reads what Milton wrote and what he did. To say nothing of his Tractate of Education and other works; to say nothing of his Paradise Lost, and all his other noble poems, all breathing the most lofty and godlike sentiments—those sentiments which create souls of fire, of strength, and truth, in every age as it arises—what are his *Areopagitica?* his Tenure of Kings and Magistrates? his *Eiconoclastes?* his *Defensio Populi?* his *Defensio Secunda?* his Treatise on the Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church? his Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases? Are these nothing? If ever there was a magnificent monument of human genius, of intellectual power, and glorious patriotism, built up by one man, it exists in these immortal works. Vapored away his patriotism in a private boarding-school!... The poor schoolmaster, who on the plains of Italy heard the cry of his country for help, flew to her rescue as confidently as if he had been a prince, with fleets and armies at his command. In a poor hired dwelling he prepared his missiles and warlike machines. Men, like Johnson, in the bigotry of despotism, might despise him and them; for they were but a few quires of paper and a gray goose quill; but he soon shot that quill higher against the towers of royalty, deeper into the ranks of the oppressors, than ever the bullets of Cromwell and Fairfax could pierce. His papers flew abroad and unfurled the banners of liberty, before which kings trembled, and the stoutest myrmidons dropped their arms. His Tenure of Kings and Magistrates vindicated, in unanswerable eloquence, the right of nations to call their monarchs to account for their offenses against the laws. His defense of the people from the accursed charges of the hireling Salmasius flew through Europe, and struck kings and servile senates dumb. By the side of Cromwell the visage of the blind old man was seen with awe and wonder; the learned and the wise, from distant realms, came to gaze upon the unequaled twain; and when the inspired secretary exclaimed—

> 'Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
> Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,'

the guilty persecutors shrunk aghast, for they knew that where the voice of Milton could reach, the arm of Cromwell could reach too.

Who shall say how much of the renown of England at that day sprung from the pen and soul of John Milton! how much he inspired of that which Cromwell did! and how much of the grand march of political and social renovation, which is now going on throughout the world, originated in the vaporings of the poor schoolmaster! Before his fame how pales that of him who has dared thus to revile him! What are all the works of Johnson, and we are inclined to give them their fullest due, when compared with those of Milton, and their consequences? Before him

'Whose soul was like a star, and dwelt apart,'

it became the man who so worthily chastised the meanness of a Chesterfield, to have bowed with humility and reverential love."

This is not more spirited than well deserved. With as great severity might be handled Johnson's frigid criticisms on the poetry of the blind bard, but it is needless. The world differs from the critic when he says of "Lycidas," that the diction is harsh and the numbers unpleasing; when he says of "Comus," that almost all the speeches are too long; and of his sonnets, that "of the best it can only be said that they are not bad." It savors, indeed, strongly of the ridiculous, that the author of "Irene" should venture to criticise and censure the style, the measure, or the melody of verse, that will be embalmed in thousands of hearts when the fact that he himself attempted poetry is forgotten. For several interesting incidents in the domestic life of Milton we must refer to the volumes before us. He died in November, 1674, was buried in the church of St. Giles; and it seems probable, from the statements of our author, though, for the credit of humanity, we could wish that the fact might be disproved, that his coffin has been disinterred and opened, and his bones carried off by sacrilegious relic-hunters. But the spirit lives; and though in his lifetime, and afterward, his name was loaded with obloquy and reproach, a halo of increasing glory now surrounds it, and it cannot die. As a British poet, by those who do not place him first, he is esteemed second only to Shakspeare; and as a man, a more ardent and sincere lover of liberty and virtue, a more zealous and indefatigable champion of the right, one who brought to his great task more learning or a greater genius, has never been permitted to bless our world. He was, indeed, "the noblest model of a devoted patriot and true Englishman; and the study of his works is the most certain means of perpetuating to his country spirits worthy of her greatness."

Of Butler, the witty author of Hudibras, little is known, save that during life he struggled with adverse fortune, and after his death was honored with a monument in Westminster Abbey. His

name, Johnson says, and Howitt agrees with him, can only perish with the English language. If we mistake not, his poem is little read at the present day; and, if doomed never to be forgotten, he is, what amounts to nearly the same thing, very much neglected. In succession, our author gives us DRYDEN and ADDISON, alike in that both married ladies who, priding themselves on their birth, rendered the houses of the poets unhappy; and unlike in the fact, that while the latter was fortunate in the acquisition of this world's goods, and honored with high office, the former, through life, grappled with poverty, and was substantially neglected by those who fawned upon him and fed him with cheap flattery. Dryden had also to contend with the malignity of envious rivals; and what was perhaps the bitterest ingredient in his cup, the laureateship, which he held for a season, was taken from him, and, with its emoluments, bestowed on his unworthy rival, Shadwell. For no better reason than the hope of mending his fortune, he abjured Puritanism and embraced Popery; but in this he was also disappointed, and was even less successful as a Papist than as a Protestant. "Poor Dryden! with the cross wife, and the barren blaze of aristocracy around him, the poorest coal-heaver need not have envied him." His rank as a poet is well ascertained, and his fame will live when his faults and misfortunes are forgotten. Expressive is the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey; it is one word—DRYDEN. Not near his equal as a poet, though popular in his day, and praised by all parties as the author of *Cato*, Addison's is a life upon which it is far more agreeable to dwell. It was he who first sounded forth the glory of Milton, who turned the attention of England back to her earlier poets, and who did more than all others to make periodical literature what it is. As a prose writer, he to this day continues to deserve Johnson's eulogium:—"Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison." Somewhat dissipated in his earlier life, he has left, in his "*Defense of the Christian Religion*," ample evidence that he had theoretically studied the great truths of divine revelation, the power of which upon his own heart he practically exemplified in his last moments, when, aware that the lamp was flickering in the socket, he called for the licentious Lord Warwick, and, with great tenderness, desiring him to listen to his last admonitions, said: "I have sent for you that you may see how a Christian can die."

GAY, never eminent, and rarely successful in his poetic productions, has left behind him some verses worth more than all his tra-

gedies, comedies, operas, and fables. In the following lines, little known because of the rubbish by which they are surrounded, he reaches an elevation that he seldom gained, and held but for a season :—

"O could the muse in loftier strains rehearse
The glorious Author of the universe,
Who reins the winds, gives the vast ocean bounds,
And circumscribes the flaming worlds their rounds;
My soul should overflow in songs of praise,
And my Creator's name inspire my lays!"

And again, at the close of his poem called "A Contemplation on Night :"—

"When the pure soul is from the body flown,
No more shall night's alternate reign be known;
The sun no more shall rolling light bestow,
But from th' Almighty streams of glory flow.
O! may some nobler thought my soul employ,
Than transient, empty, sublunary joy.
The stars shall drop, the sun shall lose his flame,
But thou, O God! for ever shine the same."

Better known, perhaps, than any of his contemporaries or predecessors, and, except Shakspeare, more frequently quoted, it needs not that we dwell at any length on that greatest master of English versification—Alexander Pope. Born in London, inheriting a feeble constitution and a deformed body, he lisped in numbers from his childhood. All the instruction that he received was finished when he reached his twelfth year, at which age he wrote his "Ode on Solitude." From that period he was his own teacher; and delighting in books, he made himself master of Latin, Greek, and French, and was one of the very rare instances of a "genius at once precocious and enduring." In his twenty-third year, he gave to the world his "Essay on Criticism," and soon after, his "Rape of the Lock," which at once secured him fame and filled his purse. Four years after he issued the first volume of his Homer, which had been preceded by several of his smaller works, among which was that wonderful triumph over the harshness of our "crabbed English," the "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day." He himself gives a humorous account of the celebrity he had already attained, when he says, in a letter to Martha Blount, describing his journey to the celebrated university :—"About a mile before I reached Oxford, all the bells rang out in different notes, the clocks of every college answered one another, and sounded forth, some in deeper, some in softer tones, that it was eleven at night. All this was no ill prepa-

ration to the life I have since led among these old walls, memorable galleries, stone porticoes, students' walks, and solitary scenes. I wanted nothing but a black gown and a salary to be as mere a book-worm as any there. I conformed myself to college hours, was rolled up in books, lay in the most dusky parts of the university, and was as dead to the world as any hermit of the desert. If anything was alive or awake in me, it was a little vanity, such as even those good men used to entertain when the monks of their own order extolled their piety and abstraction; for I found myself received with a sort of respect which the idle part of mankind, the learned, pay to their own species; who are as considerable here as the busy, the gay, and the ambitious, are in your world. Indeed, I was treated in such a manner, that I could not but sometimes ask myself what college I was founder of, or what library I had built. Methinks I do very ill to return to the world again—to leave the only place where I make a figure; and from seeing myself seated with dignity in the conspicuous shelves of a library, put myself into the abject posture of lying at a lady's feet in St. James's Square."

Flattered and caressed on every side, and—would it had not been so!—seduced into the company of the profligate and licentious, he plunged into excesses which charity would fain cover from every eye. One lovely trait, however, shines forth in his character. It was that of filial affection. At Twickenham, whither he retired, reluctantly, from the maddening scenes of London, which were undermining his constitution and hurrying him to the grave, his parents were the cherished objects of his kindest regard. Swift called him the most dutiful son he had ever heard of. Over the grave of his mother, who lived to see her ninety-third birthday, he placed this simple and touching inscription:—

Ah! Editha,
Matrum optima,
Mulierum amantissima,
Vale!

After many pleasant reminiscences of the poets' homes and haunts, which we may not even glance at, our author concludes with adverting to the disgraceful fact, that, as in the case of Milton, and even worse, his grave has been rifled, and "the skull of Pope is now in the private collection of a phrenologist."

Of Swift, two biographical sketches have been given to the world; differing from each other in their estimate of his character, perhaps, as much as it was possible for two men to differ with the same facts before them. Johnson paints him with a pencil dipped

in gall, guided, apparently, by personal pique; while Scott disguises the worst features of his character, and applies unsparingly the friendly varnish. Our author evidently aims to do him justice; but, after all, is constrained to admit, that in intense selfishness he was seldom equaled, in his treatment of the fair sex a fit subject for the indignant contempt of every honorable mind, and that many of his writings, "wonderful as is his talent, and admirable as is his wit, are dreadfully defiled by his coarseness and filthiness of ideas."

The transition from such a character to the pride of Scotia, Thomson, Jemmy Thomson, as he was called, is pleasant. While the world would have been none the worse had Swift never lived, and certainly the better if his wit, with its indecent drapery, had been buried with him, of Thomson it may be truly said, that he wrote

"No line which, dying, he could wish to blot."

An ardent lover of nature, many of his descriptions, in "The Seasons," his most admired production, are admitted and felt to be wonderfully true, and on every page is evidence that he was continually looking from nature up to nature's God. With a heart apparently swelling with gratitude to the Giver of all good, the poet instills into his reader the most ennobling sentiments, and closes the poem with a magnificent burst of adoration which has no superior in the language, and is equaled only by the morning hymn put by Milton into the lips of our first parents. We have called "The Seasons" his most admired production. It is so; but his "Castle of Indolence" is unquestionably a finer poem. The former abounds in harsh passages and strangely inverted sentences; is unequal, and often prosaic. The latter is harmonious in diction, well sustained throughout, and everywhere pervaded by a tone of manly and invigorating thought. "Such a stanza as this," says Howitt, "is the seed of independence to the minds of thousands:—

"I care not, Fortune, what you me deny:
You cannot rob me of free Nature's grace;
You cannot shut the windows of the sky,
Through which Aurora shows her bright'ning face;
You cannot bar my constant feet to trace
The woods and lawns, by living streams, at eve;
Let health my nerves and finer fibres brace,
And I these toys to the great children leave:
Of fancy, reason, virtue, naught can me bereave."

A peculiar trait in his character, which, from a perusal of his

writings, none would have guessed, was—indolence, a love of ease and self-indulgence. These were his "besetting sins." It is hard to believe what Quin says of him who so gorgeously describes the ushering in of day, that he never saw the sun rise in his life; yet is there no doubt of the fact, that to a friend, who, finding him in bed at noon, and asking why he did not rise earlier, he replied, listlessly, that "he had nae motive." How, in such spirit-stirring lines as these—and he has many more such—does the sluggard rebuke himself:—

"It was not by vile loitering in ease
That Greece obtain'd the brighter palm of art;
That soft, yet ardent Athens learn'd to please,
To keen the wit, and to sublime the heart,
In all supreme, complete in every part!
It was not thence majestic Rome arose,
And o'er the nations shook her conqu'ring dart:
For sluggard's brow the laurel never grows;
Renown is not the child of indolent repose."

To his self-indulgence, and the effeminacy and susceptibility consequent thereon, is attributed his premature death, by a cold, caught on the Thames, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was buried in the church at Richmond, and on a brass tablet above his grave is an inscription closing with the following well-known lines from his own "Winter:"—

"Father of light and life, thou Good Supreme!
O teach me what is good; teach me myself!
Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
From every low pursuit! and feed my soul
With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue pure,
Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss."

Passing Shenstone, whose poems no one pretends to praise, and few to read, and even whose taste in landscape gardening our author questions, we come to that most wonderful instance of precocious genius, Chatterton. His history is more like romance than reality, and the truth in his case is indeed stranger than fiction. Fatherless, and his widowed mother pinched with poverty, he had, necessarily, few advantages of early education. Until six and a half years of age he gave no evidence of intellect, and his poor mother began to think him an absolute fool. Suddenly and unexpectedly the hidden spark of genius burst forth; and, says Cumberland, as quoted by our author:—

"He grew thoughtful and reserved. He was silent and gloomy for long intervals together, speaking to no one, and appearing angry when

noticed or disturbed. He would break out into sudden fits of weeping, for which no reason could be assigned; would shut himself in some chamber, and suffer no one to approach him, nor allow himself to be enticed from his seclusion. Often he would go to the length of absenting himself from home altogether, for the space, sometimes, of many hours; and his sister remembered him being most severely chastised for a long absence, at which, however, he did not shed one tear, but merely said, 'It is hard, indeed, to be whipped for reading.' His money, all that he could procure, went to get the perusal of books; and on Sundays, and holydays, and half-holydays, he was either wandering solitarily in the fields, sitting beside the tomb of Canynge in the church, or was shut up in a little room at his mother's, attending to no mealtimes, and only issuing out, when he did appear, begrimed with ochre, charcoal, and black lead. From twelve to seven, each Saturday, he was always at home; returning a few minutes after the clock had struck, to get to his little room, and to shut himself up. In this room he always had by him a great piece of ochre, in a brown pan; pounce-bag full of charcoal dust, which he had from a neighbor; also a bottle of black lead powder, which they once took to clean the stove with, and made him very angry. Every holyday, almost, he passed at home; and often, having been denied the key when he wanted it, because they thought he hurt his health and made himself dirty, he would come to Mrs. Edkins, and kiss her cheek, and coax her to get it for him, using the most persuasive expressions to effect his end; so that this eagerness of his to be in this room so much alone, the apparatus, the parchments, both plain as well as written on, and the begrimed figure he always presented when he came down at tea-time, his face exhibiting many stains of black and yellow, all these circumstances began to alarm them."

Very far were they from conjecturing the real nature of the lad's employment. Plentifully supplied with parchment which he found in the old church of St. Mary Radcliffe, with his ochre, and charcoal, and black lead, he was imitating antique manuscripts, and clothing in the drapery of bygone years his own strange fancies. He produced, to the utter astonishment of all who saw them, pedigrees of different individuals, with coats of arms, elaborately painted; histories of old bridges and churches; castles and palaces in strange styles of architecture, beautifully drawn and elaborately described. He was looked upon as a lucky boy, by those who gazed upon the treasures dragged by him, as they thought, from the clutches of dim antiquity. The dark ages seemed to grow bright, as one trophy after another of his imaginary heroes, and architects, and painters, was presented for the study of the antiquarian; and, what is most strange, no one suspected the imposition. To this day, in the history of Bristol, by the learned Barrett, may be seen copies of the wonders palmed upon him by this wonderful stripling: an ancient castle, in a style

of architecture never seen before nor since; unique towers, fanciful battlements, the coinage of his own brain, all passing through the hands of scholars and philosophers as veritable gold. And all this by a child of eleven or twelve years of age! Says our author:—

"And now a new world had dawned before his inner vision; the sensibilities of the poet were quivering in every nerve; mysterious shapes moved around him, which one day he must report to the world —shapes, the offspring of that old church, and its tombs and monuments, and traceries and emblazonments, mingled with the spirit of his solitary readings in history, divinity, and antiquities; and that melancholy foreboding, that *Ahnung* of the future, as the Germans term it, which like a present angel of prophecy, unseen, but felt, hangs on the heart of youthful genius with an overpowering sadness, was spread over him like a heavenly cloud, which made the physical face of life dreary and insipid to him."

And he wrote poetry, but with strange perverseness still continued the use of his parchment, and black lead, and ochre; and attributed his own productions to men long dead and mostly forgotten. It was fame enough for him to be deemed the fortunate finder of these treasures, the productions, as he averred, of no less than eleven different authors, among whom the most celebrated were John à Iscam, Maister Canynge, and Thomas Rowley; and truly, had these men written the verses thus fathered upon them, their names had been inscribed high up on fame's enduring temple. But alas for Chatterton! His ingenuity was too great; his success ruined him. The critics, the knowing ones, were taken in; and when the fraud was at length detected, when the wonder was a thousandfold increased by the discovery that the boy was himself the author, why then, instead of clasping him to their hearts, and offering their friendly guidance, they spurned him as a base impostor, turned him off to penury and beggary, to starvation, to death by his own hand, to a grave among paupers, unnoticed and unknown. "It was a new kind of crime, this endowment of the republic of literature with enormous accessions of wealth; and, what was more extraordinary, the endowers were not only denounced as thieves, but as thieves from themselves! Macpherson and Chatterton did not assert that *they* had written new and great poems, which the acute critics proved to be stolen from the ancients, Ossian and Rowley; *that*, and their virtuous indignation, we might have comprehended; but, on the contrary, while the critics protested that Chatterton and Macpherson *themselves* were the actual poets, and had only put on *the masks* of ancients, they treated them, not as clever maskers, joining in the witty conceit,

and laughing over it in good-natured triumph, but they denounced them in savage terms, as base thieves, false coiners, damnable impostors! O, glorious thieves! glorious coiners! admirable impostors! would that a thousand other such would appear, to fill the hemisphere of England with fresh stars of renown!" . . . "Not thus was execrated and chased out of the regions of popularity, and even into a self-dug grave 'the great Unknown,' 'the author of Waverley.' He wore his mask in all peace and honor for thirteen years, and not a soul dreamed of denouncing Sir Walter Scott, because he had endeavored to palm off his productions as those of Peter Pattison or Jedediah Cleishbotham."

That the youth who thus perished by his own hand, in his seventeenth year, had many faults, and grievous ones, it were useless to deny; equally vain to dwell, in imagination, upon what he might have been, had he found upon this broad earth one friend to sympathize with him, and foster in his soul those aspirations which he breathed forth in the following lines—lines full of trust in divine goodness, over which, alas! despair triumphed:—

"O God, whose thunder shakes the sky,
Whose eye this atom globe surveys,
To thee, my only rock, I fly;
Thy mercy in thy justice praise.

"The mystic mazes of thy will,
The shadows of celestial light,
Are past the power of human skill;
But what th' Eternal acts is right.

"O teach me, in the trying hour,
When anguish swells the dewy tear,
To still my sorrows, own thy power,
Thy goodness love, thy justice fear.

"If in this bosom aught but Thee,
Encroaching, sought a boundless sway,
Omniscience could the danger see,
And mercy look the cause away.

"Then why, my soul, dost thou complain?
Why, drooping, seek the dark recess?—
Shake off the melancholy chain,
For God created all to bless.

"But ah! my breast is human still;
The rising sigh, the falling tear,
My languid vitals' feeble rill,
The sickness of my soul declare.

"But yet, with fortitude resign'd,
I thank th' inflictor of the blow;
Forbid the sigh, compose my mind,
Nor let the gush of misery flow.

"*The gloomy mantle of the night,*
Which on my sinking spirit steals,
Will vanish at the morning light
Which God, my East, my Sun, reveals."

Of GRAY, whose fame rests securely on one unequaled elegy, familiar to every reader of the English language, our author has gleaned but little of interest; while of GOLDSMITH, the true-hearted Irishman, than whom

"No mortal ever left this world of sin
More like the infant that he enter'd in;"

and of BURNS, whose verse, like an electric shock, thrills the heart, and kindles the eye of the Scotsman wherever he wanders, he gives us many details of great interest, on which it were pleasant to linger; but we pass to spend a few moments with the bard of Olney, the timid, melancholy, yet joyous and buoyant COWPER. Contradictory as are these epithets, they are applicable, all, to him whose iron creed drove, almost, if not quite, to madness that same mind, which bursts forth frequently in loftiest strains of trust, and confidence, and rapturous thanksgiving; is seen unbending itself in sportive letters of the most childlike simplicity; and, as in the journey of the world-renowned John Gilpin, delighted, at times, to revel in the fun of the broadest farce. Unfortunate was it, for the poet and for the world, that he ever saw John Newton, and imbibed from him, in all their chilliness, the gloomy dogmas of hyper-Calvinism. The perusal of his correspondence with that well-meaning but rigid predestinarian, contrasted with his letters to his other friends, and more especially to the Unwins, reveals, to some extent, the secret of that withering blight that preyed so long and so grievously upon him. His heart told him of God's impartial love, and echoed back, responsively, the blessed assurance that "whosoever will may take of the water of life freely." Then pours he forth strains of gladness worthy of an angel's lyre, and soars aloft, carrying his reader with him to listen, while

"One song employs *all nations*, and *all cry*,
'Worthy the Lamb, for he was slain for us!'
The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other, and the mountain-tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy;

Till nation after nation taught the strain,
Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round."

But soon, fearfully, his creed, interpreted after the fashion of the straitest sect of Calvin's followers, throws a dark cloud over all this goodly prospect, and hides the sunshine of the poet's soul in dark eclipse. He gropes, in wandering mazes lost. Election, with its fearful counterpart, haunts him like the demon of despair. He concludes, as every man not mantled with self-complacency must conclude, that if there be reprobates, *he ought* to be one; and, in many of his letters, more than intimates his firm conviction that in this respect what ought to be, *is*. This feeling sometimes tinges his verse, though not often, with hues of saddest melancholy, as in the poem beginning—

"O! happy shades, to me unblest!
Friendly *to peace, but not to me!*
How ill the scene that offers rest,
And heart, that cannot rest, agree."

The incidents of his life are familiar, and his fame, as a painter of nature, and as a poet inspiring the loftiest sentiments, is too well established ever to be shaken. How full of solemn dignity and trustful assurance are the lines which it will do thee good yet once again to read:—

"He is the freeman whom the truth makes free,
And all are slaves beside. There 's not a chain
That hellish foes, confederate for his harm,
Can wind around him, but he casts it off
With as much ease as Samson his green withes.
He looks abroad into the varied field
Of Nature, and though poor, perhaps, compared
With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,
Calls the delightful scenery all his own.
His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
And the resplendent rivers. His to enjoy
With a propriety that none can feel,
But who, with filial confidence inspired,
Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
And smiling say, 'My Father made them all!'
Are they not his by a peculiar right,
And by an emphasis of interest his,
Whose eye they fill with tears of holiest joy,
With worthy thoughts of that unwearied love
That plann'd, and built, and still upholds, a world
So clothed with beauty for rebellious man?

* * * * * * * * * *

He is indeed a freeman: free by birth
Of no mean city, plann'd or e'er the hills
Were built, the fountains open'd, or the sea,
With all his roaring multitude of waves."

Very scurvily was our enthusiastic tracker of the haunts of the British poets treated by the surviving relatives of the gifted Mrs. Tighe, and in right good earnest does he lash their contemptible arrogance. Our author overrates her poetry. Her "Psyche," with the profits of which she built an asylum for orphans, contains, amid much incongruity, some pleasing poetry. The victim of hereditary consumption, a vein of sadness runs through her verse, and, lovely and beloved, she found an early grave. It is of her that Mrs. Hemans, a congenial spirit, while musing upon her early departure, pensively sings:—

"Thou hast left sorrow in thy song,
A voice not loud, but deep!—
The glorious bowers of earth among,
How often didst thou weep!

"Where couldst thou fix, on mortal ground,
Thy tender thoughts and high?—
Now peace the woman's heart hath found,
And joy the poet's eye!"

Still sadder is our author's strain, and far higher his admiration, when discoursing of the youthful Keats, who died at Rome when he had scarcely passed the age of twenty-four. During the three years in which he penned all his poems, he had the consciousness that his disease, the slow-wasting consumption, was incurable; and it had pleased us better had he left more evidence of the truth of the latter part of the line applied to him by our author:—

"He sparkled, was exhaled, and went to heaven."

Perhaps as favorable a specimen as we can give, in a short space, of one whose nature, in the rather hyperbolic language of our author, was "one pure mass of the living light of poetry," is his sonnet "On first looking into Chapman's Homer:"—

"Much have I travel'd in the land of gold,
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen,
Round many western islands have I been,
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold;
Oft of one wide expanse have I been told,
That deep-brow'd Homer ruled as his demesne;
Yet I did never breathe its pure serene
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold—
Then felt I like some watcher of the skies

When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortes, when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific—and his men
Look'd at each other in a wild surprise,
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

Of course we have no fault to find with our author's tracery of the haunts of SHELLEY and of BYRON, nor with his estimate of their poetry, whatever be our opinion of his unsuccessful attempts to palliate their vices, and to apologize for the evils resulting from their precepts and their example. He deplores the fact that the former was in early life the avowed champion of atheism, "yet was he honest;" he throws the blame of his expulsion entirely on the heads of the college, making his hero a perfect martyr; and appears to deem it an ample atonement for his brutality toward his first wife, which resulted in her suicide, that she was of humble station, of uncongenial mind, and that he bitterly lamented "the catastrophe of her death." So of Byron, bringing into bold relief every good trait in his character, he speaks tenderly, as though his unquestioned genius, and the harsh treatment he received from the world, accounted for, if they did not justify, his skepticism, his utter selfishness, and even his avowed licentiousness. In many respects the two poets were alike. Both of noble family, and both unhappy in their matrimonial connections; both haters with the intensity of bitterness of what they deemed the cant of Christianity, and both self-exiled from their native land. Shelley was drowned by the sinking of his boat in the Gulf of Spezia, at the age of thirty; and Byron, who had been intimately familiar with him during their residence in Italy, expired on the classic shores of Greece.

Far inferior as a poet, yet infinitely more pleasing is the perusal of the pages dedicated to the pious CRABBE, of whose life and writings an extended notice may be found in a former volume of this Review. Many interesting facts which were unknown to his biographer are brought to light by the indefatigable researches of our author; but lack of space forbids us to linger. In the same unceremonious manner too must we pass over the "haunts" of that pleasing egotist, that rarest specimen of self-esteem—JAMES HOGG, the Ettrick Shepherd. His poetry is not of a high order, nor is it doomed to immortality. Some of his imitations of contemporaneous poets, and especially those attributed to Wordsworth, are, in the language of our author, "admirably grave quizzes;" and he copies, as a specimen—

"A boy came from the mountains, tripping light,
With basket on his arm,—and it appear'd
That there was butter there, for the white cloth
That over it was spread, not unobserved,
In tiny ridges gently rose and fell,
Like graves of children cover'd o'er with snow;
And by one clumsy fold the traveler spied
One roll of yellow treasure, all as pure
As *primrose bud reflected in the lake.*
'Boy,' said the stranger, 'wilt thou hold my steed,
Till I walk round the corner of that mere?
When I return I will repay thee well.'"

The boy holds the horse, but the stranger returns not. Frightened by a thunder-storm, the steed breaks away, and the boy begins to be alarmed about his butter, thus exposed to the hot sun of a long summer's day. He gently lifts the white cloth, to feel,

"With his left hand, how it affected was
By the long day and burning sun of heaven.
It was all firm and flat—no ridges rose
Like graves of children—basket, butter, cloth,
Were all one piece, coherent. To his home
The boy return'd, right sad, and sore aghast."

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the youngest of thirteen children, was born of pious parents, in Devonshire, October 21, 1772. Delicate, and of a timid disposition, he found no associates among boys of his own age. "I never," says he, "thought as a child, never had the language of a child." Solitary, and without play-fellows, he spent his early years in reading and meditation. "I never played," he says, "except by myself, and then only acting over what I had been reading or fancying, or half one, half the other, with a stick cutting down weeds and nettles, as one of 'the Seven Champions of Christendom.'" At the age of ten he was sent to a public school in London, where he was roughly treated, flogged, and half starved. "There"—we quote again his own language, and would that it might meet the eye of some parent, just now casting about in his mind for an economical place of banishment for his boy—"there I felt myself alone among six hundred playmates. O, the cruelty of separating a poor lad from his early homestead! the yearnings which I used to have toward it in those unfledged years! How in my dreams would my native town, far in the west, come back, with its churches, and trees, and faces!" Here, too, he was frequently and severely beaten; and the pedagogue, at the end of a flogging, generally gave him an extra cut,

"for," said he, "you are such an ugly fellow!" At this school were laid the foundations of those bodily sufferings which made his after life one scene of torture, and drove him to the excessive use of opium. From the school, after an unsuccessful effort on his part to be apprenticed to a shoemaker, he was sent, at the age of nineteen, to Jesus College, Cambridge, where his scholarship gained him many honors, but which he soon left, embarrassed with debt, and on his way to London enlisted as a common soldier. One of the most amusing episodes in the life of any literary character is the account given by our author of this strange enlistment; of his awkwardness with his armor, and especially with his horse; of his meditations upon Cæsar and Leonidas, by which he tried to render the severity of his daily drills endurable, and to bear the taunts of his officers, who never ventured to advance him out of the awkward squad; of his employment as letter-writer for the regiment, to the wives and sweethearts of the soldiers, who, availing themselves of his ability and good-nature, nevertheless deemed him a "natural," because of his inability to learn his exercise; of his venturing to correct the Greek quotations of his officers as he stood sentinel at the door; and most especially of his services, faithful and unrequited, as nurse to his sick fellow-soldiers in the hospital—

> "One of whom he had volunteered to attend during a most malignant attack of small-pox, when all others deserted him, and had waited on him and watched him for six weeks. To prevent contagion, the patient and his noble-hearted nurse were put into an outhouse, where Coleridge continued all that time, night and day, administering medicine, guarding him from himself during violent delirium, and, when again capable of listening, sitting by his bed and reading to him. In the annals of humanity, that act must stand as one of the truest heroism."

At length, released from his irksome situation through the interposition of friends, he married a sister of the wife of his friend Southey; and under a contract to write a volume of poems for thirty guineas, he removed to the neighborhood of Bristol, where, with his bride, in a little half-furnished cottage, he commenced the cares of housekeeping. In his younger days he had embraced infidel principles, which he abandoned after his marriage, and became for a while a Unitarian preacher. For a while he floundered through the mazes of Berkeley, Spinoza, Hartley, and Kant; until, wearied and sick at heart, he abandoned them all, and sought and found rest in the bosom of the Established Church.

Following "the brooding poet with the heavenly eyes," our author introduces us successively to the lovely and enthusiastic

Mrs. Hemans, the victim of an unhappy marriage; and to Miss Landon, better known as L. E. L., whose life was imbittered and cut short by calumny the most atrocious. Mrs. Hemans was born in Liverpool; married at an early age; and, deserted by her husband, she was left to grapple single-handed with the world, and to provide for and educate her five sons. How touching is her allusion to this fact, and what noble sentiments are revealed in the following extract from one of the last letters she ever wrote:—

—"It has ever been one of my regrets, that the constant necessity of providing sums of money, to meet the exigencies of the boys' education, has obliged me to waste my mind in what I consider mere desultory effusions—

> Pouring myself away,
> As a wild bird, amid the foliage, tunes
> That which within him thrills, and beats, and burns,
> Into a fleeting lay.

"My wish ever was to concentrate all my mental energy in the production of some more noble and complete work; something of pure and holy excellence, which might permanently take its place as the work of a British poetess. I have always hitherto written as if in the breaking-times of storms and billows.... A greater freedom from these cares, of which I have been obliged to bear up under the whole responsibility, may do much to restore me; and though my spirits are greatly subdued by long sickness, I feel the powers of my mind in full maturity."

Bravely did she bear up under all her troubles; and, pouring forth lays of sweetness, if the wish of her heart to produce some one great poem were ungratified, she succeeded in winning for herself a name, and in meeting, by her single pen, "the exigencies of the boys' education." Some of her most admired verses were written during her last illness; and but a little while before her death she wrote that "soul-full effusion," "Despondency and Aspiration." She died in Dublin, May 16, 1835, and over her grave is a simple inscription, with the verses:—

> "Calm on the bosom of thy God,
> Fair spirit, rest thee now;
> Even while with us thy footsteps trod,
> His seal was on thy brow.
> Dust to its narrow house beneath,
> Soul to its place on high!
> They that have seen thy look in death
> No more will fear to die."

More wonderful than even the wildest of his own romances is the life of "the great wizard of the North," Sir Walter Scott.

On his unequaled success in the sterile plains of Parnassus, whence he drew with his gray goosequill the astounding sum of half a million sterling, our author dwells with garrulous wonder; and with sadness amounting almost to tears gives the history of his reverses, when the "thunderbolt of fate had fallen on the great magician," whom he styles the "Job of modern times." For ourselves, we love to view him best in the days of his adversity, when, by the mismanagement of others, his riches, so suddenly amassed, had taken wings and fled away. Patient, industrious, and honest, with honor untarnished, he needed not the pity of his friends, while he spent the remaining strength of his latter years in the toilsome drudgery of authorship, that he might pay off claims which the laws of the land would have sustained him had he refused to meet, or the friendly bankrupt act would have wiped out, had he permitted it, with a wet sponge. Our author traces his homes and haunts from the house in which he was born, through his various residences in Edinburgh; dwells, delighted, on the room in Castle-street, No. 39, where he wrote most of his earlier productions—the house now occupied by Professor Napier, the editor of the Edinburgh Review; and with minute particularity describes his world-renowned residence at Abbotsford. In quick succession, after his pecuniary losses, other sorrows fell upon him. His wife could not bear up under her reverses, and soon died; a son and daughter were prostrated on the couch of lingering sickness; his great publisher and dear friend "died too, of the fatal malady of ruined hopes." As in the history of most men of eminent genius, there is none to inherit his name, and, says his son-in-law, Lockhart, "the hope of founding a family died with him."

Another bard of Scotia follows—Campbell, author of "The Pleasures of Hope," by which designation he will continue to be, as he was in his life, best known; so much so, that he is said to have felt toward it as the Athenian did, who was tired of hearing Aristides called "the Just." His poems, "Gertrude of Wyoming," "O'Connor's Child," and numerous others, some of which first appeared in the New Monthly Magazine, of which he became editor in 1820, are also well known and properly appreciated. He was not treated with remarkable liberality by his publishers; and it is related that at a dinner-party, where were assembled many of the craft, he startled them, when called on for a toast, by replying, with mock gravity—"Gentlemen, I give you Napoleon; he was a fine fellow—he shot a bookseller." He was of an amiable disposition, kind-hearted, frank, generous. In his latter years he had an accumulation of domestic afflictions. He died in 1844,

and was buried in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey. In tracing his haunts in the city of the poet's birth, our author relates "one of the most curious things" that he ever met with. It seems that, accompanied by a friend, he called on a cousin of the recently departed poet, at whose house Campbell had been wont to make his home. After an introduction to Mr. Gray, a "tall, gray man,"

—"And on my asking if he could oblige me by informing me where Campbell was born, to our great astonishment he replied that he really did not know. 'And, indeed,' said he, very gravely, 'what may be your object in making this inquiry?' Being informed, the tall, gray man reared himself to an extraordinary height, and looked very blank, as though it was a sort of business very singular to him, and quite out of his line. Had my name been that of a silver merchant, no doubt it would have been instantly recognized; as it was, it was just as much known to him as if it had been Diggery Mustapha, the ambassador of the Grand Turk himself. He shook his head, looked very solemn, and could 'really say nothing to it.' 'What!' I exclaimed, 'not know where your celebrated cousin was born?' 'Well,' he had an 'idea that he had some time heard that it was in High-street.' 'In what house?' 'Could not say—thought it had been pulled down.' 'Could he tell us of any other part of the city where Campbell had lived?' You might just as well have asked the tallest coffee-pot in his shop. He put on a very forbidding air: 'Gentlemen, you will excuse me—I have business to attend to. Good morning.' Away went Mr. Gray, and away we retreated as precipitately."

Still pursuing his researches, the gentle Quaker

—"called on the secretaries of the *Campbell* Club, but they, like the tall Mr. Gray, knew nothing of Campbell. On returning, we met another Mr. Gray, a brother of the former one. We accosted him with the question, but he shook his head, and 'really did not know.' This was rather too much for my gravity, and I observed that I supposed the fact was, that Campbell was not known at Glasgow at all. This remark seemed not quite lost. He replied, gravely, 'they *had* heard of him.'"

The laureate Southey does not appear to have been, as a poet, one of our author's favorites; he says nothing of his prose, unequaled, especially in biography, by any writer of his day; and on his course as a man he pours vials of unmingled scorn. We have given specimens of his laudatory strains; the reader shall have a spice of his vein when his bile is stirred:—

"The contrast between the beginning and the end of his (Southey's) career, the glorious and high path entered upon, and so soon and suddenly quitted for the pay of the placeman and the bitterness of the bigot, cling to his memory with a lamentable effect.... For a man whose heart and intellect were full of the inspiration of great sentiments on the freedom of man in all his relations as a subject and a citizen, on

peace, on religion, and on the oppressions of the poor, to go round at once to the system and the doctrines of the opposite character, and to resolve to support that machinery of violence and oppression which originates all these evils, is so unaccountable as to tempt the most charitable to hard thoughts. Nothing is so easy of vindication as a man's honesty, when he changes to his own worldly disadvantage, and to a more free mode of thinking; but when the contrary happens, suspicion will lie in spite of all argument.... What a metamorphosis that was! The man who set out in a career that augured the life of a second Milton, ending as the most thorough, though probably unconscious, tool of tyranny and state corruption! The writer of "Wat Tyler" lauding George IV. and Castlereagh! The author of the "Battle of Blenheim" singing hymns to the allied sovereigns, and hosannas over the most horrible war and carnage, and for the worst purposes in history!... And last, and worst, the man who justly lashed Lord Byron for his licentious pen, being subjected to the necessity of slurring over the debaucheries of such a monster as George IV., and singing his praises as a wise, and just, and virtuous prince!... No greater dishonor could have befallen a man of Southey's private character than to have *so fully justified* the scarifying strictures of his aristocratic satirist:—

"He said—I only give the heads—he said
He meant no harm in scribbling; 'twas his way
Upon all topics; 'twas, besides, his bread,
Of which he butter'd both sides; 'twould delay
Too long the assembly he was pleased to dread,
And take up rather more time than a day,
To name his works—he would but cite a few—
Wat Tyler—Rhymes on Blenheim—Waterloo.

"He had written *praises of a regicide;*
He had written *praises of all kings whatever;*
He had written *for republics* far and wide,
And then *against* them bitterer than ever:
For pantisocracy he once had cried
Aloud, a scheme less moral than 'twas clever;
Then grew a hearty anti-jacobin—
Had turn'd his coat—and *would have turn'd his skin.*

"He had sung against all battles, and again
In their high praise and glory; he had call'd
Reviewing the '*ungentle craft*,' and then
Become as base a *critic* as e'er crawl'd—
Fed, paid, and pamper'd by the very men
By whom his muse and morals had been maul'd.
He had written much blank verse, and blanker prose,
And more of both than anybody knows." BYRON.

This is sufficiently severe, but he lays it on still more heavily, and declares that, "spite of the indecencies of Byron's muse, and

the orthodox character of Southey's, it must be confessed that the former is much less mischievous than the latter;" and then goes on to argue that, bad as Byron was, reckless, licentious, Southey, by his poems, and especially by his conduct, has done infinitely more harm to the cause of truth and justice. Most ludicrous, indeed, is the account, given by Lockhart, of the indignant rejection of the offer of the laureateship—a *piece of court plaster*—by Scott, and its ready acceptance by the double-dyed radical who wrote "Wat Tyler" and the "Botany Bay Eclogues;" and our author contends, with great plausibility, that the sudden change in his sentiments had a peculiar effect on his poetry; in which, though many beauties are to be found, he "never seems to be at home." His verses are specimens of beautiful manufacture, rather than a part of himself. He was, however, one of the most industrious of men, prudent, and, in all his domestic relations, faultless. Late in life he married a second wife, the sweet poetess, Caroline Bowles, who tended him with untiring assiduity during the tedious years of mental imbecility into which he fell soon after their marriage. He died March 26, 1843, "in good esteem with the powers that be, and worth £12,000."

After a few pages devoted to the graceful Joanna Baillie, in her quiet retreat at Hampstead, our author passes to *Rydal Mount*, the home, for more than thirty years, of his most especial favorite, Wordsworth. Serene in his old age, the friend of Coleridge and of Southey, and, indeed, of all the writers of note of the last generation, the poet is passing away amid all the blessings of life, and in the enjoyment of all the honors that his fellow-men can confer. Tourists and travelers from all parts of the world call upon him, eager to see him and to take him by the hand. "My last remaining wish," was the message sent in by a visitor, who, it seems, called at an untimely hour, "is to shake hands with Mr. Wordsworth." Poetry has been his business all through life, and he has gone on, heedless alike of frowns and flattery, erecting for himself an enduring monument, from the top of which it is amusing to look down upon the snarling curs that yelped at him in his progress. "This will never do," said the man who "did the slashing" for the Edinburgh Quarterly, as he introduced to his readers the "Excursion," in which he declared there was neither poetry nor common sense, "from the hour that the driveler squatted himself down in the sun, to the end of his preaching." To the pages of the same erudite journal was the world indebted for a mathematical demonstration of the absolute impossibility of crossing the Atlantic by steam; and there too may still be read witty sarcasms on the pro-

ject of traveling by railroads, and the ex cathedra denunciation of Grey, the author of the railway system, as a madman worthy of Bedlam. It is possible that the critic has since been whirled along the land by the power of steam; that he may have been told that the same agent is every day transporting thousands across the deep blue sea; and in his garret may have heard the taunt flung back upon him from universal Christendom—"This *will* do!"

In succession, our indefatigable tracker of poetic haunts introduces to our more familiar acquaintance MONTGOMERY; the fortunate and accurate LANDOR, whose prose is better than his poetry; LEIGH HUNT, the friend of Byron and of Shelley, and for a long time the caustic editor of the "Examiner;" ROGERS, rich alike in fancy and in purse; MOORE, felicitous in his management of rhythm, but who, we are glad to know, would give "a great portion of his fame to be able to cancel for ever" many of his earlier poems, and who, at the age of sixty-six, still sits at his desk and works for honest bread; ELLIOTT, from whose poems our author quotes largely; JOHN WILSON, the professor, prose-writer, poet, critic, from whom it was unnecessary to quote; PROCTOR, better known by his *nom de guerre*, Barry Cornwall; and TENNYSON, who moves on his way through life, "heard, but by the public unseen," and of whose whereabouts our author is obliged to confess that he knows little; but having already exceeded our intended limit, we must close with a brief sketch of the bard of Sheffield.

JAMES MONTGOMERY was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, November 4, 1771. His father was the minister of the Moravian Brethren in that place, in the simple faith of which devoted people the son was educated, and to which he has adhered through the changing scenes of life to the present hour. In his sixth year his parents were sent as missionaries to the slaves in the West Indies, where in a little while they both died, while their son was a student at the seminary of the Brethren in Yorkshire. He wrote verses when but ten years of age; and an ardent desire to distinguish himself as a poet interfered with the studies to which his friends had devoted him, and thwarted the plan of the Brethren to send him in the footsteps of his father as a missionary of the cross. Leaving the seminary, he was placed in a retail shop, near Wakefield; whence, although he had been treated with kindness, he privately absconded with an almost empty pocket in quest of fame and fortune. Through many discouragements and trials he at length found his way to London, the great object of his youthful ambition, where, to his utmost consternation, he was advised by a respectable publisher, to whom he showed a volume of his manu-

scripts, not to print them. He then turned his hand to prose, and, seeking another bookseller, presented for his acceptance an eastern tale. The man of trade did not deign to read a line beyond the title, but, counting the pages, and the lines on a page, civilly returned the copy, with the heart-appalling words, "It won't do." At length the gay vision which had haunted his imagination began to grow dim, and, after a series of disappointments and mortifications, he gladly accepted a situation which promised him bread, if not fame, in the office of a newspaper at Sheffield. After two years in this service, a gentleman, to whom he was personally almost an entire stranger, but who seems to have formed a just estimate of his talents, enabled the poet to become himself the publisher of the "Sheffield Iris." He entered upon this office in tempestuous times, and when England, and indeed all Europe, were mad with political excitement. Twice in the course of a few years he was fined and imprisoned for what were strangely enough deemed libels. The first was the publication of some verses written by an Irish clergyman, in which the judge succeeded in persuading the jury that there was a libel on the war then raging between France and England, although, on the trial, it was proved that the poetry in question was written nine months before the war began. His other "libel" was a too truthful account of the butchery of his fellow-citizens by the soldiery, who were called out to quell a riot in the streets of Sheffield. Three months' imprisonment and a fine of £20 was his punishment for the former; for the latter, six months' imprisonment and £30. Howitt, in the preparation of the volumes before us, visited the cell in which the poet was confined, and where, in his hours of loneliness, he penned some of his sweetest verses. He describes it, as was right, with the same minuteness he does the other "haunts"—cottages, gardens, palaces—of England's gifted sons. Fearless in the discharge of his duties, zealous for what he deemed the right, neat and nervous in his editorials, and not seldom enriching the columns of his paper with poetry of a high order, it is not wonderful that his patronage increased, and that in his later years the poet has realized, in a good degree, the visions of his boyhood.

His poetry, at times indignantly severe, as in his fearful delineations of the horrors of slavery and the slave trade in "*The West Indies;*" glowing with patriotism and love of liberty, as in the "*Wanderer of Switzerland;*" soaring on imagination's loftiest wing, as in the "*Pelican Island;*" or devoted to the unappreciated but unparalleled missionary heroism of his own beloved Moravians, in "*Greenland,*" is everywhere imbued with the

sentiments and doctrines of a pure Christianity. In all his poems is perceptible that spirit of consecration which he breathes forth in his stanzas on the death of Thomas Spencer:—

"I will not sing a mortal's praise:—
To THEE I consecrate my lays,
To whom my powers belong;
Those gifts upon thine altar thrown,
O God! accept;—accept thine own:
My gifts are thine—be thine alone
The glory of my song.

* * * * * *

"I worship not the sun at noon,
The wandering stars, the changing moon,
The wind, the flood, the flame;
I will not bow the votive knee
To Wisdom, Virtue, Liberty;
'There is no GOD but GOD,' for me—
Jehovah is his name."

To Montgomery was ever present a higher motive, a holier purpose, than the amusement of his readers. He aims to make them wiser, better, happier. In him, after all, was fulfilled the fondest wish of his parents. He *is* a minister of God, a herald of glad tidings; not indeed as they hoped, to one tribe or to one congregation, for the brief day allotted to those who thus labor in the Lord's vineyard, but to untold myriads in either hemisphere, who, charmed by the music of his verse, and imbibing from it lessons of benevolence and love, shall be thereby attracted to its central glory—the cross of Christ. F.

ART. III.—*Lectures on Temperance.* By ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D., LL. D., President of Union College. With an Introduction by EDWARD C. DELAVAN, Esq. Albany: E. H. Pease & Co. 1847.

PERHAPS few men in our whole country have done more to promote the cause of temperance than Edward C. Delavan, Esq., of Albany, N. Y. He has not only consecrated a large portion of his large estate to that cause, but has devoted his personal efforts to the furtherance of it, with a zeal and perseverance as rare as they are truly praiseworthy. Among the many good things he has done in this way, his publication of the "Inquirer" deserves special consideration. Though some of the numbers may have con-

tained sentiments to which all of the friends of temperance could hardly feel free to subscribe, yet the tendency of the whole has been eminently salutary. The number containing ten lectures by the venerable president of Union College, and largely circulated among the professional men of our country, can hardly be spoken of in terms of too high commendation. It is, doubtless, one of the very best publications on the subject that has, from first to last, been issued from the American press. Thus appreciating these Lectures, it gives us great satisfaction to know that the learned and excellent author has added another valuable lecture to those before published, and that Mr. Delavan has given the whole to the public, in the form of a neat little volume, embracing an appropriate Introduction from his own pen.

Though Dr. Nott is "old and well-stricken in years," he still writes with all the strength and all the vivacity of a young man. His reputation for eloquence, as well as elocution, has long been established. In pulpit oratory, especially, he has few equals in our own country, or, indeed, any other. But however elevated his former reputation, the Lectures under review must raise it still higher. They not only evince uncommon powers of ratiocination, but abound in passages of great force and genuine beauty. Though delivered (at Schenectady, N. Y.) in 1838–9, they are well suited to the existing posture of the temperance question; and the author deserves special thanks for consenting to their publication.

Had the venerable president attempted a systematic essay on the several topics introduced into these Lectures, greater unity of design and execution would, doubtless, have been apparent in the performance. But what might have been gained in this way, would have been lost in another. The rigidly literary taste might have been better pleased, but the popular effect would have been much less salutary. Indeed, these Lectures—sometimes diffuse, excursive, and elegantly redundant, but always terse and to the point—are admirably adapted at once to enlighten the public mind and move the public heart.

Nor should we do justice to this very timely and very able performance were we to omit to say, that, though it makes no pretensions in that direction, it *is* truly a learned one. Nothing but the most patient and untiring research, as well as the most intimate acquaintance with the classical history of intoxicating liquors, could have enabled Dr. Nott to bring such a mass of singularly pertinent facts to bear upon the subject under consideration.

It is deeply to be regretted that the cause of temperance has sometimes been advocated in a tone and spirit, adapted rather to

repel and exasperate, than to convince and invite. Too little allowance has been made for the infirmities of human nature, and too little patience has been exercised under the tardy operations of the human understanding. There is, however, nothing of this in Dr. Nott. Full of kindness, he deals in argument, not invective. Mild and insinuating, he draws the line of circumvallation around the positon of the enemy with so much skill and adroitness, that he is taken captive almost before he is aware of it. Thus conquered, he is as well pleased with the victor as he is with himself; and better pleased with the discovery of truth than he is with either. We give the following specimen from the lecturer, and the rather as it embraces most edifying historical matter:—

"*Are then intoxicating liquors, of the kind and quality generally in use among us, deleterious as a beverage, or are they not?* This is the real question; and not whether, being deleterious, they ought to be avoided? That pure alcohol is poison; that every beverage containing alcohol contains an element of poison; and that other elements of poison are often, if not usually, contained in intoxicating liquors, are known and admitted facts. That these elements of poison, however, usually exist in such liquors, in sufficient intensity to disturb the healthy action of the system, by the production of crime, insanity, disease, or death, is not to be taken for granted, nor to be decided by reasoning *a priori*.

"The same article may be healthful to plants and injurious to animals; healthful to animals and injurious to men; healthful to one man and injurious to another; healthful to some men at one time and one degree, and injurious at another time and in another degree; or healthful in occasional, and injurious in habitual, use. Now how it is with the several kinds of intoxicating liquors in use among us, are questions of fact, to be determined not by clamor or dogmatism, but observation and experiment. To furnish data for such determination, however, no new experiments are required to be performed;—a series of experiments, reaching through more than forty centuries, having been already furnished—experiments tried first in Asia on the top of Ararat, where the ark rested; and since tried in Europe, in Africa, in America, and in the islands of the sea. We have only to collect and collate these scattered results, to enable us to arrive at a knowledge of the truth.

"Hear Moses speak:—'And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard, and he drank of the wine.' What next?—'and he was drunken.' I need not repeat the residue of the afflictive and humiliating details. Nor need I repeat the still more afflictive and humiliating details of drunkenness and incest, which the use of wine occasioned in the family of Lot, after their departure from the vale of Sodom.

"Hear Solomon speak:—'Who hath wo? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babblings? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it moveth itself

aright. At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder.' Neither here need I repeat the residue of the afflictive and humiliating details.

"Hear Isaiah speak:—'But they have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way; the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in judgment. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that there is no place clean.'

"But this, it is objected, is the testimony of sacred writers only. It is so. Would that of profane writers be deemed more conclusive?

"Hear, then, Pliny the Younger speak; Pliny, than whom a purer patriot or a profounder sage lived not, out of Palestine, among the nations:—'If we examine closely, we shall find there is nothing on which more pains are bestowed by mankind, than on wine. As though nature had not liberally furnished water, with which all other animals are content: we even force our horses to drink wine,* and we purchase, at great pains and expense, a liquor which deprives man of the use of his reason, renders him furious, and is the cause of an infinite variety of crimes.

"'It is true it is so delicious that multitudes know no pleasure in life but that of drinking it. Yea, that we may drink the more, we weaken this liquor by passing it through the straining bag,† and we invent other methods to stimulate our thirst; we go so far as to employ poisons. Some persons before drinking use hemlock,‡ that the fear of death may compel them to drink. Others swallow the powder of pumice-stone, and many other things which I should blush to name.

"'The most prudent facilitate the digestion of vinous crudities by resorting to sweating rooms, whence they are sometimes carried forth half dead. Some cannot even wait to reach their couch, on the first quitting of the bath, nor even to put on their tunic: but, naked and panting as they are, rush eagerly on great pitchers of wine, which they drain to the bottom, as if to exhibit the strength of their stomachs. They next vomit§ and drink anew, renewing the like career twice and

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* The custom of giving wine to horses was known to Homer.—Vide Iliad, viii, li. 88. Philip de Comines says, that "at the close of a battle, having made his war-horse, who was much exhausted and very old, drink wine, it appeared to renew and rejuvenate him." The practice is common enough among all our cavaliers.

Columella, chap. iii, book 3d, recommends giving wine to cattle worried and overheated with labor.

† Columella, book ix, chap. 15.—The Greeks were acquainted with the custom of passing wine through the saccus.

[Vide Theophrastus de Causes, vi, chap. 9.] The Romans use to pass through the saccus old and too heavy wines.—Vide Martial, lib, xi, epig. 40: also xii, 61.

‡ Wine is a remedy for the poison of hemlock, according to Pliny, lib. xxii, sec. 17.

§ See on this custom Cicero.—Pro Dejotaro. Also Martial, book iii, ep. 82. Suetonius, Life of Vitellius xiii, and of Claudius, chap. xiii.

three times, as though born only to waste wine; as though men were under obligation to be the channel by which wine should return to the earth. Others borrow from the barbarians most extraordinary exercises, to show that they are constituted genuine wine-bibbers. They tumble in the mire, where they affect to lay the head, flat on the back, and to display a broad and muscular chest. All this they shamefully practice, because these violent acts cause them to drink with increased avidity.

"'And now what shall we say to the infamous representations upon the drinking-cups and vessels for wine, which would seem as though drunkenness alone were insufficient to excite men to lewdness? Thus they drink, as if prostitution and drunkenness, ye gods, were invited and even bribed with a reward! Some receive a certain sum of money, on condition of eating as much as they drink; while others expend in wine what they obtain in games of chance. Thus the eyes of the husband become heavy; while those of the wife are wide open, and employed in full liberty. It is then the most secret thoughts are revealed. Some at such times disclose the contents of their last wills; others throw out expressions, which, in the common phrase, they will thereafter be forced to eat. How many perish in consequence of words uttered in a state of inebriety; so that it has passed into a proverb, that "wine brings truth to light."

"'Such men, at best, see not the rising sun,* and thus abridge their lives. Thence proceed their pendulous cheeks, their ulcerated eyes, their trembling hands, incapable of holding the full glass without spilling a portion of its contents. Thence those furious transports which disturb their slumbers, and that inquietude—just punishment of their intemperance—in which their nights are passed. The highest reward of their drunkenness is the creation of a monstrous passion, and a pleasure which nature and decency forbid. On the morrow their breath is still infected with the odor of wine. They experience, as it were, a death of memory, and almost total oblivion of the past. Those who live after this sort, call their conduct the art of making time and enjoying life; though the day of their debauch and the subsequent day are equally lost. In the reign of Tiberius Claudius, about forty years ago, it became the custom at Rome to drink wine in the morning with empty stomachs, and to take no food till after drinking. This was of foreign derivation, and was introduced by certain physicians, who wished to commend themselves to the public favor by the introduction of some novelty.

"'To drink is, by the Parthians, considered highly honorable. Among the Greeks, Alcibiades has thus distinguished himself; among the Latins, Marcellius Torquatus, of Milan, who had been prætor and proconsul, has obtained the surname Tricongious, by drinking at once three congii of wine† in the presence, and to the great astonishment, of the emperor Tiberius, who, in his old age, became severe, and even

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* Vide Seneca, Epig. 122. Athenæus, lib. vi, p. 273; also some of the Preface of Columella.

† Three gallons, one quart, and one pint.

cruel, but in his youth was much addicted to drinking. It is believed, moreover, that Lucius Piso obtained from him the prefectship of Rome, for having remained at table two days and two nights in succession with this prince, who had even then mounted the throne. It is said, also, that in nothing did Drusus Cæsar more closely resemble his father, Tiberius, than in the quality of a deep drinker.

"'Torquatus, of whom we have spoken above, had no equal in his exact observance of the Bacchanal laws; for the art of drinking has also its laws. Whatever quantity of wine he drank, he never stuttered or vomited. The morning found him still at his potations. He swallowed a great quantity of wine at one draught; and if a small cup was poured out to him, he never failed to demand the remainder. While he drank he never took breath nor spat, and he never left in his glass any heel-taps which could produce sound when thrown on the pavement; in which he diligently observed the rules for the prevention of trick in drinking.

"'Tergilla reproached M. T. Cicero, that he drank two congii at a single draught, and that one day, being intoxicated, he threw a glass at the head of Marcus Agrippa. Truly these are the works of drunkenness. But, doubtless, Cicero, the son, wished to take from Mark Antony, the murderer of his father, the palm of drunkenness; for it is well known that, before him, Antony had been very jealous of the title of a first-rate drinker, and even published a treatise on his drunkenness, in which he dares to apologize for that vice. But this treatise persuades me only, that the drunkenness of Antony was the cause of all the evils with which he has afflicted the earth. He vomited forth his work a short time before the battle of Actium; as if to show he was already intoxicated with the blood of the citizens, and thirsted only the more for it. For this necessity accompanies the vice of drunkenness, that drinking augments thirst; and every one knows the "*bon mot*" of the Scythian ambassador, that the more the Parthians drank, the more they thirsted.

"'The western nations have also peculiar intoxicating drinks. The Gauls and Spaniards composed them of grain steeped in divers manners. The Spaniards give them various names. There is a method of rendering them susceptible of long preservation. Similar drinks are also made in Egypt from grain. There is no part of the world where inebriation is not practiced; for they drink such liquors pure, that is, without diluting them like wine. The earth seemed to produce grain for the nourishment of man; but, by Hercules, how industrious is vice; we have found a method to make even water intoxicate us!

"'Two liquors are furnished by trees—both very pleasant—wine for inward, and oil for outward, application. Oil, however, is the most useful, and men have been industrious in their efforts to procure it; but they have been infinitely more diligent in regard to wine, having invented ninety-five different kinds; perhaps double the number, on full examination, might be reckoned: and so few of oil!'

"If, then, the use of intoxicating wine, deemed to be the least deleterious of the intoxicating liquors, required, even in countries suited to the vine, so much caution, was attended with so much hazard, and

led, even occasionally, to such lamentable results,—what was to be expected from those other and baser fabrications, which the brewer's and distiller's arts have subsequently palmed on the world?—What?—Precisely what has taken place,—*a mighty and gratuitous increase both of guilt and misery.*"—Pp. 16–24.

The increase of intemperance and its consequent evils, since the art of distillation was first discovered, is indeed truly astonishing. If the world, before such discovery, had been greatly *injured* by alcoholic drinks in a diluted and comparatively innocent state, it has been absolutely *cursed* by them, since the process of separating the intoxicating principle has come to be generally known. The evil has been enhanced in several ways. In the first place, intoxication is now much more easily produced than formerly. The drinker has not to gorge a gallon or two, as did those of ancient times who drank the weaker liquid, in order to bring on the appropriate paroxysm: a much smaller quantity will do the deed of degradation quite as effectually. The single glass will make the man as much of a brute now, as the gallon would then. Besides, the intoxicating principle has been greatly multiplied by the art of distillation. Anciently this principle existed, almost exclusively, in vinous liquids: at least, it existed then in much the larger proportion. Of course, the field of its production was comparatively limited. Large portions of the earth are quite too cold for the growth of the vine. And where it does grow, only a very small part of the fruit of it is allowed (perhaps we should rather say was anciently allowed) to pass through the process of fermentation;—a process indispensable in order to its acquiring the intoxicating principle.

It must be seen, then, that, but for the art in question, the means of intoxication would have been comparatively beyond the reach of large portions of the species: so that, if men did not abstain from principle, they must have done so from a kind of necessity; for the plain and obvious reason, that the baleful potation could not be commanded. But the distillery has effected a most disastrous revolution. It has done what was slanderously imputed to the apostles—"turned the world upside down." In its dreadfully malign influences we have a practical realization of the opening of Pandora's box. It has almost forced into our very lips the poisonous liquid. Go, it must—such is human depravity—at all times; even in times of the greatest scarcity! Breadstuffs and nutritious roots are converted by it into burning founts of fire-water, and sent forth in a thousand streams, spreading desolation, and death, and putrefaction, throughout the four quarters of the globe! By the aid

of this mighty engine of death, alcohol has acquired a sort of ubiquity, being everywhere to be found; one might almost say,

"In the void waste, as in the city full."

Go where we will, in any and every part of the civilized world,(?) and the means of inebriation are at hand. And especially is this the case since the brewery has sprung up as a kind of adjunct to the distillery; a faithful ally in the work of death!

Community being thus everywhere brought into such close proximity to the dangerous and ensnaring liquid, and tempted by so many artifices to partake of it, it is not at all strange that the vice of intemperance should have been constantly on the increase, the wide world over, till within the last few years. With the exception of Ireland and the United States, it is perhaps still on the increase. Indeed, the statistics of different lands place this humiliating fact beyond all question. Even Protestant Europe seems disposed, "in the length of it and in the breadth of it," to pay fealty to "King Alcohol." However cruel his mandates, or oppressive his exactions, the inclination to acknowledge his authority is, indeed, strangely prevalent in almost all parts of this sin-stricken and distracted orb. The ravages of famine, and pestilence, and war, are often subjects of eloquent declamation; but all three together have probably done much less injury to the human race than has the single vice of intemperance. Of all the avenues to death, this is the broadest, steepest, most frequented. But though on this point our author dwells largely and most eloquently, we cannot now notice his painfully interesting details further than simply to transcribe one single incident, which may serve as a sort of index to the whole dire tragedy.

"Among these cases of moral desolation, I remember one of peculiar aggravation: it was that of a gifted and aspiring individual, and a professed Christian. Crossed and humbled by domestic affliction, he sought, as many still seek, relief in alcohol. His friends foresaw the danger and warned him of it—that warning he derided: he even denied the existence of a propensity, which, by indulgence, was soon thereafter rendered uncontrollable; when suddenly, shrinking from the society of men, he shut himself up in his chamber and endeavored to drown his cares in perpetual inebriation.

"His abused constitution soon gave way, and the death-scene followed. But O! what a death-scene! As if quickened by the presence of the king of terrors, and the proximity of the world of spirits, his reason suddenly lighted up, and all his suspended faculties returned in their strength. But they returned only to give to retribution a severer aspect, and render the final catastrophe more instructive and more terrible. For though at intervals he seemed to pour out his soul in con-

fession, and to implore forgiveness in the most thrilling accents,—shame, remorse, and despair, were predominant; and there was, at times, an awfulness in the paroxysms of agony which no words can describe, and which can be realized by those only who witnessed it. 'There,' said he, pointing to his bottle and his glass, which he caused to be placed beside his death-bed, 'there is the cause of all my misery; that cup is the cup of wretchedness: and yet—fool that I have been!—I have drank, drank it voluntarily, even to its very dregs. O, tell those miserable men, once my companions, who dream of finding in inebriation oblivion to their miseries, as I have dreamed of this; tell them,—but it were vain to tell them—O! that they were present, that they might see in me the dreadful sequel, and witness, in anticipation, the unutterable horror of a drunkard's death.' Here his voice faltered, his eye fell upon the abhorred cup, and, as his spirit fled, a curse, half articulated, died away upon his quivering lip!"—Pp. 28, 29.

It were eminently a work of supererogation *now* to furnish the proof that alcohol is a poison. For, after so many startling facts, demonstrative of the position, have been spread before the public, who, in his sober senses, can doubt it? The conclusions reached by the late Dr. Thomas Sewall, whose opinion alone is worth that of any conceivable number of our would-be philosophers, have been so abundantly supported by reiterated experiments, that, really, there is no room left for honest and discriminating unbelief. If any fact within the whole range of physiological science has been established, this certainly has been. Alcohol, "pure alcohol, coagulates all the animal fluids except the urine, and hardens the solid parts. It instantly contracts the extremities of the nerves it touches, and deprives them of sense and motion. If received into the stomach, it produces the same effects. If the quantity be considerable, a palsy or apoplexy follows, ending in death." Used constantly and in smaller quantities, it always produces inflammation,—inflammation more or less active in this delicate organ. "The disease is insidious, and invariably advances, thickening and indurating the walls of the stomach, producing sometimes scirrhus and sometimes cancer;—the orifices become occasionally indurated and contracted, and when this is the case, death soon puts an end to the sufferings of the wretched victim."

The lecturer justly and forcibly remarks:—

"It should seem that such an article—an article not contained in rye, or barley, or grapes, or apples; not the product of the vineyard, or the orchard, or the harvest field, as is usually supposed, but the product of putrefaction;—it should seem that such an article, an article at once the product of death and the element of death;—it should seem that such an article contained enough of vengeance in it to satisfy the

avarice of dealers and the appetite of drinkers, without the addition of other and more deadly ingredients. But such is not the fact!"—Pp. 48, 49.

Bad as pure alcohol is in itself, it has been rendered still worse by poisonous admixtures. This fact, too, has been placed beyond all reasonable doubt. It is demonstrated not only by the testimony of those who are acquainted with the *modus operandi* of the whole guilty business, but by actual chemical analysis. But for the singularly conclusive and unimpeachable character of the evidence, we should be tempted to question whether some mistake had not been committed, and the matter represented in a light which truth would hardly warrant. The case, however, admits of no question. Let every lover of French brandies, therefore, take it for granted, that, whenever he indulges himself, he is taking into his stomach either lapis infernalis, or potash, or aqua fortis, or oil of vitriol, or spirits of nitre, or essence of ambergris, and the like, or all of them together. French wines, so called, are no better. Most wines that go under that designation are, doubtless, made in this country. But, wherever manufactured, they are so utterly vitiated by the addition of poisonous and other substances, that no rational human being who wishes to preserve his life and health can choose to drink them. With malt liquors it is, if possible, still worse. To make what would be called by connoisseurs a good article, without the addition of substances known as among the most deadly poisons, would, we suppose, be quite impossible. Hence henbane, nux vomica, coculus indicus, sulphuric acid, and other abominations too numerous to mention, enter largely into the composition of this class of beverage.

The rigid friends of the temperance cause are generally pious people; people having a high regard for the sacred writings. It is not wonderful, then, that nothing has been more perplexing to them than those objections to total abstinence which have been professedly deduced from the inspired volume. These objections, it is not to be denied, have, in some instances at least, the appearance of great plausibility. We think, however, it is only in *appearance;* and that nothing contained in the Holy Bible, when fairly interpreted and rightly understood, furnishes any authority whatever for using alcoholic liquors as a beverage. But the point deserves examination.

The two Hebrew words which are most commonly used for wine, and which are, perhaps, always so translated, are יַיִן and תִּירוֹשׁ. Both of these terms are, clearly and beyond all question, generic. The former comprehends wine of all kinds; the latter,

the fruit of the vine, in the cluster, in the press, or in the vat; either in the solid form of grapes, or of grape-juice. When applied to the unpressed grape, it is of course so applied by a frequent Scripture metonymy; the container being put for the contained. Besides these two words, there are some half a dozen others which are used in the Hebrew Scriptures to designate particular kinds of wine; as inspissated wine; mixed wine, whether with water, or with drugs; sweet drink from the palm and other trees, but not from the vine; unmingled wine; wine red, thick, turbid; and the like. As, however, the import of these words has little connection with our present argument, we cannot now spend time to examine them. The point which we propose to establish is simply this:—*That when wine is spoken of approvingly in the Old Testament Scriptures, we have not the slightest reason to suppose that alcoholic wine is intended, but exactly the reverse.* The following passages may serve as an example:—

"Thou mayest not eat within thy gate the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine," (תִּירוֹשׁ, sweet, unfermented, unintoxicating wine,) "or of thy oil, or the firstlings of thy herds or of thy flocks, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy free-will offerings, or heave-offering of thine hand: but thou mayest eat them before the Lord in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose," &c. Deut. xii, 17, 18. "Yea, the Lord will answer and say unto his people, Behold I will send you corn, and wine, (תִּירוֹשׁ,) and oil, and ye shall be satisfied therewith." Joel ii, 19. "Therefore they shall come and sing in the light of Zion, and shall flow together for the goodness of the Lord, for wheat, and for wine, (תִּירוֹשׁ,) and for oil, and for the young of the flock, and of the herd." Jer. xxxi, 12. "For the children of Israel, and the children of Levi, shall bring the offering of the corn, of the *new wine*," (תִּירוֹשׁ—the same word,) "and the oil, unto the chambers, where are the vessels of the sanctuary," &c. Nehemiah x, 3. This word, תִּירוֹשׁ, occurs some forty or fifty times in the original of the Old Testament; and in only one solitary instance with disapprobation, and not even then as producing intoxication.

The other word, יַיִן, is more ample in its signification, embracing wine of all kinds; as well in its natural and *un*intoxicating, as in its artificial and *in*toxicating, state. A few examples will sufficiently indicate this.

"For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are the grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter: their wine (יַיִן) is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps." Deut. xxxii, 32, 33. "Who hath wo? who hath sor-

row? . . . . They that tarry long at the wine, (יַיִן) they that go to seek mixed wine," (מְסֻךְ, spiced, drugged, eminently intoxicating wine.) Prov. xxiii, 29, 30. "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine (יַיִן) is red; it is full of mixture,"—referring most probably to superadded poisonous drugs,—"and he poureth out the same: but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out and drink them." Psa. lxxv, 8. The above passages evidently refer to fermented and intoxicating wines: those which follow, as evidently refer to wines in their original and innocent state. "And wine (יַיִן) that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart." Psa. civ, 15. "Wisdom hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her (יַיִן) wine; she hath also furnished her table. . . . Come eat of my bread, and drink of the wine (יַיִן) which I have mingled." Prov. ix, 2–5. "I have eaten my honey-comb with my honey: I have drunk my wine (יַיִן) with my milk: eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved." Cant. v, 1.

From the preceding examples it seems that the Hebrews used the word יַיִן much as we use the word *cider;* embracing the specified liquor in all its forms and stages, fermented and unfermented, intoxicating and unintoxicating. The inference to which we come, and the one which seems to be abundantly established by all the facts in the case, is, that, whenever wine is spoken of approvingly, as a blessing, and as an emblem of the mercy of God in Christ, the pure, original, unfermented, unintoxicating juice of the grape is intended; and that to attach any other meaning to the sacred text involves not only a high reflection on the wisdom and benignity of the Deity, but the word of inspiration in most palpable contradictions and inconsistencies. For if the use of wine is permitted in the Hebrew Scriptures, it is also most positively interdicted in the Hebrew Scriptures. Take a single instance: "Look not thou upon the wine (יַיִן) when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last, it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." Prov. xxiii, 31, 32. The article here intended must certainly be a very different one from that which is put into the same category with "corn," and "oil," and "dew," and "honey." This is rendered unquestionable, not only by the effects which are attributed to it, but by the specific characteristics under which the inspired author points it out. Its "giving its color in the cup," and "moving itself aright," are graphic and unmistakable descriptions of the process and results of vinous fermentation. Now, that the use of such an article, as a beverage, should have been approved and recommended by the

God of the Bible, we hold to be utterly incredible. The reason why any candid person has ever so imagined, must be found in the fact, that the term *wine*, when used in the Holy Scriptures, has been supposed to indicate precisely the same article which now, in our own country, and others similarly situated, goes under that designation; a supposition wholly unwarranted by any just principle of Biblical exegesis, and most incontestably at war with the facts in the case.

The view here taken of ancient wines, such wines as were used in the days of the patriarchs and prophets, is abundantly supported by heathen writers who flourished at a very early day. Horace, one of the first Latin poets, says,—we give only the English translation,—

> "Aufidius first, most injudicious, quaff'd
> Strong wine and honey for his morning draught:—
> With lenient beverage fill your empty veins,
> For lenient *must* will better cleanse the veins."

Thus clearly discriminating between intoxicating and unintoxicating wines. Again, elsewhere,—

> "Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii,
> Duces sub umbra; nec Semelius
> Cum marte confundet Thyoneus
> Prælia."

He tells his friend Mecænas, that he might drink a "hundred glasses of this innocent Lesbian," without any danger to his head or senses. In the Delphian edition of Horace, we are told that the "Lesbian wine could injure no one; that, as it would neither affect the head nor inflame the passions, there was no fear that those who drank it would become quarrelsome." It is added, that "there is no wine sweeter to drink than Lesbian; that it was like nectar, and more resembled ambrosia than wine; that it was perfectly harmless, and would not produce intoxication." To other wines a similar character is given. Pliny says, "*Surrentinæ vina caput non tenent*"—"Surrentine wine does not affect the head." Speaking of the weak wines of Greece, Columella says,—"Those small Greek vines, as the Mareotic, Thasian, Psythian, Sophortian, though they have a tolerably good taste, yet, in our climate, they yield but little wine, from the thinness of their clusters, and the smallnes of their berries. Nevertheless, the black Inerticula, (the sluggish vine,) which some of the Greeks call Amethyston, may be placed, as it were, in the second tribe, because it both yields a good wine and is harmless: from which also it took its name; because it is reckoned dull, and not to have spirit enough to affect the nerves, though it is not dull and flat to the taste." Book iii, c. 2.

Pliny says, lib. xiv, cap. 2, that there was a Spanish wine called "*Inerticulam justius, sobriam, viribus innoxiam, siquidem temulentiam sola non facit:*"—"a wine that would not intoxicate." Speaking of the unfermented juice of the grape, Aristotle says, Meteor., lib. iv, cap. 9, "*οἶνος θ', ὁ μεν γλυκυς, δίο καὶ οὐ μεθυσκει:*"—"that sweet wine would not intoxicate."

But we have not space for further enlargement on this topic, and must refer the reader to the work under review; where he will be sure to find the most ample and satisfactory information respecting every material point connected with it. The author's general conclusion should, however, be given in his own words:—

"From the foregoing examination, it is apparent that the fruit of the vine, in the state in which it exists in the vat, the vineyard, and the cluster, is called in the original by the sacred writers of the Old Testament, *tirosh*, *yayin*, *ausis*, &c.; that in the Greek translation of these terms by the Seventy it is called, *oinon;* in the Latin translation, *vinum;* and in the English, *wine*. And it is further apparent that the fruit of the vine, in the same state, is called by the same name by profane writers: hence we meet in Aristotle with (*oinon*) wine of the vat; in Livy, with (*vinum*) wine of the field; and in Cato, as well as Isaiah, with (*vinum pendens*) wine of the cluster: and hence, also, when we do so meet with these terms, though the presumption will be that they refer to the fruit of the vine in some state, it can only be determined in which by considering the attendant circumstances; and for the obvious reason, that the terms, *yayin*, *oinos*, and *vinum*, are generic terms, and embrace, in their comprehensive meaning, the fruit of the vine, or pure blood of the grape, in all the states in which it exists.

"But whatever question may be raised about the quality of other kinds of wine, there can be no question about this pendent wine of Cato; for it is the wine of the cluster of Isaiah. This wine must be good wine, for it is wine approved by God; and there was, as we have seen, a time when it was approved of man also: and however it may now be spoken against, we believe it still to be not the less worthy of commendation on that account, because we believe it still to be, what it then was, (in the sense in which we use the terms,) unintoxicating wines. Not that we affirm the pure blood of the grape, as expressed from the ripened cluster, to have been always absolutely unaffected by fermentation, but only slightly and insensibly affected by it. In olden time wine, as we believe, was appreciated not as now according to its strength, but according to its weakness.

"I am aware that there are those who consider the question of fermentation in wine, *a question not of degree, but of totality*. Pure alcohol, say they, is poison; and because it is so, every beverage in which alcohol is contained, how minute soever the quantity, must be poison also. This, though plausible, is not conclusive; and were it so, the water we drink, nay the very air we breathe, would be poison; for oxygen and nitrogen, of which it is composed, are so; and so is every mixture of the two in any other proportion than the proportion in which the God of nature

has united them in the vital air; and yet, when so united, they are breathed not only with impunity, but of necessity, as an essential element of life. In like manner, though alcohol be poison, and though every mixture of it in any greater proportions than that in which God has united it with those other elements in the '*pure blood of the grape*,' may also be poison, it does not follow, if so united, it must be so. On the contrary, the beverage thus formed may be not only innocuous, but nutritious and renovating; as the noble Canaro found when he drank the fresh new wine of the recent vintage: and yet this same beverage, so bland and healthful while its original elemental proportions are maintained, may increase in potency as its contained alcohol is increased by progressive fermentation, till changed in its nature, it becomes, what the Bible significantly calls it, '*a mocker*;' executing on those who drink it a vengeance which the Bible no less significantly describes, by comparing it to the bite of the serpent and the sting of the adder. . . . . Who ever thought, because bread and milk are sanctioned in the Bible, that therefore bread must be eaten after it had become moldy by age, or milk after it had become sour by fermentation? From the moment the animal is slain, the herb gathered, or the cluster of the vine plucked, the process of decay commences, which, unless arrested, is rendered unfit for use by progressive fermentation. With wines, as with herbs and meats, some were originally comparatively good, and some comparatively bad; and some which were originally good became bad through mistaken treatment, the progressive process of fermentation, or some other incidental process through which they may have passed. Meats recently slaughtered, herbs recently gathered, and wines recently expressed from the cluster, are usually the most healthful, nutritious, and refreshing. And though wine perfectly free from alcohol may not be obtainable, and though its most perfect state be the state in which it is expressed from the cluster, still it may be more or less objectionable as it deviates more or less from that state, till it becomes positively deleterious and intoxicating. Though God's grant to man covers wine among other good things, it designates no particular kind, it gives no directions as to the mode of preparation, or the time when it is most fit for use. These and similar instructions are to be looked for, not in the book of revelation, but of nature. Man is a rational creature, and God treats him as such. The great storehouse of nature is flung open before him, and permission is given him to slay, or gather, and eat; not indeed inconsiderately and indiscriminately, but of such, and such only, as are suited to his nature, and as are good for food. In the selection and preparation of the articles, reason is to be exercised, experience consulted, the good distinguished from the bad, the precious from the vile."—Pp. 120, 121, 122–128, 129.

But we have not done with the supposed Scripture authority for drinking alcoholic wines. Three instances are, not unfrequently, adduced from the New Testament to show that the use of such wines, as a beverage, is sanctioned by Christ and his apostles, namely, the paschal supper, the marriage at Cana of Galilee, and St. Paul's advice to Timothy, 1st Epist. v, 23.

With respect to the paschal supper, however difficult it may be to prove a negative, we think it may be made to appear very probable, to say the least, that alcoholic wine was not used on the occasion.

1. Wine formed no part of the original institution, as may be seen from the thirteenth chapter of the Book of Exodus.

2. At whatever time wine was introduced in the celebration of the paschal supper, the presumption is that the kind selected was in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion. But who can imagine that stimulating, exciting, intoxicating drinks would at all consist with the institution, as characterized in the Holy Scriptures?

3. The wine used at the passover was uniformly diluted with water. This is evident from the Talmud and the Christian fathers. See the point stated at large in Horne's Introduction. Indeed, the practice of diluting the sacramental wine obtained in the Christian church till a comparatively recent day. Among the changes effected in the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer, express mention is made of "omitting the rubric that ordained water to be mixed with the wine" at the eucharist. But does not this very circumstance, the adding of water to the paschal and sacramental wine, prove that the wine used on those occasions was intoxicating wine? By no means. The dilution was effected, not with a view to diminish the intoxicating properties of the wine used, but to bring it as nearly as possible to the state in which it existed when first expressed from the grape. The unintoxicating wines of antiquity were thick and ropy, rendered so by the various processes adopted to prevent fermentation, and the dilution was needful in order to their convenient, and perhaps even pleasurable, use. It is, we suppose, well known that many of our American churches, in order to avoid the use of alcoholic wine at the holy communion, import what may be called a *vinous sirup* from France, or some other vinous country. The sirup thus imported is made by boiling some four or five—more or less—quarts of the unfermented juice of the grape into one, so as entirely to prevent fermentation. But when it is used in this country at the table of the Lord, it is always restored, by dilution, as nearly as possible to its original state. This fact indicates the bearing of our present argument.

4. The divine enactment touching the passover utterly prohibits the use of anything and everything "leavened," during the time of its celebration. It reads as follows: "Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days: and there shall be no leavened bread seen with thee; neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy

quarters." Exod. xiii, 7. Now Gesenius, than whom no one in matters of this sort is better authority, declares that the word שְׂאֹר, which our translators have rendered *leaven*, applies to wine as well as bread. In this he is corroborated by Mr. Herschell, a converted Jew, whose opinion seems entitled to great consideration.

5. Finally, we urge the present opinion and practice of the Jews as conclusive on the point. The Hon. Mordecai Manasseh Noah, of New-York, says, in a recent publication, "Unfermented liquor, or wine free from alcohol, was alone used in those times, as it is used at the present day at the passover." This "judge in Israel" is corroborated by the Rev. C. F. Frey, another converted Jew, who affirms that during the passover his former brethren "dared not to drink any liquor made from grain, or any that had passed through the process of fermentation."

In view of all these considerations, we doubt whether any ingenuous mind will be disposed to urge the paschal supper as a precedent for the ordinary use of alcoholic wine.

The argument drawn from the use of the wine miraculously produced at the wedding in Cana of Galilee, (vide John ii, 1–11,) we deem equally irrelevant and inconclusive. To assume that the article supplied on that occasion was intoxicating wine, is a most palpable *petitio principii;* for it is the very thing to be proved. As wine *may* exist, and in the days of our Saviour certainly *did* exist, in an unintoxicating state, what right has any one to assert, in the absence of all evidence, that this hymeneal beverage, furnished by Him whose whole life was one of abstinence as well as beneficence, was poisonous and intoxicating? The presumption, certainly, lies wholly in the opposite direction. He who "went about doing good," could not so far identify himself with the prince of darkness as to join in making what the pen of inspiration has elsewhere designated as the "mocker," the "serpent," the "adder." No—no! Such a character must not be imputed to the Son of God. Innocence and love could do no such thing.

The article supplied by him on this festal occasion was pronounced by "the ruler of the feast" to be "good wine." But what kind of wine is "*good* wine?" Why, most obviously, that kind which is "good" to the unperverted taste, and whose effects upon the health and happiness of man are "good." But this cannot be truly predicated of alcoholic wine. So far from it, that, to the unperverted taste of the whole species it is as grossly offensive, as, in its actual effects upon both body and mind, it is indubitably deleterious. If "the ruler of the feast" judged as would have

done Pliny, Columella, Theophrastus, and other ancient sages—some of whom were cotemporary with the apostles—had they been present on the occasion, then there is no difficulty whatever in determining the specific character of the wine in question; for these men have set in judgment on the quality of wines, and pronounced the weaker, unintoxicating wines, the better wines.

It remains that we notice, in this connection, St. Paul's advice to Timothy: "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." Now though the wine-bibber should demonstrate, by "proof as strong as holy writ," that St. Paul here recommends to Timothy the use of alcoholic wine, it would avail him nothing, for the obvious reason that it was prescribed medicinally. Timothy was sick, and needed medicine; and his senior in years and office, who took a fatherly interest in all that concerned his physical health and ministerial prosperity, recommended to him the use of a "little" wine. But though a little alcoholic wine were required by the peculiar state of Timothy's stomach, it would be a singular sort of logic to conclude from hence that men, women, and children, in good health, may with safety and propriety use a *little* of the same article—not to say a good deal of it! Suppose St. Paul, in view of Timothy's infirmities, had recommended to him the use of a little ipecacuanha or emetic tartar, is it probable that any man in his sober senses would have thought of pleading apostolic advice or precedent for the habitual and ordinary use of those potent medicines?

But we deny in toto, and challenge the proof, that St. Paul recommended to Timothy the use of alcoholic wine. To say nothing of his being divinely inspired, he was certainly a man of good common sense, and would never recommend to this young minister what, so far from benefiting his diseased stomach, must, in the very nature of things, have aggravated his complaint. We have already seen something of the effects of alcohol upon the human stomach. The post-mortem examinations of the late Dr. Sewall are most decisive and awfully edifying. It is, however, not by post-mortem examinations only that the direful effects of alcohol upon the human stomach have been made apparent. As if Providence would *force* a conviction of the dreadful reality upon the public mind, these effects, *while in actual progress*, have been subjected to the tests of ocular demonstration. If, with such facts before us, we do not believe, neither would we be persuaded though one rose from the dead. The remarkable case in view has been reported in several of our medical and temperance journals, and is substantially given by Dr. Nott in his fifth lecture.

As it is not only admirably suited to our present purpose, but contains most curious and desirable information, we transcribe the chief part of it from the lecturer:—

"A young Canadian, St. Martin by name, was wounded by a cannon ball, which, in its passage, opened an orifice in his stomach; which orifice, though the wound healed, was never closed. Hence it became necessary, in order to prevent the escape of food, to cover that orifice with a pad. Dr. Beaumont, the army surgeon, who effected the cure, being impressed with a sense of the importance of the opportunity thus furnished for investigating the process of digestion, received the young man into his family, and instituted a series of experiments, which were continued two or three years. During these experiments he found, that whenever St. Martin drank fermented liquor, 'the mucous membrane of the stomach was covered with inflammatory and ulcerous patches, the secretions were vitiated, and the gastric juice diminished in quantity, and was of an unnatural viscidity; and yet he described himself as perfectly well, and complained of nothing. Two days subsequent to this, the inner membrane of the stomach was unusually morbid, the inflammatory appearance more extensive, and the spots more livid than usual; from the surface of some of them exuded small drops of grumous blood; the ulcerous patches were larger and more numerous; the mucous covering thicker than usual, and the gastric secretions much more vitiated. The gastric fluids extracted were mixed with a large proportion of thick, ropy mucus, and a considerable muco-purulent discharge, slightly tinged with blood, resembling discharges from the bowels in some cases of dysentery. Notwithstanding this diseased appearance of the stomach, no very essential aberration of its functions was manifested. St. Martin complained of no symptoms indicating any general derangement of the system, except an uneasy sensation and tenderness at the pit of the stomach, and some vertigo, with dimness and yellowness of vision on stooping down and rising up again.' Dr. Beaumont further observed, that 'the free use of ardent spirits, wine, beer, or any other intoxicating liquor, when continued for some days, has invariably produced these changes.'"—Pp. 146, 147.

Such being the indisputable effect of alcoholic wine, it seems utterly preposterous to suppose that St. Paul would recommend it to Timothy as a specific for his diseased stomach and other "often infirmities." Wines there were that would make an excellent prescription for a feeble stomach; and to these, doubtless, the patient would understand the apostle as referring. Of the innocent, healthful, invigorating article here intended, we have already spoken with sufficient explicitness, and therefore deem it unnecessary, in this place, to add anything further. Though, to prevent all mistake, it may perhaps be well enough simply to say, that, in cases of extreme vital prostration, such prostration as sometimes follows long-continued and violent sickness, alcoholic stimulants may

answer an excellent purpose. But Timothy was in no such condition, and consequently needed no such prescription.

With respect to the New Testament, then, as with respect to the Old, our conclusion is, that, when rightly understood and fairly interpreted, it furnishes no authority whatever, either by formal permission or divinely sanctioned example, for the habitual use of intoxicating liquors. So far from it, that, if it do not contain specific inhibitions, it lays down principles which are utterly inconsistent with the practice. No man, therefore, who forms his character upon the model of a pure and elevated Christianity, will indulge himself in exciting potations.

But to return to the work under review. Though Dr. Nott has considered, candidly and thoroughly, the bearings of the sacred volume on the general question of total abstinence, and has, in our opinion, done much more than any of his predecessors in this department of Biblical criticism, to show that alcohol drinking has no sanction from the word of God; yet, alas for the imperfection of the human understanding! even this splendid effort has failed to give satisfaction to *all* the friends of the temperance cause. While the great majority of those that love that cause have hailed the publication of these Lectures as almost forming an epoch in the temperance reformation, certainly as being likely to contribute largely to a most blissful consummation, a few seem disposed to receive this publication with much both of abatement and reserve. Nay, some of the lecturer's positions have been openly, we had almost said violently, assailed. This opposition, too, has come from a quarter where it might have been least expected. The Rev. John Marsh, editor of the Journal of the American Temperance Society, has deemed it his duty to put the public on their guard against some of Dr. Nott's views. Did not Christian charity forbid the supposition, we might be almost tempted to think that there is something *personal* at the bottom of these criticisms. Certainly it seems strange that courteous and gentlemanly explanations, explanations deemed to be essential to a right understanding of matters at issue, should have been denied a place in the columns of the Temperance Journal! nor hardly less strange that the editor of that Journal should have judged it proper to treat such men as the venerable Dr. Nott and the philanthropic Delavan with so much apparent coolness! Probably, however, the whole should be attributed to an absorbing zeal for the interests of the temperance cause.

But what is there new or startling in the positions of the lecturer? So far as we are able to perceive, just nothing at all. True to a chemical fact, Dr. Nott admits that an infinitesimal quantum of

alcohol exists in the newly expressed juice of the grape; nay, often even in the perfectly ripe grape itself; and yet maintains that "the fruit of the vine," in such a state, is both innocent and healthful. Combined as the alcohol is with other elements, and modified by them as it is in the ripe grape and the recently expressed juice, he alledges it to be utterly insufficient to produce intoxication. Nor is this mere speculation; it is matter of fact. No one was ever known to be inebriated by eating ripe grapes, or drinking wine as it ran from the press. Dr. Nott asserts this fact; and hence maintains that the Bible, in sanctioning the use of wine—sweet, original, unfermented wine—does not sanction the use of intoxicating liquors, in the strict and proper sense of that phrase. Here, then, everything is plain—everything consistent. The position eminently "justifies the ways of God to man;" instead of resolving, as Mr. Marsh seems inclined to do, the Bible permission to drink wine—assuming it to be intoxicating wine—into the sovereignty of God!

But the lecturer by no means leaves the matter here. He maintains that, on the ground of expediency, even *un*alcoholic wines, could we obtain them, should not *now* be used as a beverage. For the same reason that St. Paul was willing to abstain from "meat," —the reason that eating it might cause his brother to "offend," that is, stumble or fall,—Dr. Nott thinks all who wish well to their fellow-men should wholly refraim from drinking wine, however innocent the practice in itself, or however free the article consumed from the intoxicating principle. The practice might be of dangerous tendency. Our weak brother would possibly be offended. Under cover of our example, and failing to discriminate between what is innocent and what is otherwise, he might "stumble" and ruin himself for ever.

Thus we understand Dr. Nott; and, so understanding him, we cannot sympathize in the fears expressed by the American Temperance Journal. We believe them to be utterly groundless. They are justified by no sound reasons, either of philosophy or ethics. The editor assails what he can never demolish. These Lectures will remain a monument of the learning, the eloquence, and the truly Christian philanthropy of their venerable author, long, long after he is gathered to his fathers. Destined to no ephemeral existence, they will be read and admired by generations yet unborn. Their extensive publication at this day cannot fail to do an incalculable amount of good; and if Mr. Delavan accomplishes but half what he has undertaken in this way, the friends of the temperance cause will be under infinite obligations to him. We are the more certain in this estimate of the Lectures under review, as

it is supported by the published opinions of gentlemen whose intelligence and devotion to the interests of temperance entitle them to the greatest confidence. Chancelor Walworth, in a letter to the editor of the Temperance Journal, says, "I think you have unintentionally erred in supposing that there is any abandonment of correct temperance principles in Dr. Nott's Lectures, or that they are not calculated greatly to aid us in persuading others to abstain totally from the use, as a beverage, of anything that can intoxicate. ....He has succeeded in showing that the pen of inspiration, under the dictation of the unerring wisdom of the Most High, only commends as good the pure and unintoxicating blood of the grape, before the vinous fermentation has progressed so far as to render it inebriating and absolutely hurtful to man. And he also shows that the same unerring wisdom has denounced all intoxicating wine, or other inebriating drinks, as a curse instead of a blessing to mankind.

"In a case," continues the chancelor, "which recently came before the court of dernier resort for decision, I had occasion to examine the question, and expressed the opinion that a beverage cannot properly be considered as a strong or inebriating liquor, if none of those who use it ever get intoxicated by such use, or when it is impossible for any one to drink a sufficient quantity to produce such an effect.....Taking them together,"—Dr. Nott's Lectures, —"it will be seen that he has done much to rescue the language of inspired wisdom from the unhallowed uses to which many had attempted to pervert it, for the purpose of vindicating the drinking usages of society. He has also done much to relieve the minds of sincere Christians from error, who had been taught to believe their Saviour had sanctioned the use of intoxicating wine as a beverage. And I think his Lectures will be found not to contain anything to encourage the use of wines, or of any liquor produced by fermentation, as a common drink, in any stages of their fermentation."

These views of Chancelor Walworth are indorsed by the "New-York Central Temperance Committee," which committee is composed of gentlemen of the highest distinction, both for mental discrimination and ardent zeal for the temperance cause. The Executive Committee of the New-York State Temperance Society, composed of gentlemen equally well known and equally distinguished, say, in an address "To the Executive Committee of the American Temperance Union:" "We have regretted to perceive, in several late numbers of the Journal of Temperance, that your editor disapproves of Dr. Nott's teaching, and Mr. Delavan's circulating, the opinion that wine is rightfully distinguished into *intoxicating* and *unintoxicating* beverage, and that the former

is the wine styled the 'mocker,' and condemned in the Bible, and the latter (the pure blood of the grape) the wine pronounced a blessing, and granted to Jacob for a beverage. We are led to address you by reason of the distinction taken and the doctrines taught in these Lectures, being the same which have been taken and taught in works sanctioned and published by ourselves, and because we firmly believe this distinction to be intelligible and sound, and the only one which avoids a conflict with the unyielding laws of nature or the infallible word of God. Considering these Lectures as a pre-eminently able and convincing argument against the use of all intoxicating liquors, especially against the use of wine of every sort as a beverage, among the more wealthy and fashionable classes of community, we cannot but approve of the course Mr. Delavan has taken, and hope he will persevere in his endeavors to give them a wide circulation. And we take the liberty of soliciting your careful attention to these Lectures,—to their richness in scientific and historical facts and illustrations, their kindness, force, candor, and eloquence of argument, and their peculiar fitness to disabuse the mind of the Christian public of those perversions of Scripture, from which the cause of temperance has suffered so much in times past."

To the preceding we will only add the approval of one of the most distinguished Biblical critics of the age. Professor Moses Stewart, writing to Mr. Delavan, says:—"I have read the discourses," (of Dr. Nott,) "and have no hesitation in saying that they are powerful, eloquent, argumentative, candid, and kind, without exaggeration, and without any timid shrinking from a full-length portrait. If Dr. Nott had been raised up for nothing else, it would have been a great end to be accomplished, to write these discourses. My compliments and my earnest congratulations to him on the ground of his complete success in his noble and benevolent undertaking. *Sero in cœlum redeat*, even a sober heathen would say to him; that is, *Late may he return to glory!* or, in other words, *Long may he live!* The criticisms that I should have to make in the way of *calling in question*, would be 'few and far between.' I deem them unnecessary—my meed of praise is in full measure, 'heaped up and running over.' Yes, give as many wings as you can to such a messenger, and let him visit the whole English world. God has given you an opportunity to do more good than many kings and princes have: use it to your utmost, and then ascribe all the glory to him."

We have adduced the preceding commendations, both to show the estimate in which these Lectures are held by the clearest heads

and purest hearts of our country, and to aid, as far as possible, in giving them circulation. It will have been seen that we have confined our remarks, chiefly, to those parts of the book under review which relate to the Scripture bearings of the question of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors. If we have not noticed other parts of it, it was simply because it did not fall within our design to do so, and not because we do not deem them exceedingly valuable and interesting. The volume is worthy of the serious perusal and careful study of all classes, and is especially commended to the attention of those who, by an incorrect generalization, have fallen into either of the two opposite errors upon "the wine question." They will in this case, as in most others, find that the truth lies between the two extremes. P.

ART. IV.—1. *Methodist Quarterly Review for April*, 1847. *Art. I. Phrenology and Revelation. A Review of Fowler on Religion.* By Rev. D. W. CLARK.

2. *The British Quarterly Review: Phrenology tested. A Review of Contributions to the Mathematics of Phrenology.* By JAMES STRATTON. Also, *The Brain and its Physiology; a Critical Disquisition on the Methods of determining the Relations between the Structure and Functions of the Encephalon.* By DANIEL NOBLE, M. R. C. S. Eng. London, 1846. *Eclectic Magazine*, February, 1847.

SUPERFICIAL men often find their favorite hypotheses, which they have dignified by the name of science, in direct contact with the most ancient and thoroughly established truths. The history of one such Utopian reformer is the history of all. He never infers the probable error of his own scheme, but decides at once that the time-honored system is unsound merely because it is opposed to his! Regardless alike of the teachings of experience in relation to the fate of such men, and of the importance of the truths he attempts to overthrow, he proceeds forthwith to proclaim the baselessness of these venerable principles, and to show how clearly this discovery follows from his own demonstrable science. With no very special regard to the graces or forms of modesty, he proceeds immediately to prefer his claims to the gratitude and respect of mankind as their deliverer from the thraldom of custom, and from the delusion of happiness in the enjoyment of their holiest institutions. The very extent and apparent impracticability of the

revolutions he proposes, rather encourage than alarm him. There is something so flattering to natural vanity in the idea of standing out before the world as the fearless opposer of what even general experience has found to be true; something so noble and manly in being, de facto, in the place of "Athanasius contra mundum," that he throws himself, with the most reckless daring and enthusiasm, against even the impregnable walls of truth; and such is his delirium of joy in these assaults, that he really seems not to know when he has dashed out his own brains! At the very moment in which he has just succeeded in drawing sufficient attention to himself to expose the ridiculousness of his attempts, and provoke a smile at their folly, he is waiting, with suppressed breath and "erectis oribis," to catch the universal acclamations of praise and eternal obligation for the glorious deliverances he has wrought out for oppressed humanity.

In no instance is the truth of these remarks more evident than in the history of phrenological discoverers. Having caught a glimpse of a supposed relation between craniology and psychology, they have jumped at once into the broad daylight of the science of phrenology! They have discovered a universal law by noticing a few slight or striking coincidences, which may, however, be easily accounted for without the existence of any such law. They have generalized without competent facts, and been content with conjecture and assumption nearly endless, as the basis of *a splendid science.*

But phrenology assumed as true, and what follows? Why, the established principles of metaphysical philosophy are all false. Locke, Reid, Stewart, and Brown, are all wrong in asserting the indivisible unity of mind. The clearest distinctions are confounded. The ablest philosophers are treated with contempt, and men are kindly notified to beware of such blind guides, and to rely upon phrenologists as the true wonder-working spirits in the philosophy of mind. From them we must receive the key of metaphysical knowledge, and the pure principles of that philosophy which shows, plainly enough, all philosophy to be not merely false, but simply ridiculous.

The Christian religion, too, is directly in the way of this furious science. But it *must* go through, and *will.* No use to remonstrate. And what then, but to run over, trample down, and stamp into the earth, this old, and, no doubt, superannuated system? Consolation to our doting hearts if then we can gather up so much as a fragment, as a relic of its former greatness and power! Ten years—not more than ten years, certainly, will be ample to esta-

blish the new theory of man! Universal nature, its own restorer, stands out beautified and adorned, with only one God (the genius of phrenology) to adore, and the immortal discoverer, the high priest of a regenerated world.

That true science and religion are in no *permanent* danger from such empiricism as this, is quite certain. The experience of centuries has abundantly shown their ability to resist all such strengthless assaults, however furious they may be. These fictitious schemes of radicalism and folly evidently have no power to uproot the great principles of inductive philosophy or of revealed religion; and yet they do harm. They unsettle the weak, delude the romantic and visionary, and encourage the morbid sensitiveness of the masses. They divert the attention of multitudes from reliable sources of improvement, and become fatal by inducing dependence upon false remedies for the ills of nature, until it is too late for the true. He, therefore, who points out the errors of such schemes, and throws insuperable obstacles in the way of their progress, however plausible or contemptible they may be, does a good and essential service to the cause of truth, and deserves well of his country and his race.

Such a service, to some good extent, has, as I conceive, been rendered by the reviewer of "Fowler on Religion," whose article is introduced at the head of this. He has shown conclusively the falseness of many of Mr. Fowler's infidel doctrines. In the style of its argument his paper is clear, caustic, and popular; and it seems to be, on the whole, a good execution of his design.

We cannot, however, resist the conviction that his design was such as to leave room for an article of a different character, calculated to promote the same general ends. Indeed, the doubts of the reviewer, as to how much was due to phrenology as a system, and his evident inclination to admit that it might be entitled to the rank of a science, necessarily very much modified his plan, and, we think, deprived him of his very best weapons in the conflict upon which he had entered. The doctrines of his author in regard to religion he denies, nay, utterly abhors. He must, therefore, either reject his premises, or deny that his conclusions are legitimate. He prefers the latter, and hence commits himself to the pledge of sundering the irreligious theology of Mr. Fowler from the doctrines of phrenology. For ourselves, we could wish that he had more formally and distinctly addressed himself to this important point. If, by a clear statement of the premises and conclusions of Mr. F., he could have shown that they were not legitimately connected, he would have spoiled the book, and then he could easily have exhibited the

incorrectness of the doctrines, and left phrenology to take care of itself. That his readers had some reason to expect such a course, we think is evident from the following:—

"Let us premise, however, that we wage no war against phrenology —none against the science proper—kept within its legitimate bounds. We may even assent to many of its general principles—many of the results to which the experiments and researches of scientific men seem to have led them. But our author must pardon us if our credulity fails when we attempt to follow him through some of the varied applications he has sought to give it."

Again:—

"We will, however, endeavor to point out some of the gross absurdities involved in our author's theory of the relations existing between phrenology and revelation; and also to show that that theory is illegitimate, even if the truth of phrenology, as a science, were admitted."

We regret, therefore, that the reviewer did not make a point-blank issue with his author upon the infidel tendencies of phrenology; for as religious as Mr. Fowler believes his philosophy to be, Mr. Clark evidently and truly considers it unvarnished infidelity. Objectors to the system have charged these results upon it as legitimate and necessary, and Mr. Fowler has fully conceded the ground. But our reviewer, as I understand him, denies it, and hence upon the question, Do the principles of phrenology tend to infidelity? he takes the negative. As we consider this view of the subject far from being established, we should have been pleased to see a close and thorough argument in its favor from so able a pen as the reviewer's. Evidently, however, this was not his design. He meant to exhibit the philosophy and not the philosophizing of his author, and in this he has succeeded. He is a candid and amiable writer; and hence, while he treats with deserved severity the erroneous doctrines of Mr. F., he gives him credit for "much that is good," for "many sound principles." "He has," says Dr. Bond, in effect, "done much, but much more remains to be done."

To contribute what we can in so small a compass to what "remains to be done," is our sole purpose. We by no means appear as the opponent of our esteemed friend the reviewer, but merely ask permission to take our place by his side, as a co-laborer in the field of truth. We do not, it is true, agree with him in regard to phrenological tendencies, but upon this point we feel ourselves occupying a ground of argument which he has seen proper mainly to omit.

Says the writer of "Phrenology tested," mentioned at the head of this article—

"Half a century has elapsed since Dr. Gall first announced to the world the elements of that system of phrenology. This science, if science it may be called, has long since run the gauntlet of public opinion; it has outlived the first ardor of its supporters and the early virulence of its foes. Fifty years have been afforded for its establishment or refutation. In every enlightened country it has supported, during a long period, its public lecturers and periodicals; it has been made the subject alike of metaphysical and physiological investigations; the lights of science have been brought to bear upon it; anatomy, human and comparative, pathology, experiments upon living animals, and numerous other sources, more or less direct, have been assiduously ransacked for evidence of its truth or falsehood. And now, when a critical inquiry into the functions of the brain, by a member of the medical profession, who is favorably known as a contributor to the medical periodicals of the day, has been offered to the public, claiming for phrenology the rank of an inductive science, we are surely in a favorable position calmly to review the evidence which has been accumulated in favor of phrenology, and whether or not it affords a correct physiology of the brain, and a true picture of the human mind."

If it should be admitted that the argument has been exhausted, and that the grace of novelty is entirely gone, this fact we must be allowed to regard as rather favorable than otherwise to a dispassionate and successful review of the discussion. It is certain that, after all that has been written, pro and con, and though the champions of both parties have laid aside their weapons, each claiming the victory with perfect assurance, much uncertainty upon the subject still rests upon the public mind; and, if we have not mistaken the facts, while the opponents of phrenology have been resting in confidence that enough has been done to secure its destruction, it has been artfully and insidiously gaining ground among the speculative, the indifferent, and the credulous parts of the community. With these views, we shall need no apology for attempting a contribution to the truth, in opposition to it; and we start with the proposition, that

PHRENOLOGY IS CONTRARY TO FACT, AND THEREFORE UNTRUE.

To prevent mistake, we must at this point define what is meant by phrenology. It is not those general indications of countenance, gesture, and bearing, by which all men are accustomed to conjecture, sometimes with shrewd accuracy, and sometimes with palpable incorrectness, something of the characters of individuals. Perhaps even this may be said more frequently to amuse than instruct mankind. But whether there be much or little in these general means of interpreting character, in fundamental phrenology, craniology alone is the index to mind. No dependence whatever is to be placed upon the adjustment of muscles, the cast of

the eye, the movement of the limbs, the tone of the voice, or the action of the subject. Nothing is to be relied upon, as an indication of character, but what can be touched upon the head; and hence phrenological practitioners often propose to perform their experiments blindfolded, and yet tell the character of a perfect stranger with infallible accuracy. The influence of temperaments is only a seeming exception to this remark; for whatever may be their effect in supplying the material, and graduating the power of the faculties, if phrenology be true, the brain is the sole organ, and the cranium the sole index of mind.

Nor is it any individual article of a phrenological creed that we single out to oppose, for any such article, however true or false, would not be phrenology.

Nor the teachings of any particular author or lecturer, for these are so numerous and contradictory, that to attempt their refutation would be equal to the madness of Don Quixote in his chivalrous war with windmills, sheep, and winesacks.

There are, however, certain fundamental principles which constitute the system. These are prominent and unmistakable, and with them the scheme either stands or falls. They may be briefly expressed as follows:—

"THE MIND MANIFESTS A PLURALITY OF FACULTIES." THESE FACULTIES OPERATE THROUGH SEPARATE PORTIONS OF THE BRAIN AS THEIR PECULIAR AND APPROPRIATE ORGANS, EACH PRODUCING ITS DISTINCT DEVELOPMENT UPON THE EXTERIOR SURFACE OF THE CRANIUM. THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE BEEN ASCERTAINED AND SEPARATELY IDENTIFIED, AND THEIR METAPHYSICAL CAUSES SO ACCURATELY MARKED AS TO CONSTITUTE A NEW, CLEAR, AND THE ONLY SYSTEM OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAN—THE SCIENCE OF PHRENOLOGY.

This summary does not, of course, attempt to include everything that phrenology asserts. It is believed, however, that it will be acknowledged as a fair and accurate statement of the fundamental elements of the system. Here, then, the issue is made. If each and all these positions shall be found to be contrary to fact, it will follow that there is no such thing as *the science* of phrenology.

We shall examine them first in the light of established psychological facts.

In observing his own phenomena, man must have been early led to the discovery of mind. Matter, the entity everywhere present to his senses, furnished no solution to the mysteries of thought, and feeling, and volition, which he could not fail to observe pervading his being. The Creator had so constituted him, that he

could not long remain in possession of a treasure so vast in value, and not be aware of it. The *idea* of mind was an easy, a natural, and a necessary inference, from the *action* of mind; and to its wonderful powers were referred gradually, but necessarily, all those mysterious developments in anthropology which it was seen matter could in nowise account for. The earliest philosophical efforts of mind struggle with the idea of pure spirituality, spurn the gross dogmas of materialism, and show how hard it is to annihilate in man the principles which God has revealed. The idea has been modified, obscured, and degraded, in ten thousand ways, but the history of philosophy shows that the Creator has furnished its evidence so universally and clearly, that it must and will have the ascendency. Man can no more lose it than he can lose himself. The very efforts by which he would argue it out of existence prove it invariably present, and sufficiently rebuke the folly of skepticism. Between the extremes of materialism and spirituality, as the subject of thought, feeling, and volition, there can be no medium. If it have one attribute of matter, it is not mind; and if no law of matter enter into the explanation of mental phenomena, then mind is wholly spiritual in its essence, and immaterial in the mode of its action.

The mind of man acts like an indivisible whole. It does nothing in parts. Its phenomena present to the mind's consciousness a continuous, successive activity, as a sole and individual subject ought to do. A narrow inspection of its most rapid movements will show the order of time in all its distinct actions, and dissipate the dream of a multiplicity of separate faculties. But a failure to detect succession is no evidence that it does not exist. Even in matter it is often so rapid as to be totally imperceptible. The boy who draws his bird upon one side of a card and his cage on the other, and, by strings at the ends, turns it in such a manner as clearly, to visual perception, to throw the bird into the cage, knows very well that he is not there; and that, actually, after one is seen, the card must make half a revolution before the other can be. He tells you it moves so fast you cannot see it, a fact which, simple as it is, shows conclusively that we are never safe in denying physical succession upon the evidence of our senses. The whole universe is in motion; but our knowledge of the fact, evident and necessary as it is, is only an inference. If, then, the rapidity of material succession can prevent its recognition by the senses, certainly that of mental succession may prevent its recognition by consciousness. The speed of lightning is not comparable to that of thought. What folly, then, to suppose that when our attention

fails to keep up with its velocity, mind has no succession; especially as, by retarding the progress of our most rapid mentalities, careful observation will detect the succession of those thoughts which seem to be simultaneous. Mind is therefore a unit—a distinct, indivisible whole. In this spiritual nature it presents itself in its varied states when their several conditions occur. Thought is the mind thinking; sensibility, the mind feeling; and will, the mind determining; otherwise the subject of these phenomena is nothing but divisible matter.

God has taken up this spirit, and treated it as a distinct individuality, defining its responsibilities as a unit, holding no particular part or faculty responsible for its delinquencies, or excusing or rewarding others for the correctness of their action. But as a spiritual whole, an indivisible and indestructible essence, he has brought it into opening activity in a world of probation, charged it with its momentous responsibilities, and revealed its deathless rewards in a world of retribution. Philosophers have caught the spirit of its phenomena and declared it to be *mind*—mind in its total and eternal distinction from matter—and asserted its phenomena to be utterly incompatible with any and every law of matter, organic and inorganic. This must be regarded as the first great fact of psychology, to which phrenology is uncompromisingly opposed, namely, the existence of mind as a pure spiritual essence, without body or parts, known as mind by the complete distinctness of all its phenomena from everything we know of matter, and by the entireness and perfect individuality of each one of its acts.

To this established fact phrenology opposes the doctrine of separate coexisting and coacting faculties. Upon the radical divisibility of the original essence of mind, there is a verbal disagreement among phrenologists. But this is of no consequence, inasmuch as it is impossible to conceive of a coexisting distinct class of faculties inhering in one original subjective entity, so as to take on local, uniform, simultaneous action, in more than seventy different departments of the brain, without regarding that subject as a physical, substantive existence. These faculties must be either qualities of the same nature as their subject, which must hence necessarily be divisible, or they are themselves the divided whole of the mind's essence. Either alternative admitted, and mind, in its distinctive, essential character, is annihilated, and the whole of its phenomena are utterly and for ever unaccountable. For however frequently the effort may be made, man will wholly refuse to accept any explanation of these phenomena, upon material principles.

To enable us to judge further of phrenology, as a metaphysical system, we inquire after its *method*. So far as it can be said to have any, it is exceedingly physical and incorrect. Material developments are made the indices of mental condition and capacity. We charge no inconsistency upon the system here. It is certainly reasonable that a scheme tending inevitably to materialism, should judge of mind by the physical state; and to such a scheme there can be nothing in the way of making the soul of man wholly dependent upon the body, and subject to its control.

But let us examine this method narrowly, and see what reliance can be placed upon it, as a mode of studying mind. It is observed that certain men and lower animals are fond of certain things. It is hence inferred that God has provided them with special faculties, corresponding with these preferences. For instance, some are petulant and quarrelsome. Now how could this be, if they had not been furnished by their Creator with an original tendency to fight? From this it is supposed to follow, that combativeness is a primary and ultimate faculty of mind; and henceforth, all whose heads are prominent at the posterior inferior angle of the parietal bones, behind the ear and above the mastoid process, are expected, cæteris paribus, to exhibit a strong tendency to war. The state of the cranium at this particular locality is regarded as the certain index to the habit of the mind. Man sometimes takes life, and hence it is forthwith inferred that destructiveness is one of the original faculties of the human soul. He takes care of his offspring, hence the primary faculty, philoprogenitiveness. Sometimes he stays at home, sometimes he prefers any other place to home; he must therefore be primarily endowed with inhabitiveness. Sometimes he sings; not always, it is true; for while some are amateurs in music, others have no relish for it under any circumstances; nevertheless, *tune* is one of the original faculties of the human mind.

Now is it possible to ascertain, with any kind of accuracy, the primary laws of mind in this way? Ought not the merest tyro in the study of man to know, that all these external developments are the result of various complex mentalities, which must be carefully analyzed to ascertain the primary laws which they involve? And in analysis, it is evident, phrenologists are the most palpably deficient of any class of pretended philosophers. To test this point, let us try the power of analysis upon some of these asserted original faculties. Take alimentiveness, for instance. This is a desire for food or drink. But has the soul an original ultimate faculty, with its appropriate organ, for eating and drinking? Then we

shall be liable to appetite in another life, and some kind of aliment must be provided for our accommodation there! for I am in no danger of being disputed when I say, that every primary original faculty of the soul is necessarily indestructible. Now, upon critical examination, is this faculty of alimentiveness anything more than a desirous sensibility, made to take on the character of appetite, by the occasional bodily condition? What then was needed, in the original mental constitution, to meet the physical necessity for aliment in this life? An original eating and drinking faculty, says the phrenologist, inherent, and hence, necessarily, an eternally indestructible part of mind! The philosopher would say, simply a susceptibility of desire, capable of taking on this peculiar condition, when the occasional nervous irritability takes place which produces what we denominate appetite.

Take another, destructiveness. What can this mean but a propensity to destroy? And it is natural to inquire, what could have been the need, in the original formation of mind, of a propensity to destroy? If Scripture history were of any authority with phrenology, it might be relevant to inquire, what were the uses of this faculty of destructiveness in a perfect and sinless state? Was it needed in paradise? And will it be needed in heaven? But just look at the variety of circumstances and motives under which this killing occurs, and you will see with what consummate folly destructiveness is claimed to be a simple, original faculty. The butcher kills with a simple desire for food and love of gain. The hunter kills with a paramount love of sport. The sheriff kills with a mere feeling of responsibility to government. The assassin kills with a feeling of revenge, or to reach some other selfish end. And the warrior kills to prevent being killed, or to gratify a feeling of patriotism, or revenge, or love of glory. But here is this merely physical act, caused by so many completely distinct mentalities, under the auspices of phrenology, taking the rank of a primary, simple, and ultimate mental power! a part of the mind itself!

Take another at random, locality. "This faculty conceives and remembers the situations and the relative localities of external objects." It is certainly true that men note localities, but what philosophical mind would suppose that this is done by a single mental faculty? What, again I ask, could have been the occasion for the creation of a separate faculty for the recognition of place, when the power of sensation and voluntary concentration of mind upon a given cause, with the power of comparison, would provide for it? Precisely the same of configuration, size, weight, coloring, and order: what further mentality is or can be involved in any or all

these mere perceptions, than a simple sensation, with sufficient attention to connect the sensation with its cause? What unmitigated nonsense this phrenological creation of so many distinct original faculties for doing the work of simple perception!

But we must stop. The further prosecution of the metaphysical argument is, we believe, wholly unnecessary. Having commenced the analysis of phrenological simple faculties, the reader can carry it on at his leisure. He will find that nearly all these faculties are complex, and that the physical terms by which they are designated are gross misnomers. Of the whole thirty-seven simple faculties of Spurzheim, we verily believe there is *but one* that will not admit of analysis—but one (namely, comparison) that has received a name appropriate to an original mental power.

We therefore dismiss the psychological discussion of the subject by simply desiring the reader to observe, that so far from there being a cranial indication of these thirty-seven different faculties, there are no such faculties to be indicated. The application of a little accurate analysis annihilates the whole superstructure.

We come now to inquire how far the anatomy and physiology of the encephalon agree with the fundamental principles of phrenology. "The brain is the organ of the mind," is one of the most common assertions of phrenologists. And yet, understood in a phrenological sense, it is certainly untrue. To allow that any one part of neurine matter is *the* organ of the mind, is to exclude every other part. That the brain, with every part of the nervous system, is a medium of connection between the external and internal world, is highly probable. That part of the system technically denominated the sensorium is undoubtedly an instrument of sensation and volition, but in what way, it is wholly impossible to know. To understand, however, the phrenological sense of this expression, "the brain is the organ of the mind," it is necessary to observe, that it is claimed absolutely, that each one of the thirty-seven or more distinct faculties has its peculiar and uniform local organ in each hemisphere of the cerebrum, and each side of the cerebellum; that two portions of the brain, which have been ascertained, bounded, and identified, in distinction from every other portion, are known to be set apart for the exclusive use of each separate faculty. This is what is meant by claiming that "the brain is the organ of the mind."

Now the great question that a plain man, and especially a Yankee, will naturally ask, in view of these wonderful revelations, is, "How do you know?" and I insist upon it as a reasonable question. In what manner has it been ascertained that these dif-

ferent faculties of the mind inhabit different and peculiar organs? And how is it now proved that the soul uses these local organs for the reception and development of its thoughts, feelings, and purposes? Our honest friend will no doubt be amused to be told that there is not the slightest indication, from the conformation of the brain, or any part of it, that any such organs exist. Take up a specimen of the brain, and commence a search for the phrenological divisions which are asserted with so much confidence. In the upper portion you see the two hemispheres of the cerebrum, connected by transverse commissures. In the lower and posterior portion you see the cerebellum, or little brain. And these are all the divisions, above the medulla-oblongata, which you can see. Studying the cerebrum more minutely, you will recognize the anterior, posterior, and middle lobes of each hemisphere, indicated only at its base, and various other inferior portions, not one of which is capable of phrenological dissection. In the cerebrum there is a perfectly homogeneous mass of white neurine, constituting the foundation of this portion of the brain. Outside of this is a continuous mass of gray neurine, supposed to be the seat of nervous influence. The convolutions forming these portions are distinctly marked, and extend, without division, over the entire hemisphere of the cerebrum. So far, then, is this portion of the brain from being capable of phrenological dissection, that you cannot get out a single organ of the whole without making a perfectly arbitrary incision through the gray and white neurine. And we defy any man living to show, so far as the structure of the brain is concerned, why the boundaries and partitions of these organs may not as well be made in one place as another. In the cerebellum there is a complete intermixture of the gray and white neurine, so that in attempting to dissect out the organs of the animal propensities, it would be necessary to cut them both indiscriminately, and it is out of the question to show why this should be done in any one place instead of another. The undeniable truth is, that this mapping out of the brain is a thing of the imagination, for the accommodation of phrenology, without the slightest foundation in fact.

But we shall here be told that the location of the organs is wholly the result of observation upon the external surface of the cranium, in connection with character; and that the whole theory of the phrenological division of the brain is an inference from the fact, that certain cranial developments are connected with certain traits of mind; and hence it has been ascertained that the portions of the

brain lying directly under these external protuberances are the organs of the faculties indicated.

This brings us to the discussion of phrenological craniology, the only possible theory of which must be, that the uniform action of a particular mental faculty, through a particular organ, pushes out, or produces the enlargement of, the cranium at that point. If the action be slight, the elevation will be slight; but if it be violent and long-continued, we shall have a large development upon the cranium. Size, too, is the measure of power. The more mind we have in any one place, or acting in any particular organ, the larger that organ will be; and hence, of course, the larger the organ, other things being equal, the stronger and more active the faculty.

With the view of settling, beyond the possibility of a doubt, the questions of fact involved in this theory, we shall take up three points of comparison, each of which must be completely decisive.

The first is between the external conformation of the brain, and the internal surface of the skull. If the active power of the cerebral organs is so marked and distinct as to leave its indications upon the external cranium, so that the latter are the invariable indices of the former, it certainly is not too much to claim that the exact external form of the brain will be imprinted upon the inner plate of the skull. This form ought, it is true, to be precisely that of the seventy-four or more phrenological organs. But, whatever it may be, it is absolutely essential to the doctrine of cranial developments by cerebral action, that the exact form of the brain should impress itself upon the inner plate of the skull. Can anything be clearer? Now take the brain in one hand and the cranium in the other, and make the comparison for yourself, and you will see plainly that no such thing is the fact. There are various irregularities of the inner plate, bearing a general agreement to the form of the cerebrum and the cerebellum. But look at the deep furrows and regular oval elevations made by the convolutions of the cerebrum, and see if they have produced their perfect impress upon the cranial plate. Nothing of the kind. Those deep, regular, transverse furrows which such an impression would produce, we affirm, cannot be found in any skull in the world. But if cerebral action does not make its exact impress upon the skull, there can be no telling anything about the character, locality, or extent of such action by the condition of the cranium; for if the bolder forms of cerebral convolutions are not delineated upon the inside of the skull, it must be impossible that those which are so faint

that nobody can either see or feel them should exhibit themselves upon the outside.

We cannot withhold our surprise that any man, claiming to have a competent knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the encephalon, should believe or allow for a moment that the specific form of the cranium is produced by that of the brain. Just look at the tissues and fluids which intervene between the brain and the skull, for the express purpose of protecting the brain from what would be the inevitably fatal effects of collision between its soft and delicate fibres and the hard bone that covers it. Adhering closely to the inner surface of the skull is a strong fibrous membrane called dura mater, (hard mother.) Next to this is the arachnoid, a smooth and polished serous membrane, composed of two layers, the parietal and visceral. The parietal lines the dura mater; the visceral covers the brain without dipping down into the sulci, between the convolutions. Beneath the arachnoid, in connection with the pia mater, is the sub-arachnoid fluid, varying in quantity in different heads. The pia mater (soft mother) is a delicate cellular membrane, the fine vascular network of which supplies the surface of the brain with blood. It adheres to its convolutions, dipping down into and lining the furrows between them. Now these membranes and the sub-arachnoid fluid fill up the irregular space between the brain and the skull, making any such action and developments as phrenology requires absolutely impracticable. If the delicate distinctions which are supposed to be delineated upon the surface of the brain, marking the form and outlines of the several organs, existed at all, they could only impress themselves upon the yielding matter between them and the cranium, and produce no definable modifications even of the inside of the skull.

The next point of comparison we introduce is between the inner and outer surfaces of the skull. The theory we are examining requires that these should exactly correspond. It could not be reasonable to suppose that the action of any power within the cranium would produce a convex exterior, without a concave interior surface exactly agreeing with it. Not only ought the substance of the brain to show the distinct action of these faculties, with elevations and boundary-lines agreeing perfectly with the external developments, but the interior of the skull ought to show, most distinctly, the marks of that internal pressure which produces the external elevation.

Now it so happens that no such correspondence exists. Let any man, educated or uneducated, take a human skull, and compare the inner with the outer surface, and he may convince himself,

beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the external developments, claimed by phrenologists as indications of organs and faculties, were never produced by the action of the brain. He will find, it is true, a general correspondence, sufficient to indicate that the skull was intended to inclose and protect the brain in all its parts, but he will see that the two plates of the cranium are only generally parallel. They are never perfectly so, as they ought to be, to make phrenology possible. Hence, though we succeed in finding an external elevation, we are by no means certain of finding an internal cavity beneath it. In some instances this may chance to be so; but in others a convex portion of the outer plate is underlaid by a convex portion of the inner, whereas the action of the faculty through the organ should have indented the inner surface and pushed out the protuberance. Let us examine a few special organs, and see what cranial indications of their existence we can find.

Benevolence is situated on the upper and middle part of the frontal bone, on either side of the longitudinal sinus, in the mesial line of the head. Reverence (veneration) is situated in the middle of the sincipital region, at the place which corresponds with the fontanel in children. Next comes firmness, in the middle of the upper and posterior part of the sincipital region. We have introduced these, because their location may be easily ascertained by persons not familiar with phrenology. Take a skull and place the two fingers upon the middle line of the crown, near the upper point of the forehead, and pass them directly over the crown beyond the highest point, and you will have passed over these prominent organs. You find a general fullness, probably, as you ought to, at the top of a well-constructed arch. Now examine the inner surface at the same points, and you find no indication, in a single instance, that these elevations have been produced by internal action of any kind. You may find a concavity, but it will in no respect resemble the size and form of the pretended organ. You will find a perfectly smooth inner, opposed to an irregular outer, surface, or, just as likely, two convex surfaces directly opposite.

Examine some of the intellectual organs. Individuality is behind the root of the nose, between the eyebrows; form, in the internal angle of the orbit of the eye—if large, it pushes the eyeball outward and downward; size, in the internal angle of the orbit, above configuration or form, and on both sides of individuality; weight, in the vicinity of size, in the ridge of the eyebrows; coloring, (color,) in the middle of the eyebrows. Order lies externally of coloring. Calculation (number) is placed at the external angle of the

orbit. Now by comparing a skull and a phrenological chart, you will perceive that these organs are all located upon a ridge forming the upper and outer portion of the orbit of the eye, produced by the frontal sinus and the zygomatic process before the ear, the distance from the brain varying from the fourth of an inch to an inch, and the inner surface showing no signs of internal action to produce such enlargement. Language is situated in the lower and back part of the anterior lobe of the brain, and lies transversely upon the orbitory plate of the frontal bone. This portion of the bone, so far from indicating any internal action, producing a special external development, is found, upon examination, to be slightly concave outside, and quite convex inside.

Alimentiveness lies before the ear, behind and above the zygomatic process. Here, besides the high elevation produced by this process, we have the temporal muscle, filling the temporal fossa, and thus aiding in the production of a celebrated cranial organ!

Further particular description is unnecessary. Any person who will may examine for himself, and be perfectly convinced that there is no such special correspondence between the outer and inner condition of the cranium as phrenology requires.

A reason, which deserves high consideration, why the two tables of the skull do not perfectly agree in form, and hence the external developments cannot be relied upon as indices of internal action, is found in the diploe. This is the spungy cellular bone between the two plates. In infancy it is very soft and vascular, but as age increases it is removed, either by absorption, and the approximation of the two tables to each other, or by the deposition of a solid ossific matter in the cells. The thickness of the diploe differs in different crania, and in different portions of the same cranium; and hence the irregularity of the two tables of the skull, in reference to each other. No phrenologist, however shrewd, can possibly tell whether his cranial organs are produced by the enlargement of the diploe or by some other cause.

Besides, there is a very uncertain difference in the thickness of the cranial tables. In some parts of the head an enlargement of the bones occurs, perhaps to three times their natural thickness, and this accumulation may take place on the inner or outer table, so little is the dependence to be placed upon the prominences of the external cranium.

But it will here be said, that though the cranium before the writer may give no internal signs of mental local action, to produce phrenological indications externally, yet others might; for in phrenology nothing can be told of one head from the examination of

another. A single remark upon this point cannot fail to show the weakness of the system. We are examining original necessary faculties—those which constitute the whole of the mental structure. With any kind of regard to philosophical accuracy, we must claim them all for every mind, and find their cranial indications in every skull. If they belong to the collective psychology, no mind can exist without them; and if phrenology be true, no head can be found which does not indicate them. It is saying nothing at all, to say that there are external developments enough, in different parts of different heads, to make out the whole number. There must be in every head such a correspondence between the internal and external cranium, as to show that the number of external organs, and the same identical ones, in every head, have a necessary and unmistakable connection with the internal action of precisely the same faculties. What kind of induction is that which starts with several facts, which, upon examination, turn out to be true of only now and then an individual of the species, failing in a multitude of instances, and nevertheless insisting upon the general law which a sufficient number of instances, without an exception, would indicate—namely, that the particular external developments upon the head are produced by the action of the organs upon the inner table of the skull? Can this be inductive philosophy? Certainly it cannot. And we insist upon it that phrenologists are compelled to take the position, that every external cranial development, indicating a mental faculty, has a corresponding internal cavity exactly like it. But we have no hesitancy in asserting that this is not true in any instance yet ascertained, and hence phrenology cannot be true.

But if anything more is wanting to make this assumed influence of the brain, in producing the phrenological developments of the external cranium, perfectly ridiculous, just compare the external surface of the cerebrum with the external cranium. Now it must be allowed—for upon any other supposition craniology is a hoax—that if cerebral impressions are capable of producing phrenological developments, our heads are all ridged and furrowed exactly like the brains. No shrinking now, my wise phrenological friend! It not only ought to be so, but, as phrenology is a science, founded upon fact, *it is so;* and if all the world should deny it, with ever so much obstinacy, you must assert it, and insist upon it, that such is the influence of the faculties upon the brain, and so nicely and exactly does the conformation of the brain control and produce that of the skull, that every man's head is furrowed and ridged all over exactly like the brain, albeit the skeptical, stupid world, never have been able to discover any such thing! and if they could, it

would produce a wonderful breaking up and breaking down of phrenological organs, faculties, charts, books, and men! The truth is, there is no end to the ridiculous absurdities of this pretended philosophy.

We now come to the historical question. Has it been found, upon actual observation, that the characters of men can be told from their head? Has the assumed connection between human craniology and psychology been historically established? Phrenologists affirm this; we deny it.

A man may be easily found, in any neighborhood, who has large combativeness, and ought to fight; but he does not and will not. He lives peaceably with his neighbors, in spite of all provocations. Another has very large destructiveness, but kills nothing. He is horror-struck at the idea of taking life in any form. Another has large tune, but he does not sing, and cannot. Another has very large benevolence, reverence, conscientiousness, hope, and marvelousness; he ought to be a very saint, but he is not, and cannot be made to be. He swears when he ought to pray, and dares the vengeance of the very power he ought to reverence and adore. Another, of large amativeness, is famous for his continence. A lady of very small philoprogenitiveness is utterly absorbed in the care of her children; and a man of monstrous inhabitiveness never *stays* anywhere.

These, and a thousand other similar contradictions to the great science, meet us everywhere. It is of no use to deny it. The facts are so palpable and obvious, that the most confident itinerating lecturer does not dare to deny them. Stubborn as they are, they must be met and explained away. And it is really amusing to see the shifts that are made for this purpose. The man, to wit, who has great combativeness, but shows no disposition to fight, has high benevolence, which restrains him; and so of all the rest. Here is the doctrine of neutralizing faculties. Every marked characteristic of mind and head has some antagonist one, to which we must resort to explain the numberless failures of phrenological character. But we are sure that all this is directly contrary to the plainest and most fundamental principles of phrenology.

These faculties, it must be remembered, are all primary and ultimate. They go to make up the man; and, hence, however conflicting and mutually destructive, they must actually coexist in every case. And, moreover, they act through entirely separate organs, and are wholly independent of each other. We claim, therefore, that the action of the one can have no possible effect to interfere with or prevent the action of the other. They must be capable

of totally independent action; nay, they must have so acted, to have produced these prominent organs, for in no other way can they be phrenologically accounted for. We can therefore see no objection to the coexistence of the most palpably contradictory characters in the same person. We should, we aver, upon strict phrenological principles, expect that the man who has large combativeness and benevolence, would be both quarrelsome and peaceable; that a man with large acquisitiveness and benevolence coexisting, should be a miser, and give liberally to all charitable objects; and so of the rest.

Who can fail to have observed the equivocal position of phrenological professors upon precisely this point? If they find, from looks or words, or any of the numerous evident signs which constantly escape subjects and spectators, that they have erred in giving a man large acquisitiveness, they forthwith ascertain (truly, no doubt) that his benevolence is so large as to control it. If, on the contrary, the laugh is raised upon his being pronounced very benevolent, his acquisitiveness is forthwith appealed to, to show why he is not in practice what he is in theory—making, throughout, these several antagonist developments alternately the subordinate and the governing faculty, as inference or convenience may require. And these decisions are commonly mixed up with such a multitude of cant phrases, shrewd conjectures, low vulgarisms, and complimentary hints, as to entirely divert the attention of the submissive and credulous subject, whose eyes, and ears, and mouth, are all open to receive the flattering potion.

But let us here again remind the reader, that these large antagonist developments must have been produced by the ultra action of their respective faculties; for in no other way can the external organ be the slightest indication of the faculty. Hence the unavoidable phrenological conclusion, that, to have produced these two extravagant developments, the man must have been both a miser and a prodigal; and for any phrenologist to say that these conflicting activities could not possibly coexist, would be to give up the whole ground, by denying the strictly separate and independent action of the faculties. No wonder that Dr. Gall considered man a bundle of contradictions and inconsistencies, for so he certainly must be, if he can and ought to be two or a dozen different and entirely antagonist characters at the same time.

No man shall be permitted to say that these alledged inconsistencies are mere conjectures upon our part. We know the ground upon which we stand when we join issue with the phrenologist upon the question of fact. And though the failures of the assumed

relation between craniology and psychology are evident to every narrowly observing mind, giving attention to the subject, we shall present our readers with a series of experiments which shall *once more* completely overthrow this pretended science. The following extract from "Phrenology tested," the strong article from the "British Quarterly Review," indicated at the head of this paper, is exactly in point, and will require no apology.

After showing that "the terminology of the system is altogether inexact," clearly and briefly stating the principles and history of the system, the writer undertakes to test the question of fact, thus :—

"Now comes the real difficulty. The heads or crania thus measured all differ in size, and it is thus impossible to compare directly the measurements of one with those of another. If they were all exactly of the same size, or rather capacity, we could compare those measurements with precision, and say at once, to the fraction of an inch, how much more tune Handel had than Haydn. We could then, if we had the distance of the central point of each organ from the external ear, say which preponderated over its neighbor, as compared with the corresponding organ of another individual.

"This difficulty, we conceive, is readily got over; and, once got over, we think phrenology must stand or fall by the result. It is a well-known geometrical principle, that similar solids are to each other as the cubes of their homologous lines—or, the cube roots of similar solids are to each other as their homologous lines. If, therefore, we ascertain the capacity of any skull, which may be readily done by immersing it in water up to a given point, and if we ascertain by measurement the distance of all the organs from the ear, (meatus auditorius,) or from each other, we can readily produce a skull of *any given capacity*, preserving the same *form* as the measured skull, and having all the linear measurements precisely what they would have been had the skull measured been of the capacity required. We may thus convert any number of skulls into skulls of precisely the same *size* or *capacity*, each one, however, retaining exactly its own *form*, and the same relative developments of its different parts. This done, the problem is solved, and we can at once compare all the linear measurements of them with fractional accuracy.

"For the purpose of ascertaining how far phrenology would stand this test, we visited one of the oldest phrenological museums in the country, in company with a phrenologist of note and a well-known physiologist, distinguished for his habits of patient and accurate observation; and, with a phrenological bust before us, we carefully measured casts of the skulls of four murderers, Haggart, M'Kaen, Pollard, and Lockey. For the purpose of drawing a comparison between these and heads of persons characterized by intelligence, wit, imagination, the kindlier affections of our nature, the sentiments of firmness, courage, and morality, we measured the casts of the skulls of Burns, Swift, La Fontaine, King Robert the Bruce, and those of two females, Heloise and Stella."

These extreme contrasts, it will be observed, were selected under the eye of "a phrenologist of note;" and though our writer does not claim that their numbers are sufficient for positive induction, it is certain that these marked characters, if any, ought to exhibit the most incontestable phrenological evidence. The process of measurement is thus described:—

"The capacities of the crania were ascertained by repeated immersions in water, up to a line running between the meatus auditorius and the junction of the frontal with the nasal bones, and a careful measurement of the number of cubic inches of the water displaced. In making the linear measurements, one leg of the callipers was placed as nearly as possible in a corresponding part of the meatus auditorius of all the skulls; while the other, guided by the busts before us, and by our phrenological friend, was, with the utmost attainable accuracy, brought to the centre of the organ to be measured; and, while they remained on the cast, the measurements were read off, by the gentlemen assisting, from the other extremities of our callipers, they having first satisfied themselves that they were properly applied to the several organs.

"These measurements being made, we took the cranium of Swift, as being about the mean; and in accordance with the rule referred to, by the following formula—as the cube root of the actual capacity of any skull is to the cube root of the standard capacity, so is any actual linear measurement of the former to the corresponding linear measurement in the same, reduced to the standard capacity—we converted the measurements of all the other crania into those of a cranium having the same capacity as Swift's: that is to say, we converted all the crania into crania having the same capacity, but each remaining similar to its original in *form*, and preserving the same relative dimensions of its different parts.

"The following are the results, arranged, for the convenience of reference and comparison, under the different phrenological faculties:—

"1. *Amativeness.*		Haggart	4.53	Stella	5.44
Bruce	4.48	La Fontaine	4.426	Lockey	5.43
Pollard	4.37	3. *Concentrativeness.*		Burns	5.12
Swift	4.2	Pollard	5.49	La Fontaine	5.04
Lockey	4.08	Bruce	5.3	5. *Combativeness.*	
M'Kaen	4.04	Haggart	5.11	Swift	5.60
Burns	3.92	Heloise	5.09	M'Kaen	5.36
Heloise	3.85	Burns	5.06	Burns	4.78
Haggart	3.78	M'Kaen	5.05	Bruce	4.71
La Fontaine	3.76	Swift	5.00	Heloise	4.68
Stella	3.75	La Fontaine	4.8	Stella	4.62
2. *Philoprogenitiveness.*		Stella	4.76	Pollard	4.58
Pollard	5.18	Lockey	4.62	Haggart	4.01
Bruce	4.81	4. *Adhesiveness.*		La Fontaine	4.003
Lockey	4.807	Bruce	5.89	Lockey	3.82
Heloise	4.74	Pollard	5.85	6. *Destructiveness.*	
Swift	4.70	Haggart	5.71	Bruce	6.10
M'Kaen	4.63	M'Kaen	5.68	M'Kaen	5.99
Burns	4.599	Heloise	5.61	Lockey	5.91
Stella	4.56	Swift	5.60	La Fontaine	5.81

Swift	5.80
Stella	5.77
Pollard	5.74
Heloise	5.658
Haggart	5.37
Burns	5.16

7. *Secretiveness.*

Lockey	6.1
La Fontaine	6.09
M'Kaen	6.08
Bruce	5.94
Pollard	5.86
Stella	5.65
Haggart	5.61
Swift	5.60
Heloise	5.49
Burns	5.45

8. *Acquisitiveness.*

Lockey	5.81
Swift	5.50
M'Kaen	5.50
La Fontaine	5.34
Pollard	5.34
Burns	5.25
Stella	5.15
Bruce	5.15
Heloise	5.09
Haggart	4.96

9. *Caution.*

M'Kaen	5.78
La Fontaine	5.72
Lockey	5.62
Swift	5.6
Bruce	5.59
Burns	5.54
Pollard	5.49
Stella	5.44
Haggart	5.41
Heloise	5.03

10. *Self-esteem.*

Pollard	5.54
Haggart	5.51
Bruce	5.49
M'Kaen	5.36
Heloise	5.33
La Fontaine	5.17
Burns	5.16
Stella	5.13
Swift	5.10
Lockey	4.94

11. *Firmness.*

Bruce	5.55
La Fontaine	5.53
Haggart	5.51
Heloise	5.49
Pollard	5.49
M'Kaen	5.48
Swift	5.30
Stella	5.26
Burns	5.25
Lockey	5.13

12. *Veneration.*

La Fontaine	5.47
Heloise	5.33
Haggart	5.31
M'Kaen	5.31
Bruce	5.30
Pollard	5.29
Burns	5.25
Swift	5.10
Lockey	5.04
Stella	5.03

13. *Benevolence.*

Burns	5.45
La Fontaine	5.43
M'Kaen	5.36
Lockey	5.35
Haggart	5.31
Pollard	5.23
Heloise	5.17
Bruce	5.055
Stella	5.03
Swift	5.80

14. *Comparison.*

La Fontaine	5.19
Pollard	5.18
M'Kaen	5.18
Burns	5.06
Lockey	5.04
Bruce	5.00
Stella	5.00
Haggart	4.94
Heloise	4.83
Swift	4.80

15. *Eventuality.*

M'Kaen	5.07
La Fontaine	5.04
Lockey	4.94
Pollard	4.93
Haggart	4.81
Bruce	4.81
Burns	4.78
Stella	4.65
Heloise	4.64
Swift	4.6

16. *Individuality.*

M'Kaen	4.94
La Fontaine	4.95
Pollard	4.78
Lockey	4.75
Bruce	4.74
Burns	4.68
Haggart	4.61
Swift	4.50
Heloise	4.49
Stella	4.47

17. *Causality.*

La Fontaine	4.72
Heloise	4.69
Bruce	4.61
Burns	4.59
Pollard	4.58
Lockey	4.55
M'Kaen	4.52
Haggart	4.51
Stella	4.31
Swift	4.30

18. *Wit,* (A.)

Haggart	4.84
M'Kaen	4.21
Lockey	3.97
Heloise	3.93
Burns	3.82
La Fontaine	3.81
Bruce	3.77
Pollard	3.66
Stella	3.59
Swift	3.40

19. *Wit,* (B.)

Lockey	4.26
Heloise	4.25
M'Kaen	4.00
La Fontaine	3.907
Haggart	3.81
Pollard	3.76
Bruce	3.63
Burns	3.55
Swift	3.55
Stella	3.49

20. *Ideality.*

Lockey	5.33
M'Kaen	5.05
Pollard	4.88
Stella	4.83
Burns	4.78
Swift	4.70
Heloise	4.60
Bruce	4.56
La Fontaine	4.51
Haggart	4.31

21. *Number.*

M'Kaen	4.69
La Fontaine	4.35
Swift	4.3
Lockey	4.26
Burns	3.92
Stella	3.9
Haggart	3.84
Bruce	3.83
Heloise	3.79
Pollard	3.64

22. *Tune.*		Burns	4.21	Haggart	3.91
M'Kaen	4.73	Bruce	4.02	Pollard	3.90
Lockey	4.63	Stella	4.00	Swift	3.80"
La Fontaine	4.40	Heloise	3.93		

To the following particulars in the above tables we ask the reader's special attention :—

"In comparing the measurements of the different crania, thus reduced to a common size, it will be necessary to keep in view the difference in size of the original heads, and to qualify our comparisons by the application of the acknowledged phrenological principle, that greater capacity, or greater size, gives greater energy to the whole character, but does not alter the individual peculiarities."

A few of the facts developed "harmonize with the phrenological doctrine ;"—for instance, La Fontaine, who has the smallest amativeness and philoprogenitiveness, was indifferent to the charms of "an accomplished and beautiful wife," and to the paternal obligations due to his son ;—but "far the greater proportion are utterly subversive of it."

"Bruce is considered by phrenologists to have the organ of amativeness 'full;' and we find that Haggart, Heloise, Burns, M'Kaen, and Stella, who all displayed this propensity to a great extent during life, have the organ of amativeness half an inch less than that of Bruce, with relation, be it remarked, to heads of the very same size; nay, more, they all have these organs less than Swift—who, says his biographer, 'was naturally temperate, chaste, and frugal,'—and yet every one of them, small as their amativeness was, was notoriously celebrated for the vice of incontinence. 'Amativeness,' says our author, 'formed a distinct feature in their history, and gave a direction to the whole tenor of their lives and actions; yet they had organs three, four, and five-tenths of an inch less than those of men who were never characterized by this propensity.' Yet 'the intellectual and moral faculties of Swift and Bruce were many of them less, and the organs less, than theirs.' Again, M'Kaen, notwithstanding his small philoprogenitiveness and concientiousness,* 'had the strongest regard for his wife and children,' and was restrained from committing suicide by the 'cruel idea' of leaving his wife and family in prison under suspicion of being concerned in the murder when they were totally innocent. And Burns, with philoprogenitiveness still smaller, was distinguished by his domestic virtues, while others in the list with the organ much larger, 'never displayed the propensity at all.'"

Concentrativeness, which "gives permanence to ideas and emo-

* Phrenological Journal, vol. iii, p. 605.

tions," is too small in Stella to represent her true character, and we certainly "would have expected a larger share of it in Swift, Burns, and Heloise, all of whom in their lives and writings abundantly evinced the permanence of their emotions."

Adhesiveness shows a tolerable agreement of relative size and character in nine of the heads, but utterly fails in the other. "Burns was certainly characterized by the strength of his attachments, yet he has the organ smaller than the other eight; and scarcely larger than La Fontaine."

"Lockey, a poacher and a murderer," has the smallest *combativeness* of the ten. "Pollard, another murderer, has less of it than either Heloise or Stella; while Haggart, who was extremely apt to strike, has an organ which measures *one inch* less than Swift's, and half an inch less than Stella's, a patient and peaceable woman, and scarcely more than La Fontaine, a man of the utmost apathy."

"In the organ of *destructiveness* Haggart also measures very little compared with others who displayed far less of the propensity, or none at all! He measures less here again than either Heloise or Stella, and *half an inch* less than the facile French poet." Burns, who displayed so much impetuosity of character, and wrote sentiments fired with energy, has the smallest organ of all! Bruce has this organ very large, but still it does not exceed that of La Fontaine so much as his exceeds those of Heloise and Stella, or theirs that of Burns! The skull of Pollard, in which this organ is nearly of the same size as in Stella, smaller than in Swift or La Fontaine, and half an inch less than in Bruce, was that of a man who, according to a writer in the "Phrenological Journal," had evidently "been laboring under an excessive excitement of destructiveness, which had become so habitual and ungovernable, as to give clear indications beforehand of its existence and tendency."* He was a butcher, by trade, and a man of very depraved habits. Under the influence of jealousy he stabbed a man and his wife, and four children, his own mistress, and, afterward, himself—the acts being committed with the most savage atrocity. Of this ungovernable propensity to kill, there is certainly no evidence afforded by the form of Pollard's head. The organs of combativeness and destructiveness are comparatively small—they are so relatively;—for, on looking over the other tables, it will be seen that this head is the finest of the whole ten in its phrenological developments. He is not deficient in firmness, having nearly as much as Bruce and Haggart, who are said to have had this organ prodigiously large. He has more *benevolence* than Bruce and Swift, who were

* Phrenological Journal, vol. iii, p. 394.

both considered charitable men; more *veneration* than Burns, who is allowed to have had both the organ and the faculty large; larger *causality* than Swift, and larger *comparison*, *eventuality*, *ideality*, and *wit* than either Swift or Burns, who both displayed all these faculties in an eminent degree."

"Similar remarks as to the counteracting organs, those of the moral sentiments and intellectual faculties, might be made in regard to David Haggart; they are considerably larger than those of Swift, Heloise, Stella, and Burns. He has as large a veneration as any of them save La Fontaine, who *displayed* none at all; he has larger benevolence than Bruce or Swift; indeed, he has more of almost everything good than Swift. Nor can it be urged that he was instigated to the deeds of outrage and robbery by the desire of gain, for he has a smaller organ of *acquisitiveness* than any of the other nine.

In Burns, Lockey, and Bruce, the organs of secretiveness coincided with their characters. "But that David Haggart should have the organ so small, and La Fontaine should have it so large, compared with these men, are facts which cannot be reconciled with phrenology, and which phrenology can never reconcile with truth." Haggart, "on the other hand, who had this organ nearly half an inch smaller than La Fontaine," kept everything to himself with the most determined tenacity, in spite of the large "love of approbation" which Mr. Combe gave him.

Haggart, who stole night and day for four years, with unexampled activity, has the smallest *acquisitiveness* of the ten; while Swift, who, with that exception, has the largest acquisitiveness and the smallest benevolence, "was no thief," but was distinguished by his kindness to the poor! "La Fontaine, who has the organ also large, showed little of this propensity; for, in his annual visit to his wife, in September, he always sold off some part of his family estate."

Again: "La Fontaine has the largest organ of *veneration;* and, omitting Heloise, the next in point of size is Haggart's. Neither of them can be accused of a tendency to venerate what is great or good. The immoral tendency of La Fontaine's Tales is well known;" though, phrenologically, he should have been a very saint.

Eventuality is so signal a failure, that our reviewer shrewdly suggests that this must be "the true organ of destructiveness;" "for here all the murderers are at the top, and all the moderate people," La Fontaine excepted, "are at the bottom."

The reputed organ of *wit* is completely overthrown by the fact that Swift has the smallest of the ten.

In *ideality* Burns and Swift are both below Lockey, M'Kaen, and Pollard. Further comparisons are unnecessary.

The reader is desired to observe that these heads were taken from a celebrated phrenological museum, collected, of course, with sole reference to marked phrenological contrasts; that this scientific measurement was conducted under the eye of phrenology itself, in obedience to a last appeal by its advocates to mere matter of fact; and certainly no candid mind can fail to come to the conclusion of our reviewer, that "the results are totally incompatible with the truth of the organology of this system." It is perfectly evident that no reliance whatever can be placed upon the alledged size of organs, from the sense of touch or of sight; for these famous and select illustrations of phrenology from the most careful examination of its professors, in the ordinary way, are all completely destroyed by exact and scientific measurement. The heads and organs of the most energetic and intellectually vigorous men turn out to be, in general, the smallest; thus completely overthrowing the great fundamental axiom of the system, that size is "the measure of power." The number of coincidences of character and development indicated, is no greater than it ought to be by common accident.

Another remark is important. Phrenology claims to be a science of fact and induction. Now, to make the argument from fact conclusive, it must be universal,—which is impossible; and induction must find no exceptions to establish a law: whereas, the objection is ample and wholly unanswerable, when it has found a sufficient number of exceptions to preclude the possibility of their being morbid specimens. While, therefore, every day's observations present us with the required exceptions, the British Review has removed all suspicions of their genuineness by a sufficient number of actual demonstrations.

Finally, we propose to compare the system with revelation. "If they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."

And let us first remark that it is at least a very suspicious circumstance, that so many leading phrenologists have turned out skeptics. We will not affirm that every author and public teacher of this hypothesis is an infidel; much less, every believer in it. We know some who are, beyond all question, good Christian men. Some of our best friends are phrenologists in principle: but the very terms of that friendship imply mutual toleration, and the right of independent thought. We must, therefore, be allowed still to insist that the circumstance, that the leading and more accredited authors

upon this subject have written reproachfully of revelation, of the doctrine of depravity, of supernatural conversion, and of the final awards of the gospel, affords ground of strong presumption that there is infidelity in the system which molds their opinions. It is worthy of remark, that these men never allow that their principles in regard to religion are disconnected from the great fundamental laws of phrenological philosophy. Upon the contrary, you will find that their natural relation is not only admitted, but asserted in the most positive manner. It is from the discovery of phrenology, that these men claim the right to give a new religion to the world. The system itself, they affirm, contains the elements of a new theology more congenial to the nature of man. It is not, therefore, from any adventitious circumstances, but legitimately from their premises, as they believe, that they claim the right and the honor of delivering mankind from the thraldom of a supernatural religion. Who, we ask, ought to be legitimate in tracing these sentiments to their results, if not Gall and Spurzheim, Brusais, Combe, Caldwell, Fowler, and Grimes? Good Christian men, converts to their system, have stopped short at its asserted results,—denied, remonstrated, argued, and by elaborate efforts endeavored to vindicate phrenology from the accusations of *its friends*, but received no thanks from their teachers! *They* have no gratitude for the benevolence which would strip their system of its universality, as a rectifier of abuses and the regenerator of man; and rob them of the glory of giving a new religion to the world.

A brief section from the history of phrenology will be pertinent and highly illustrative at this point. In September, 1838, a periodical, called "The American Phrenological Journal and Miscellany," was commenced in Philadelphia. The prospectus of the work contained the following paragraph:—

"The religious character of the work will be *decidedly evangelical;* for one prominent object in giving it existence, is to wrest phrenology out of the hands of those who, in ignorance of its true nature and tendency, suppose that they find in it an instrument by which to subvert the truths of revealed religion, and loosen the bonds of human accountability and moral obligation."

Now, how was this worthy effort "to wrest phrenology out of the hands of" infidels received by the great champions of the cause? The distinguished Caldwell volunteered to take the lead in chastising the arrant editor into better opinions, and a wiser and more submissive policy. He says, in his letter to the editor,—"The notion avowed in this paragraph appeared to me objectionable on a twofold ground. In the first place, though phrenology,

by demonstrating man to be *constitutionally* a religious being, favors the principle of *catholic* or *universal* religion, it does not countenance any one *specific form* of religion, as such, more than another, except so far as one form is truer and sounder than another. There is nothing in it, therefore, that can be correctly pronounced '*decidedly evangelical*,' in the legitimate meaning of that expression."

Here, then, we have an open declaration of the dissent of phrenology from the Christian religion; and from a man who must be allowed to know. The extent of his infidel opinions among his brethren may be seen at a glance. "A menace," he says, "was uttered against those who had previously been the advocates and propagators of phrenology in the United States." Again,—"I supposed, and had a right to suppose, that the denunciation was *wholesale;* and that all American phrenologists were to be ousted by the lump, to make room for some new-fangled '*evangelical*' *sect*," &c.

Now, it will be observed that in these point-blank assaults upon the editor of the Journal, there is not the slightest attempt to show that the teachings of phrenology had heretofore accorded with revealed religion, and that, therefore, the charge of antagonism to evangelical Christianity was unfounded. But on the contrary, *a religion* phrenologically indicated, is openly avowed in distinction from one "*decidedly evangelical;*" and the whole class of "American phrenologists" are claimed for the same infidel opinions. And the result of this issue, fairly and publicly made by phrenologists themselves upon the legitimate tendencies of the system, may be seen not dimly shadowed forth in the following significant passage:—

"It is now more than twelve months since the Journal in question was commenced; it is still continued, and better counsels seem recently to have prevailed in its management. In the prospectus for the second volume the censurable and hostile arrogance we have quoted no longer finds a place; and the work is steadily acquiring the confidence [*mark it*] even of those who, as a body, it once avowed, were in possession of phrenology in this country, while they were ignorant of its true nature and tendency, and out of whose hands it was the alledged object of the Journal to 'wrest' the science. The able and efficient pens of some thus unwisely denounced, (and among them is included that of Prof. Caldwell,) now supply the most useful and able articles which adorn the pages of this publication."*

* Haskins' History of Phrenology, pp. 133–141. 1839.

And thus this well-meant but mistaken effort to "wrest phrenology out of the hands of" infidels has finally terminated; a result which might have been easily predicted by any man thoroughly acquainted with its fundamental principles, and capable of tracing causes to their legitimate effects.

If the substitution of "the religion of nature" for that of the Bible be infidelity, then the "great lights" of American phrenology are infidels; and no rebuke for their unbelief has, so far as we know, ever come from their distinguished brethren in Europe. It certainly could not but with a very ill grace. We repeat it, therefore, this all looks suspicious. Nay, it furnishes strong presumption that the infidelity professedly extracted from the system by these men actually exists in it; and a thorough examination will show that what we have such strong reasons to suspect is certainly true.

The original source of infidelity in phrenology is its materialism. A portion of the brain, let it be remembered, which has been ascertained, bounded, and identified, in distinction from every other portion of the brain, is, according to phrenology, known to be set apart for the sole use of each separate mental faculty. Now, who can resist the conviction that this is assigning a physiological identity to each of these several faculties, as distinct and specific as that which is assigned to the several organs? For how, we ask, can such separate faculties operate in their own peculiar organs so certainly and uniformly, as to have exclusive control over these several departments of the brain, without having locality in all such parts? It is of no avail for the phrenologist to assert that the mind is a spiritual essence, which in its indivisible state operates through the organs each time; for, it will be remembered that the faculties are asserted to have a perfectly independent action: hence, their various and conflicting phenomena may be perfectly simultaneous. That we do not misinterpret them here, appears from the fact that they invariably resort to this totally distinct and independent action of the faculties, to explain monomania and singular obliquity in the action of memory. It is therefore utterly in vain for phrenologists to attempt an escape from this difficulty. It is no matter how many and various their evolutions, they are inevitably brought back to a mental divisibility exactly corresponding with the alledged organs of the cerebrum and cerebellum. Many of them have confessed that this conclusion was unavoidable; and hence, at length, boldly asserted the doctrine of materialism which it necessarily involves. One of their most distinguished authors and lecturers, in conversation with us, finally acknowledged his firm belief that mind is matter, and that there is nothing but matter in the uni-

verse. He confessed that he had come to these conclusions in connection with the study of phrenology. On being asked if he avowed these doctrines among the people in his lectures, he answered, "No; I never avowed them before, and should not now if I had not been pushed: I don't want every pious old woman in my hair!"

The fact is, divisibility is one of the distinctive attributes of matter; and mental divisibility is a fundamental doctrine of phrenology. This shows at a glance why phrenologists are, or ought to be, materialists. And we deem it wholly unnecessary to argue the essential infidelity of materialism.

Another great practical position of phrenology is, that man is naturally right! That he is as his Creator made him! His original faculties and constitutional tendencies are perfectly correct and pure! Setting aside the influence of hereditary diseases, of disasters, and the force of bad education, prejudice, and example, there are no evils in human nature! Not that all men, or even any two of them, are morally, any more than physically or intellectually, alike, or are to be judged by the same standard of rectitude! Nothing of all this! The standard of every man is in himself and peculiar to himself! He has an indefeasible right to his own degree of natural passion and emotion, as well as perception and reflection! And be the same more or less, he is not to be blamed for it.

Now, certainly, no one needs to be told that all this is a direct denial of the doctrine of original depravity as revealed in Scripture, and sustained by the entire history of the race.

Again: phrenology claims for man the inherent power of self-development and of individual perfectibility. If, for instance, a man wishes to be learned, let him consult the original powers of his soul—his faculties of perception and reflection obey their instincts—and go on *and be so.* If he wishes wealth and rank, let him merely educate his economical and aspiring faculties, *and have them.* If he wishes health, let him obey the physical laws and *he is sure of it.* And, mark it, if he wishes to be religious, let him only obey the suggestions of his nature, his native benevolence, his instinctive conscientiousness, his intrinsic veneration, his original hope, and his constitutional marvelousness, *and he will soon become a model of piety and morality!* These are the elements of his religious character implanted by his Creator! And they will do equally well for the European and the Hindoo, the Chinaman and the Burman, the African and the aboriginal American. All alike have the elements of a perfect religious character, and nothing but their natural development is required to make man, what he ought to be,

a purely religious being! Nay, more, as the experiment must be allowed to be fairly in operation somewhere in the wide world, and as upon examination there are no more signs of it in one place than in another, it is claimed that the world is everywhere full of religion;—that man is naturally a religious being, and from the constitution of his mind and body he cannot fail to be so! He who is endowed with original veneration and alimentiveness can no more cease to adore a superior Being than he can cease to be hungry! Thus the same religious sentiment brings down the pagan devotee under the crushing wheels of Juggernaut, and the purest Christian before the sovereign Ruler of the universe, both alike obeying the instincts of nature!

Here stands phrenology decidedly opposed to the revealed truth of man's utter helplessness and the grand doctrine of the atonement, the one denied, and the other superseded by inherent original capability and constitutional tendencies.

But we are not through yet. Even phrenologists allow that things are not all exactly right here. That must be admitted from the fact that phrenology is not actually universal, as it will be no doubt in about "ten years!" Hence, reform must go on. But what folly and delusion to point man to any power out of himself for any radical change in his moral condition. These are the self-regenerating faculties! Let them work! Only bring the recuperative energies of the soul fully to bear, and away with all this fanaticism of supernatural conversions and revivals! Convert yourselves! convert one another! Native religious power is in you! Bring it out! You can see it indicated upon the cranium with good organs in the brain for its successful development! What more is needed? And if propensities naturally and purely religious are inherent in man, who can deny a word of all this?

Again: men are essentially as they were made! Some are amative by nature, and some are continent; some philoprogenitive, and some indifferent to children; some acquisitive, and some benevolent; some are for fight, and some for peace; some filled with veneration, and some are infidels. Thus and thus they are very nearly as their Maker made them! And who is to blame for his original conformation? Certainly, no one. True, men may vary by effort the preponderance of special propensities, but the disposition is phrenologically present or absent by constitution. God, in the original endowments of men, has made arrangements for just such a mixed multitude as we everywhere see! A man is a Methodist, a Baptist, a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian, a Catholic, or anything else, because the predisposition is in him, and by a nice discrimi-

nation the reasons of all these peculiarities may be detected in the shape of his head!

Fate is in the system and responsibility out of it; hence there is no probability of hell to an offender.

Finally, as all these anti-phrenological doctrines of man's spirituality,—his fall, natural depravity and helplessness, the atonement, the divine and gracious interference for man's conversion and salvation, the freedom of mind, and personal responsibility,—are clearly in the Bible, there can be no manner of doubt that revelation is false, or at best partial and imperfect, and hence superseded by phrenology. Thus the Holy Bible is thrown away to make room for a discovery of much less than a century in age!

These, it is evident, are the legitimate results of phrenology. Of course, we charge them upon no one unless he avows them. But we are compelled to charge them upon the system; and we exceedingly regret that they have been so extensively adopted, as the necessary conclusions from the premises which phrenology asserts.

We have thus passed through the discussion as briefly as the subject would admit. We have attempted to show that phrenology is contrary to established psychological facts—to facts developed by the anatomy and physiology of the encephalon—to facts in craniology compared with cerebral conformation—to the most palpable historical facts, and to the facts of revelation. We have not merely found it at fault in some particular of each of these departments of truth, but have found it false in numerous instances in each. If we have argued legitimately, it is grossly untrue in every fundamental principle of the system. It is not true that the mind manifests a phrenological plurality of faculties operating through separate portions of the brain, as their peculiar and appropriate organs. No such cranial developments as phrenology claims have been ascertained, and so connected with their metaphysical causes as to constitute any adequate system of the philosophy of man. In fine, if any one of some twenty arguments which we have presented is true, there is no such thing as the science of phrenology. We must believe that the general practice of admitting that "there is some truth in it," "the outlines are true though we do not believe the details," is altogether too obliging. That many true things have been believed and said by phrenologists, and artfully interwoven with the system, there can be no question; and this explains the extent and duration of its power. But if there is any truth in the laws of matter and of mind; if we are to believe the evidence of our senses, of consciousness, of scientific research, and of sacred revelation, phrenology is not true even in its outlines: for certainly that

cannot be generally true which is false in every essential particular.

In conclusion, allow us to say that if phrenology is false, it is not harmlessly so. Its errors are almost all practical errors, and if embraced and persisted in, they must be highly injurious if not finally fatal. It makes a false estimate of character. It deludes the unsuspecting and the young in regard to the true modes of human happiness and usefulness. It saps the foundation of morality and religion. It destroys the revelation of God, and locks up the present, the past, and the future, in inexplicable mystery. It cripples faith, misleads hope, and crushes the heart's best and purest affections. Entire deliverance from the thraldom of a philosophy so false and ruinous must and will come; time alone shall determine, whether by the hands of the present or of some future generation.

West Poultney, July 27, 1847.

Art. V.—*The Works of the late Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Minister of St. Peter's Church, Dundee. Complete in 2 vols. Containing his Life and Remains, Letters, Lectures, Songs of Zion, &c.* 2 vols., 8vo. Pp. 453. New-York: Robert Carter. 1847.

The ripe fruit which is constantly being gathered into the heavenly garner, not only reflects eternal honor upon the Redeemer, but leaves behind it a precious odor to bless the church and the world. The faithful watchman upon the walls of Zion, who spends his time and strength for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, knows but little of the influence which his example and labors will exert upon subsequent ages and generations. He labors for the good of those who are immediately under his charge—he preaches to them the word of life when present, and, like Paul, writes to them epistles when absent, "to the end that they may be established." But the matter ends not here. His godly example is chronicled, and what he had written, for the admonition of the unruly, or the encouragement of the feeble, is multiplied upon the printed page, and is "like bread cast upon the waters, seen after many days," and scattered among the hungry myriads of succeeding ages and generations. What a wonderful provision of the providence of God is the art of printing! How truly, through the medium of this almost miraculous discovery, are

"the righteous held in everlasting remembrance!" These are a few of the many general reflections which were awakened in our mind by the perusal of the volumes which constitute the subject of this paper.

These volumes constitute a valuable contribution to the mass of religious reading which happily is constantly accumulating. Christianity receives her happiest illustrations and most luminous commentaries from the lives of her real disciples. Experimental and practical theology, as brought out in personal history—the record made of the feelings and emotions of their hearts by the pious themselves, and of their godly deeds by those who survive them—is not a mere abstraction. We have here not the mere theory of Christian ethics, but we have the real exhibition of the vitality and the power of a wonder-working principle—a practical demonstration of its reality and divine origin. If we might hope that the class of publications to which we here allude would become generally diffused, and would supersede the licentious fiction and the frothy sentimentalism which go so far toward giving character to the literature of the age in which we live, we should be encouraged to look for a speedy reformation of manners among professing Christians. Men must read, and love to read, that which is suited to educate both the understanding and the heart, or the preaching of the gospel, and the other ordinances of religion, will, to a great extent, be lost upon them. And we are happy that a class of publishers are now arduously laboring to meet the pressing emergencies of the times, by supplying the public appetite with wholesome food. In this department few have been more successful than our friend *Carter*. Among the many excellent works which he has issued in good style, and yet in so cheap a form as to give them a wide circulation, we are happy to see the one before us, of the character and usefulness of which we shall now attempt to give the reader some idea.

Mr. M'Cheyne was born in Edinburgh, May 21, 1813. The early developments of his mind were extraordinary. At the age of four he learned the Greek alphabet, and was engaged in writing the letters upon a slate as a recreation. The next year he made rapid progress "in the English class," and became famous for "his melodious voice and powers of recitation." He entered the High School in October, 1821, where he continued "the usual period of six years." He occupied a high position in his class, and was attentive to the forms of religion, but, in reality, at that time had no "relish for any higher joy than the refined gayeties of society, and for such pleasures as the song and the dance could yield. He

himself regarded these as days of ungodliness—days wherein he cherished a pure morality, but lived in heart a Pharisee." He entered the university in 1827, and "gained some prizes in all the various classes he attended. In private he studied the modern languages; and gymnastic exercises gave him unbounded delight." "In 1831 he commenced his studies in Divinity Hall, under Dr. Chalmers; and the study of church history under Dr. Welsh." Thus, it would seem, he had selected his *profession* before, in the nature of things, he could have any adequate notion of its nature and importance. But he was not suffered to enter upon the holy vocation of the ministry, as thousands have done, as a *mere profession*, without a *divine call*.

The death of a brother, "who was his senior by eight or nine years," was made the means, in the hand of God, of his awakening and conversion. "By that providence the Lord was calling one soul to enjoy the treasures of grace, while he took the other into the possession of glory." "In this brother, the light of divine grace shone before men with rare and solemn loveliness. His classical attainments were very high; and, after the usual preliminary studies, he had been admitted writer to the signet." While under the influence of disease, a deep melancholy settled down upon his soul.

"Many weary months did he spend in awful gloom, till the trouble of his soul wasted away his body; but the light broke in before his death; joy, from the face of a fully reconciled Father above, lighted up his face; and the peace of his last days was the sweet consolation left to his afflicted friends, when, 8th July, 1831, he fell asleep in Jesus.

"The death of his brother, with all its circumstances, was used by the Holy Spirit to produce a deep impression on Robert's soul. In many respects—even in the gifts of a poetic mind—there had been a congeniality between him and David. The vivacity of Robert's ever-active and lively mind was the chief point of difference. This vivacity admirably fitted him for public life; it needed only to be chastened and solemnized, and the event that had now occurred wrought this effect. A few months before, the happy family circle had been broken up by the departure of the second brother for India, in the Bengal Medical Service; but when, in the course of the summer, David was removed from them for ever, there were impressions left such as could never be effaced, at least from the mind of Robert."—P. 10.

The impressions made upon his mind by this event were not, as impressions from such causes but too often are, fugitive and evanescent, nor did they result in the mere "sorrow of the world which worketh death." But, from the day that the voice of God broke upon his ear through this afflicting providence, he became

habitually serious; it was, however, several years before he came into the true liberty of the sons of God.

"At first the light dawned slowly; so slowly, that, for a considerable time, he still relished an occasional plunge into scenes of gayety. Even after entering the Divinity Hall, he could be persuaded to indulge in lighter pursuits, at least during the first two years of his attendance; but it was with growing alarm. When hurried away by such worldly joys, I find him writing thus:—'Sept. 14.—May there be few such records as this in my biography.' Then, 'Dec. 9.—A thorn in my side—much torment.' As the unholiness of his pleasures became more apparent, he writes:—'March 10th, 1832.—I hope never to play cards again.' 'March 25th.—Never visit on a Sunday evening again.' 'April 10th.—Absented myself from the dance; upbraidings ill to bear. But I must try to bear the cross.' It seems to be in referance to the receding tide, which thus for a season repeatedly drew him back to the world, that on July 8th, 1836, he records—'This morning five years ago my dear brother David died, and my heart for the first time knew true bereavement. Truly it was all well. Let me be dumb, for thou didst it; and it was good for me that I was afflicted. I know not that any providence was ever more abused by man than that was by me: and yet, Lord, what mountains thou comest over! none was ever more blessed to me.'"—P. 15.

A strange fact here comes out. So late as between the years 1831 and 1836, students in "Divinity Hall," in the University of Edinburgh, under Drs. Chalmers and Welsh, sometimes *broke the sabbath, danced*, and *played cards!* A sad state of things this. No wonder that so many of the ministers who have been *made* in this celebrated Hall prefer the loaves and fishes of the old Kirk to the reforms of the Free Church. The connection of church and state is fatal to discipline in the church, and tends to the corruption even of the *divinity* halls, connected as they generally are with the universities.

The conscience of young M'Cheyne continued active and sore until he was thoroughly awakened to a sense of his sinfulness. The following sentences in his journal show the progress of his convictions and depth of his repentance:—

"'November 12.—Reading H. Martyn's Memoirs. Would I could imitate him, giving up father, mother, country, house, health, life, all—for Christ. And yet, what hinders? Lord, purify me, and give me strength to dedicate myself, my all, to thee!

"'December 4.—Reading Legh Richmond's Life. "Pœnitentia profunda, non sine lacrymis. Nunquam me ipsum, tam vilem, tam inutilem, tam pauperim, et præcipue tam ingratum, adhuc vidi. Sint lacrymæ dedicationis meæ pignora!" ["Deep penitence, not unmixed with tears. I never before saw myself so vile, so useless, so poor, and, above all, so ungrateful. May these tears be the pledges of my self-dedication."']

There is frequently at this period a sentence in Latin, occurring, like the above, in the midst of other matter, apparently with the view of giving freer expression to his feelings regarding himself."—Pp. 16, 17.

The notices in his journal show that he occupied himself as much as possible in reading books of a highly spiritual character, and that these were leading instruments in bringing him finally into the true light. The following seems to be the first entry in which he speaks with confidence of the favor of God and of communion with him:—

"'February 23.—Sabbath. Rose early to seek God, and found him whom my soul loveth. Who would not rise early to meet such company? The rains are over and gone. They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.'"—P. 25.

Having now received the baptism of the Spirit, he immediately began to labor for souls. And he is not obliged to wait long for the fruit. He has souls for his hire. The record he makes of the first-fruits of his labor is worthy of notice:—

"'February 25.—After sermon. The precious tidings that a soul has been melted down by the grace of the Saviour. How blessed an answer to prayer, if it be really so! "Can these dry bones live? Lord, thou knowest." What a blessed thing it is to see the first grievings of the awakened spirit, when it cries, "I cannot see myself a sinner; I cannot pray, for my wild heart wanders." It has refreshed me more than a thousand sermons. I know not how to thank and admire God sufficiently for this incipient work. Lord, perfect that which thou hast begun!' A few days after—'Lord, I thank thee that thou hast shown me this marvelous working, though I was but an adoring spectator, rather than an instrument.'"—*Ibid.*

When God was about to cause the prophet to prophesy to "the valley of dry bones," and to make him the instrument of a mighty "shaking" among them, and a glorious resurrection from the dead, he "set him down in the midst of the valley, and caused him to pass by them round about." It was necessary that the prophet's mind should first be deeply affected with the real condition—the ruin, the wretchedness, the helplessness—of the masses to whom he was to come with a message from God; and hence he was set down in the midst of them and caused to pass by them round about. We were led to make this allusion by the striking coincidence between the case of the prophet and our youthful evangelist. There existed an association in the Divinity Hall, the object of which was the visitation of the neglected portions of the city of Edinburgh, for the purpose of imparting spiritual and temporal aid to the poor and perishing. This association, we presume, was composed of the more pious of the students. Such of these *divi-*

nity students as were in the habit of *breaking the sabbath*, *dancing*, and *playing cards*, we may safely infer, took no part in the enterprise. The following striking reflections were entered upon Mr. M'Cheyne's diary upon his first survey of this interesting field of labor:—

"'March 3.—Accompanied A. B. in one of his rounds through some of the most miserable habitations I ever beheld. Such scenes I never before dreamed of. Ah, why am I such a stranger to the poor in my native town? I have passed their doors thousands of times; I have admired the huge black piles of building, with their lofty chimneys breaking the sun's rays—why have I never ventured within? How dwelleth the love of God in me? How cordial is the welcome even of the poorest and most loathsome to the voice of Christian sympathy! What imbedded masses of human beings are huddled together, unvisited by friend or minister! "No man careth for our souls," is written over every forehead. Awake, my soul! Why should I give hours and days any longer to the vain world, when there is such a world of misery at my very door? Lord, put thine own strength in me; confirm every good resolution; forgive my past long life of uselessness and folly.'" —P. 26.

Mr. M'Cheyne became one of the most earnest and faithful members of this association. He diligently cultivated a district in "the Canongate," teaching a sabbath school, visiting the thoughtless, distributing "The Monthly Visitor," &c. This exercise was happily calculated to impart strong and correct views of the depravity of the human heart, and to stir up the deep sympathies of the soul, and thus to prepare the candidate for the holy work of the ministry, and for the peculiar duties of his high and holy vocation.

The following characteristic entries were made in his journal upon the occasions of his finishing his college course and his receiving license to preach:—

"'March 29.—College finished on Friday last. My last appearance there. Life itself is vanishing fast. Make haste for eternity.'"

"'Preached three probationary discourses in Annan Church, and, after an examination in Hebrew, was solemnly licensed to preach the gospel by Mr. Monylaws, the moderator. "Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me be stirred up to praise and magnify his holy name!" What I have so long desired as the highest honor of man, thou at length givest me—me who dare scarcely use the words of Paul, "Unto me who am less than the least of all saints is this grace given, that I should preach the unsearchable riches of Christ." Felt somewhat solemnized, though unable to feel my unworthiness as I ought. Be clothed with humility.'"—Pp. 29, 33.

This was a most interesting and important period in the history of the life of Mr. M'Cheyne. He had passed through a long and

severe course of mental discipline—had for years been looking upon the holy ministry as the most elevated position a mortal can enjoy this side of heaven, and had begun to taste a little of the luxury of inviting sinners to Christ, and had already been cheered by unexpected success. He now gazes upon the prospect before him with the most intense interest. The miseries and corruptions of the world stir up the deepest sympathies of his soul. As he begins to gird himself for the fight, he sighs for the fore front of the battle. No mercenary considerations move him—no danger alarms him; to be an ambassador for Christ—to stand up in the hottest of the fight—to do something and to suffer something for Christ, and to win souls, constitute the summit of his ambition.

What a sublime spectacle is this! A young man of education, of elegant accomplishments, of fine genius, and naturally of a towering ambition: like Paul, "counting all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus;" sacrificing all prospect of worldly advancement—foregoing the honors and emoluments which learning and genius promise to secure, for the privilege of being "made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men." The love of Christ constrains him, compassion for his perishing fellow-men stirs up the great deep of his mighty soul, and he puts himself upon the altar. He hears a celestial voice inquiring, "Who will go for us?" and he promptly answers, "Here am I; send me." After all his primary preparations in "the Divinity Hall" of the university, his vocation is wholly *divine*. God calls him and gives him his commission. God gives him the qualifications which none but God has the power to give; and immediately he leaves father and mother, and house and lands, and henceforth becomes the property of the church and the world—or rather the property of Christ, to go at his bidding; and considers it his greatest glory to say, "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given." The self-denial, the zeal, the humility, and the love to God and man, so necessary to a minister of Christ, were strikingly developed in this young apostle.

Of his method of preparing his sermons, and his manner of delivering them, and what, in part at least, contributed to his popularity and success as a preacher, we have the following curious and interesting notice:—

"A simple incident was overruled to promote the ease and fluency of his pulpit ministrations. From the very beginning of his ministry, he reprobated the custom of reading sermons, believing that to do so does exceedingly weaken the freedom and natural fervor of the messenger in delivering his message. Neither did he recite what he had written. But

his custom was to impress on his memory the substance of what he had beforehand carefully written, and then to speak as he found liberty. One morning, as he rode rapidly along to Dunipace, his written sermons were dropped on the wayside. This accident prevented him having the opportunity of preparing in his usual manner; but he was enabled to preach with more than usual freedom. For the first time in his life, he discovered that he possessed the gift of extemporaneous composition, and learned, to his own surprise, that he had more composedness of mind and command of language than he had believed. This discovery, however, did not in the least degree diminish his diligent preparation. Indeed, the only use he made of the incident at the time it occurred was, to draw a lesson of dependence on God's own immediate blessing, rather than on the satisfactory preparation made. 'One thing always fills the cup of my consolation, that God may work by the meanest and poorest words, as well as by the most polished and ornate—yea, perhaps more readily, that the glory may be all his own.'"—Pp. 38, 39.

If we should undertake to give advice to a young minister with regard to his preparations for the pulpit, and delivering his discourses, we could not do better, with our present views, and after more than thirty years' experience and observation, than to say, *Follow the example of Mr. M'Cheyne.* Write as full a sketch as your time will permit—thoroughly study the whole subject—get your expositions, statements, illustrations, and practical improvements so deeply impressed upon your mind, and so well connected and arranged, that the laws of association will suggest everything in its proper place as you proceed—then launch forth upon the sea of divine truth and holy sympathies, trusting as much in God to bring you to your desired haven as if you had made no chart of the sea you are to navigate. We quite agree with Mr. M'Cheyne, that "reading sermons does exceedingly weaken the freedom and natural fervor of the messenger in delivering his message." And we believe just as fully that neglecting to write begets a loose manner of thinking, and tends to induce the habit of dealing in meagre statements, loose generalities, and frothy declamations. The man who never thinks with his pen in his hand—who seldom or never spreads his mental processes upon paper, so as to be able to examine, review, and revise them—will seldom be able to grasp a subject in all its details and bearings; and consequently, as the exhibition of his views will never be more complete than the development of them in his own mind, his sermons will contain but little valuable instruction, and will have full as little interest for the intelligent hearer. Our scattering, rambling, indefinite preachers, who never make a distinct impression, nor bring out a truth from the convolutions of their pulpit harangues in so definite a manner

as to be remembered by a single hearer, might in many instances find a remedy for their vicious habits in writing.

With what untiring ardor this young minister of Christ pursued his calling, and how he entered every opening door of usefulness, will be seen by the following incident:—

"Coming home on a sabbath evening (Aug. 7th) from Torwood sabbath school, a person met him who suggested an opportunity of usefulness. There were two families of gipsies encamped at Torwood, within his reach. He was weary with a long day's labor; but instantly, as was his custom on such a call, set off to find them. By the side of their wood fire, he opened out the parable of the lost sheep, and pressed it on their souls in simple terms. He then knelt down in prayer for them, and left them somewhat impressed and very grateful."—P. 45.

The poor and outcast must not be forgotten by a shepherd of souls.

As to a settlement, Mr. M'Cheyne says:—

"'It has always been my aim, and it is my prayer, to have *no plans* with regard to myself—well assured as I am, that the place where the Saviour sees meet to place me, must ever be the best place for me.'" —P. 34.

He was employed for ten months as "assistant" at *Larbert* and *Dunipace*. There he labored with great zeal and usefulness. He not only preached with great warmth and power, but visited the poor in by-places, carrying the word of life to those who were too ignorant and too careless to go after it. But Mr. M'Cheyne was finally settled as a pastor in *Dundee*, in which situation he remained until he closed his brief but brilliant career. We have the following edifying notice of his ordination:—

"The day on which he was ordained pastor of a flock, was a day of much anxiety to his soul. He had journeyed by Perth to spend the night preceding under the roof of his kind friend Mr. Grierson, in the manse of Errol. Next morning, ere he left the manse, three passages of Scripture occupied his mind. 1. '*Thou shalt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee; because he trusteth in thee.*' Isaiah xxvi, 3. This verse was seasonable; for, as he sat meditating on the solemn duties of the day, his heart trembled. 2. '*Give thyself wholly to these things.*' 1 Tim. iv, 15. May that word (he prayed) sink deep into my heart. 3. '*Here am I, send me.*' Isaiah vi, 8. 'To go or to stay—to be here till death, or to visit foreign shores—whatsoever, wheresoever, whensoever thou pleasest.' He rose from his knees with the prayer, 'Lord, may thy grace come with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.'"—P. 51.

This interesting event took place November 24, 1836. Mark the solemn feelings with which this young minister enters upon the

full employment of a pastor. The word of God—appropriate passages of that word with which his mind was so richly stored—constitutes the theme of his meditations. Devotion and a spirit of consecration characterize his spirit. He is taking upon himself now more fully the responsibilities of a work which

> ——— "might fill an angel's heart,
> And fill'd a Saviour's hands."

Conscious of insufficiency—for, as Paul demands, "who is sufficient for these things?"—he lifts his eyes to the only source of help, and prays: "Lord, may thy grace come with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." How truly he feels that there is no power in "the presbytery," or any other human agency, to clothe the minister with the high and holy functions of "a legate of the skies!" His commission comes directly from God, and his power "to bind and loose" depends entirely upon the truthfulness with which he expounds the will of Heaven and obeys his high behest. "Orders" is not a *charm*—imparts no *divine powers*—is neither grace nor the power of imparting grace—but a simple recognition of a divine call, which proceeds upon the supposition, and always implies the condition, of *fidelity* upon the part of the agent. The spiritual powers—the rights and privileges—of a minister of Christ are *de facto* forfeited when he ceases to be a man of prayer and a man of *one work*.

The minister of Christ will derive profit from the following account of Mr. M'Cheyne's manner as a preacher:—

"His voice was remarkably clear—his manner attractive by its mild dignity. His form itself drew the eye.* He spoke from the pulpit as one earnestly occupied with the souls before him. He made them feel sympathy with what he spoke, for his own eye and heart were on them. He was, at the same time, able to bring out illustrations at once simple and felicitous, often with poetic skill and elegance. He wished to use Saxon words, for the sake of being understood by the most illiterate in his audience. And while his style was singularly clear, this clearness itself was so much the consequence of his being able thoroughly to analyze and explain his subject, that all his hearers alike reaped the benefit.

"He went about his public work with awful reverence. So evident was this, that I remember a countryman in my parish observed to me—'Before he opened his lips, as he came along the passage, there was something about him that sorely affected me.' In the vestry there was never any idle conversation; all was preparation of heart in approaching God; and a short prayer preceded his entering the pulpit. Surely in going forth to speak for God, a man may well be overawed! Surely

* "'Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus!'"

in putting forth his hand to sow the seed of the kingdom, a man may even tremble! And surely we should aim at nothing less than to pour forth the truth upon our people through the channel of our own living and deeply affected souls.

"After announcing the subject of his discourse, he used generally to show the position it occupied in the context, and then proceed to bring out the doctrines of the text in the manner of our old divines. This done, he divided his subject; and herein he was eminently skillful. 'The heads of his sermons,' said a friend, 'were not the milestones that tell you how near you are to your journey's end, but they were nails which fixed and fastened all he said. Divisions are often dry; but not so *his* divisions—they were so textual and so feeling, and they brought out the spirit of a passage so surprisingly.'

"It was his wish to arrive nearer at the primitive mode of expounding Scripture in his sermons. Hence, when one asked him if he was never afraid of running short of sermons some day, he replied—'No; I am just an interpreter of Scripture in my sermons; and when the Bible runs dry, then I shall.' And in the same spirit he carefully avoided the too common mode of accommodating texts—fastening a doctrine on the words, not drawing it from the obvious connection of the passage. He endeavored at all times to *preach the mind of the Spirit in a passage;* for he feared that to do otherwise would be to grieve the Spirit who had written it. Interpretation was thus a solemn matter to him. And yet, adhering scrupulously to this sure principle, he felt himself in no way restrained from using, for every day's necessities, all parts of the Old Testament as much as the New. His manner was first to ascertain the primary sense and application, and so proceed to handle it for present use. Thus, on Isaiah xxvi, 16–19, he began—'This passage, I believe, refers *literally* to the conversion of God's ancient people.' He regarded the *prophecies* as *history yet to be*, and drew lessons from them accordingly as he would have done from the past. Every spiritual gift being in the hands of Jesus, if he found Moses or Paul in the possession of precious things, he forthwith was led to follow them into the presence of that same Lord who gave them all their grace.

"It is difficult to convey to those who never knew him a correct idea of the sweetness and holy unction of his preaching. Some of his sermons, printed from his own MSS., (although almost all are first copies,) may convey a correct idea of his style and mode of preaching doctrine. But there are no notes that give any true idea of his affectionate appeals to the heart and searching applications. These he seldom wrote; they were poured forth at the moment when his heart filled with his subject; for his rule was to set before his hearers a body of truth first—and there always was a vast amount of Bible truth in his discourses—and then urge home the application. His exhortations flowed from his doctrine, and thus had both variety and power. He was systematic in this; for he observed—'Appeals to the careless, &c., come with power on the back of some massy truth. See how Paul does, Acts xiii, 40: "Beware, *therefore*, lest," &c.; and, Hebrews ii, 1: "*Therefore*, we should," &c.'"—Pp. 60–62.

These paragraphs would furnish a text for a long dissertation upon *preaching*. And though it would well accord with our inclinations, the number of points we have in reserve will not permit us to enter this field. We may, however, be allowed, by the way, to express the hope that they will not be allowed to pass, especially by our younger brethren in the ministry, without serious consideration.

Mr. M'Cheyne became deeply interested in the plan for "church extension," and also in the movement in opposition to the encroachments of the government upon the rights and privileges of the church, which resulted in the disruption of the Kirk and the organization of the Free Church of Scotland. In the public measures which were instituted for the furtherance of these objects he became an active agent, traveling abroad and addressing assemblies with great effect.

He also imbibed the spirit of an evangelist, frequently making short preaching tours through neighboring parishes. To this his people objected, as his labors were held in so high estimation by his parishioners that they were unwilling he should be absent from a single appointment. His parish was large, and his duties laborious. And though his preaching, lecturing, meeting Bible classes, catechising, attending prayer meetings, visiting the sick, the poor, and the neglected, might seem to be employment sufficient for two healthy men, yet, in addition to all this, he found time to read, to write, and to go beyond the bounds of his own parish to serve the general interests of the cause of Christ. His zeal was as a pent-up fire, which often breaks through all barriers, and sends forth a blaze which illuminates the whole heavens.

But such zeal, such untiring labors, could not long be sustained by a frame which had already been weakened by excessive application to study. His labors were several times interrupted for a season by attacks of disease, which were regarded by him as premonitions of his approaching end. He now preached like a dying man to dying men, and his labors were crowned with success.

Mr. M'Cheyne became much interested in the "Mission among the Jews," and finally joined a "commission" for the investigation of the condition of the Jews in the Holy Land, and various other countries. He was induced to enlist in this enterprise from the fact that an attack of palpitation of the heart had laid him up, and he was advised by his physicians that he must wholly refrain from preaching for a time, and that probably traveling would be of service to him. The results of that mission may be seen in the "Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, from the Church

of Scotland, in 1839." He considered his call to this mission as a special opening of Providence; and though his people knew not how to part with him, they committed him to God, and quietly submitted to what they considered a sort of judgment from Heaven.

But God did not leave the flock when he had removed the shepherd. Under the labors of Mr. Burns, who supplied his place during his absence, the parish was visited with a glorious outpouring of the Spirit. Mr. Burns seemed well suited to follow Mr. M'Cheyne. He was a young man of great power in the pulpit, and of a truly Christian spirit. The people were cut to the heart under the word, and multitudes, as on the day of Pentecost, "cried out, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" We should like to give several interesting particulars in relation to this revival, but cannot without extending this paper to too great length.

We have many interesting and instructive details of events and incidents which occurred to the travelers in their journey; also many fine descriptions of objects and scenes of a most thrilling character, which would be read with great interest and profit, but we can merely give one specimen, and that relates to the most interesting of all the locations they visited—that is, Jerusalem:—

"In approaching Jerusalem, we came up the Pass of Latroon. He writes: 'The last day's journey to Jerusalem was the finest I ever had in all my life. For four hours we were ascending the rocky pass upon our patient camels. It was like the finest of our highland scenes, only the trees and flowers, and the voice of the turtle, told us that it was Immanuel's land.' Riding along, he remarked, that to have seen the Plain of Judea and this mountain-pass, was enough to reward us for all our fatigue; and then began to call up passages of the Old Testament Scriptures which might seem to refer to such scenery as that before us.

"During our ten days at Jerusalem, there were few objects within reach that we did not eagerly seek to visit. 'We stood at the turning of the road where Jesus came near, and beheld the city, and wept over it. And if we had had more of the mind that was in Jesus, I think we should have wept also.' This was his remark in a letter homeward; and to Mr. Bonar of Larbert, he expressed his feelings in regard to the Mount of Olives and its vicinity: 'I remember, the day when I saw you last, you said, that there were other discoveries to be made than those in the physical world—that there were sights to be seen in the spiritual world, and depths to be penetrated, of far greater importance. I have often thought of the truth of your remark. But if there is a place on earth where physical scenery can help us to discover divine things, I think it is Mount Olivet. Gethsemane at your feet leads your soul to meditate on Christ's love and determination to undergo divine wrath for us. The cup was set before him there, and there he said,

"Shall I not drink it?" The spot where he wept makes you think of his divine compassion, mingled with his human tenderness—his awful justice, that would not spare the city—his superhuman love, that wept over its coming misery! Turning the other way, and looking to the south-east, you see Bethany, reminding you of his love to his own—that his name is love—that in all our afflictions he is afflicted—that those who are in their graves shall one day come forth at his command. A little further down you see the Dead Sea, stretching far among the mountains its still and sullen waters. This deepens and solemnizes all, and makes you go away, saying, 'How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?'"—Pp. 87, 88.

Mr. M'Cheyne's return to his beloved people was an event of great interest both to him and to them. The following is the description of the scene:—

"His people, who had never ceased to pray for him, welcomed his arrival among them with the greatest joy. He reached Dundee on Thursday afternoon; and in the evening of the same day—being the usual time for prayer in St. Peter's—after a short meditation, he hastened to the church, there to render thanks to the Lord, and to speak once more to his flock. The appearance of the church that evening, and the aspect of the people, he never could forget. Many of his brethren were present to welcome him, and to hear the first words of his opened lips. There was not a seat in the church unoccupied, the passages were completely filled, and the stairs up to the pulpit were crowded, on the one side with the aged, on the other with eagerly listening children. Many a face was seen anxiously gazing on their restored pastor; many were weeping under the unhealed wounds of conviction; all were still and calm, intensely earnest to hear. He gave out Psalm lxvi, and the manner of singing, which had been remarked since the revival began, appeared to him peculiarly sweet—'so tender and affecting, as if the people felt that they were praising a present God.' After solemn prayer with them, he was able to preach for above an hour. Not knowing how long he might be permitted to proclaim the glad tidings, he seized that opportunity, not to tell of his journeyings, but to show the way of life to sinners. His subject was 1 Cor. ii, 1, 4;—the matter, the manner, and the accompaniment of Paul's preaching. It was a night to be remembered.

"On coming out of the church, he found the road to his house crowded with old and young, who were waiting to welcome him back. He had to shake hands with many at the same time; and before this happy multitude would disperse, had to speak some words of life to them again, and pray with them where they stood. 'To thy name, O Lord,' said he that night, when he returned to his home, 'to thy name, O Lord, be all the glory.' A month afterward he was visited by one who had hitherto stood out against all the singular influence of the revival, but who that night was deeply awakened under his words, so that the arrow festered in her soul, till she came crying, 'O my hard, hard heart!'"—P. 105.

Mr. M'Cheyne now resumed his work with great spirit and corresponding success. A brief note or two from his diary will give the reader some idea of both his labors and the blessing with which they were crowned.

"'March 5, Thursday evening.—Preached on Zech. iii.—Joshua. Was led to speak searchingly about Christ the minister of sin. One young woman cried aloud very bitterly. M. B. came to tell me that poor M. is like to have her life taken away by her parents. A young woman also who is still concerned, and persecuted by her father. A young man came to tell me that he had found Christ. Roll on, thou river of life! visit every dwelling! save a multitude of souls. Come, Holy Spirit! come quickly.'"

"'Reached home; entirely unprepared for the evening. Spoke on Psalm li, 12, 13, "Restore unto me the joy," &c. There seemed much of the presence of God—first one crying out in extreme agony, then another. Many were deeply melted, and all solemnized. Felt a good deal of freedom in speaking of the glory of Christ's salvation. Coming down, I spoke quietly to some whom I knew to be under deep concern. They were soon heard together, weeping bitterly; many more joined them. Mr. Cumming spoke to them in a most touching strain, while I dealt privately with several in the vestry. Their cries were often very bitter and piercing, bitterest when the freeness of Christ was pressed upon them, and the lion's nearness. Several were offended; but I felt no hesitation as to our duty to declare the simple truth impressively, and leave God to work in their hearts in his own way. If he saves souls in a quiet way I shall be happy; if in the midst of cries and tears, still I will bless his name.'"—Pp. 114, 121.

God grant that such scenes may be more frequent in *Scotland*, and may never become strange in our own country, where "these signs" have in so many instances followed the faithful preaching of God's word.

Mr. M'Cheyne was now near the close of his earthly pilgrimage. The zeal of the Lord's house was eating him up. His physical frame was literally *burning out*,—such was the intenseness of the fire within him. His release from the toils and cares of earth came on March 21st, 1843. He died with a few days' illness. His attack was violent, and baffled all medical skill. But he was ready for the summons. How he triumphed in the final struggle will be seen in the following notices:—

"Next day he continued sunk in body and mind, till about the time when his people met for their usual evening prayer meeting, when he requested to be left alone for half an hour. When his servant entered the room again, he exclaimed with a joyful voice, 'My soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and I am escaped.' His countenance, as he said this, bespoke inward peace. Ever after he was observed to be happy; and at supper-time that

evening, when taking a little refreshment, he gave thanks, 'For strength in the time of weakness, for light in the time of darkness, for joy in the time of sorrow, for comforting us in all our tribulations, that we may be able to comfort those that are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God.'"

"On Tuesday (the 21st) his sister read to him several hymns. The last words he heard, and the last he seemed to understand, were those of Cowper's hymn, 'Sometimes the light surprises the Christian as he sings.' And then the delirium came on.

"At one time during the delirium, he said to his attendant, 'Mind the text, 1 Cor. xv, 58. Be steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord,' dwelling with much emphasis on the last clause, '*forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord.*' At another time, he seemed to feel himself among his brethren, and said, 'I don't think much of policy in church courts; no, I hate it; but I'll tell you what I like, faithfulness to God, and a holy walk.' His voice, which had been weak before, became very strong now; and often was he heard speaking to, or praying for, his people. 'You must be awakened in time, or you will be awakened in everlasting torment, to your eternal confusion!' 'You may soon get me away, but that will not save your souls!' Then he prayed, 'This parish, Lord, this people, this whole place!' At another time, 'Do it thyself, Lord, for thy weak servant!' And again, as if praying for the saints, 'Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me!'

"Thus he continued most generally engaged, while the delirium lasted, either in prayer or in preaching to his people, and always apparently in happy frame, till the morning of Saturday the 25th. On that morning, while his kind medical attendant, Dr. Gibson, stood by, he lifted up his hands as if in the attitude of pronouncing the blessing, and then sunk down. Not a groan or a sigh, but only a quiver of the lip, and his soul was at rest."—Pp. 145, 146.

Thus terminated the life and labors of "a good minister of Jesus Christ." He had labored as a preacher of the gospel a little more than eight years; but during this brief space had made higher attainments in holiness, and been the means of more good to the souls of men, than many, who have had the reputation of good ministers, have done in the space of half a century, but who have been more careful of life and strength, and less zealous for the honor of God and the salvation of souls. It is by no means the longest life that tells the most effectually upon the interests of the world. A Pollok, a Treffry, a Summerfield, or a M'Cheyne, has done more in a few years to bless the church, and save sinners, and make himself a name, than others have done in a period of six times the same length. And why are not such instances regarded as specially favored? The struggle was indeed severe, but it was not long; the battle was hot, but it was soon over, and terminated in glorious victory.

But we, poor erring mortals, are inclined to query:—Why, when men's talents for usefulness just begin to develop, and they exhibit extraordinary endowments, and the state of the church and the world seems to call loudly for such gifts, why are they so often snatched away? Such are our blind reasonings upon the ways of God. We know not the special reason for these dispensations, but we do know that God is infinitely good and infinitely wise; and the purposes of his goodness and wisdom may be answered in ways and modes far beyond our comprehension. The very measures which we suppose wisest and best might turn out infinitely foolish and fatally injurious. The very brevity of life may, in many instances, be the means of making men instrumental of the greatest amount of good to the universe. "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's."- God has purposes to answer in our death as well as in our life. And he does not intend to do all by one instrument or by a few instruments. The work designed for one may be done soon, and that for another may occupy a long period. And we may be assured that for the accomplishment of the great work of the world's regeneration, he has an ample store of instrumentalities left, and he will not remove one of these, not even the smallest, while it is at all necessary to the accomplishment of the grand design. We may suppose that the work will cease when we are discharged from service, or any given number or class of instruments shall be removed: but God may see that those whom we suppose so necessary to the prosperity and progress of his cause would, if longer spared, act as a prejudice, and essentially impede the progress of the car of salvation. We must, however, forbear these reflections.

Our principal object in this paper has been to bring out the extraordinary characteristics of a very remarkable character. This we have done for the purposes of example—of reproof and of encouragement—as occasion may require. We would have the young minister especially to look at the admirable qualities of a faithful and a successful minister, not merely to admire them, but to imbibe and to imitate them. See what a spirit of prayer, of self-denial, of zeal, of faith, of meekness, and of patience, exhibited itself in a comparatively young minister and young Christian. See what a ripeness for heaven and readiness to discard and leave the world, in the midst of a tide of success and popularity, are here presented to our view. See what a pattern of industry, see how time may be improved, and to what valuable account it may be turned. In these two heavy volumes we may see how much a diligent hand can *write* in the midst of a heavy burden of studies

and pastoral duties. How are idle ministers—drowsy shepherds—greedy dogs—here put to shame!

Mr. M'Cheyne was an admirable preacher, a good letter writer, and a tolerable poet. Some pretty specimens of his poetry are to be found scattered through these volumes; but we must refer our readers to the book itself. As a theologian we must merely take such exceptions to him as an orthodox Arminian would necessarily take to an orthodox Calvinist. The papers published in these volumes are almost entirely devoted to experimental and practical religion. But occasionally an expression occurs and a theological proposition is laid down, which is not according to our views of gospel truth. We shall, however, introduce no particular instances of this kind, as it would extend this article too far were we to do so, and especially were we to add such criticisms as the occasion might call for.

Occasionally Mr. M'Cheyne agrees with us upon a point upon which many Calvinistic divines do not. We give the following upon the knowledge of forgiveness.

"Never rest till you can say what John says, (1 John v, 19,) '*We know* that we are of God.' The world always loves to believe that it is impossible to know that we are converted. If you ask them, they will say, 'I am not sure—I cannot tell;' but the whole Bible declares we may receive, and know we have received, the forgiveness of sins. See Psalm xxxii, 1; 1 John ii, 12. Seek this blessedness—the joy of having forgiveness; it is sweeter than honey and the honey-comb. But where shall I seek it? In Jesus Christ. 'God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son.' 'He that hath the Son, hath life, and he that hath not the Son, hath not life.' 1 John v, 10."—P. 213.

We will close this paper with a notice of a sentiment which is contained in one of Mr. M'Cheyne's letters, which seems to chime in peculiarly with our present feelings. It is as follows:—

"My Dear Mrs. T.—You know how glad I would be of some such retreat as Elijah had by the brook Cherith, where I might learn more of my own heart, and of my Bible, and of my God, where I might while away the summer hours in quiet meditation, or talking of his righteousness all the day long. But it is only said of *the dead* in the Lord that they rest from their labors; and I fear I must not think of resting till then. Time is short, my time especially, and souls are precious; and I fear many are slumbering because I watch not with sufficient diligence, nor blow the trumpet with sufficient clearness."—P. 212.

The idea of "rest" is pleasant, but the *thing* seems to be as far from us as it was from the young Scotch preacher. We have often looked forward for a little relief; but every day has, so far,

brought its toils. At this moment it is possible that some of our friends in the city suppose we are enjoying the luxury of *rest*. But here we are in the chamber of a little parsonage in the north of Pennsylvania, delving on from day to day at an article, that we may not be deficient when we return and are asked for "copy." This is not just the mode of *rusticating* that flesh and blood would choose, but it is far better than none. For though we are obliged to absent ourselves from the society of dear friends, and work hard for a portion of each day, yet we have the advantage of pure country air, and cool, refreshing nights, neither of which could we have in New-York. But we must drop this strain lest we should be chargeable with occupying the reader's attention with personal matters. Thus much we hope will be borne without complaint.

Waymart, Wayne Co., Pa., Aug. 6, 1847.

Art. VI.—*Sketches of Matters and Things in Europe.*

Our object in these papers, as all will at once perceive, is not to give a *complete* view of the places and interesting objects which came under our observation. The limited time we spent in Europe, and the rapidity with which we were obliged to pass from one point to another, necessarily prevented our seeing all we wished to see, or having as perfect knowledge of what did come under our observation as we desired. Still we hope we may, from what we saw, and the incidents of our travels, furnish our readers with a few pages of *sketches* which will afford them a little entertainment, and which may, at least to some, be instructive. How far we shall proceed we can now give no pledge. We at present purpose to prepare for our next number a paper upon *Scotland*. Whether our *temerity* will be equal to an attempt to present anything further upon *England*, or to say anything in relation to our visit to the continent, is at present quite problematical. Small as is our undertaking, it is both delicate and hazardous. But we will at least venture on a little further.

We closed our preceding paper with a view of the *British Conference* which held its session in *Bristol*. This city, at least, demands a slight notice. Bristol is a very ancient city, as the appearance of many parts of it clearly shows. It was the *Caer Brito* of the Britons, and *Brightstow* of the Saxons. It lies upon an elevated peninsula formed by the confluence of the Frome and

Avon. Like Rome, it rests upon *seven hills:* these with the intermediate valleys give the city a most picturesque appearance. For a long time Bristol was, in commercial importance, only second to London. In this respect it is now far outstripped by Liverpool. The decline of trade, it is said, is owing to the policy of the corporation in relation to the docks. The population of Bristol proper in 1832 was one hundred and four thousand three hundred and thirty-eight. There are many fine specimens of antiquity still to be seen. Among these is a portion of the ancient mall. There is a gateway called "St. John's Gate," containing the grooves of the huge portcullis, the porter's lodge, &c., all in perfection. And on one side are the statues of *Brennus* and *Belinus*, with the insignia of royalty in their hands, who are said to have reigned conjointly after the death of their father. It is said that the city was built by Brennus, a prince of the Britons, three hundred and eighty years before the Christian era. It now contains many noble structures, both ancient and modern, which would be well worth description did our limits permit. Among these is the old church of *St. Mary Redcliffe*, which is said to have been founded in 1292.

This old church is the place in which the famous young poet, *Chatterton*, professed to have made his wonderful discoveries of ancient records and drawings, and of several of the most splendid poetical productions which adorn English literature,—which he ascribed to Rowley and others,—but the whole of which he coined out of his own brain, when *a lad of fifteen!* And here, by the old church, stands his monument, though where his bones are no one knows, as, in consequence of cruel neglect, he committed suicide in London, and was buried among beggars.

Bristol is remarkable for having connected with its history some of the most illustrious names. Among these are Bishop Butler, Southey, Coleridge, John Foster, Robert Hall, and Hannah More. And here Methodism made its first permanent stand. Here Mr. Wesley erected his first chapel, and here he dated the Preface to his Notes upon the New Testament.

We made a most delighful excursion to *Clifton*, a mile or two below Bristol, and constituting the aristocratic portion of that city. Clifton is situated upon a high cliff on the north side of the Avon. The cliff is terraced and variously ornamented, and presents a most picturesque appearance. At the foot of the cliff are "the Bristol Hot Wells," to which Mr. Wesley resorted when under the influence of a pulmonary affection which greatly alarmed his friends. We ascended the steep, and, from the observatory, had a most enchanting view of Bristol and the surrounding country.

Here are the "Giant's Cave," "the old Roman Wall," and a great number of splendid mansions, a botanical garden, and other objects of interest to attract the attention of visitors.

We have made a general reference to the *antiquities* of Bristol. These are numerous and of great interest; but to us, the most interesting relic of past times was "Mr. Wesley's Chapel." It was the first chapel that he built, and is now nearly as he left it. We have the history of the erection of this chapel, and its subsequent improvements, in Mr. Wesley's Journals, and also some curious facts with regard to the manner in which it was settled. It was first deeded to trustees, in such way as to give them the control of the pulpit. Mr. Wesley, perceiving that this would interfere with his plan of appointing and changing preachers, resolved to have a change effected or to abandon the chapel. The change was effected by mutual consent, and from that period Mr. Wesley held the right, during his life, to supply the pulpits of all the chapels erected; and when he died that right was transferred to the conference.

The old chapel is now in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, having undergone no other alteration except the erection of pews in the body of the house instead of the original benches, and a clerk's desk on each side of the pulpit. The chapel will hold, perhaps, five or six hundred people. The galleries are wide and low, and under them are arranged in order the very old benches with which the house was first seated. They are simple benches without backs, strongly constructed; and, though considerably worn, appear as if they might last another century or more. There is a stairway from the pulpit into the gallery, and thence into a suite of rooms above, fitted up for Mr. Wesley's accommodation. There is an opening through the ceiling, of about eight feet square, surrounded above by a railing, through which you can look down into the chapel. We surveyed the parlor, the bed-room, and the library, or study—built by the directions of our venerated founder, and occupied by him—with deep emotion; but, we trust, without anything like idolatrous veneration for the place or its former occupant. We could not but regret that this chapel, and the ground upon which it stands, had gone out of the hands of the connection. The place where the first experiment was made to give substantive existence and stability to Methodism—the location where the far-reaching policy of the great modern reformer was first tested by experiment—ought to have been kept sacred, and have been occupied by a structure settled upon the foundation so wisely adjusted by Mr. Wesley, that, as yet, no material alteration has been found

necessary. By the way, we would refer that class of *high* Wesleyans, or *true* Wesleyans, or whatever else they may be called, who find so much tyranny and ministerial assumption in the plan of settling our churches, to the paper which Mr. Wesley drew up to meet the same complaints in relation to the Bristol chapel.* Nothing is more clear, as Mr. Wesley here most explicitly and earnestly declares, than that if boards of trustees—and the same may be said of congregations—control our pulpits, our itinerant system is at an end. But this merely by the way.

It will not be out of place to observe before we take our leave of Bristol, that we were politely invited by *Mr. Dando* to partake of the hospitalities of his house. He resides in a most beautiful mansion on "Ashly Down," a fine elevated situation which overlooks the city. Here we had a most quiet and comfortable resting place during most of our stay in Bristol. Mr. Dando has three interesting daughters, one of whom, in particular, is a great admirer of Robert Hall, and has in keeping *a hat which he wore*, and which she did us the honor to place upon our head. Mr. Dando, the younger, was our guide to the wonders of Bristol; and, together with his excellent lady,—who, by the way, is a Philadelphian,—showed us and our fellow-travelers much attention, for which they are entitled to our gratitude. But for all these kindnesses we ought to confess our obligations to our old friend *Stephen Dando* of New-York, who was so kind as to herald our coming to Bristol to his respected brother and nephew.

On Friday, August 7, at 5 P. M., we took our passage for Dublin, on the steamboat Shamrock, lying in the Avon. Our vessel was evidently constructed more with reference to strength and safety than beauty and convenience. Our company had as good berths as the boat afforded, but they were not remarkable for comfort, except in the probable contingency of a storm. In that case, we were so thoroughly boxed up, that, unless the vessel should be capsized outright, we would not be likely to roll out upon the floor. When night came on, we were fairly out in Bristol Channel, which happily was as smooth as a mirror. On Saturday we crossed the Irish Sea, with only a breath of air—just enough to make sailing pleasant. This *stormy* sea, for once, was perfectly calm. One of the passengers remarked, that he had crossed the Irish Sea many times, and this was the first passage he had ever made "without a brush."

About 4 P. M. we passed between a small rock-bound island, surmounted by a martello tower, and the shore of the Emerald Isle.

* See Wesley's Works, vol. vii, pp. 326–329.

We soon entered the harbor of Kingston, protected by a long breakwater. Kingston is a straggling town, on a gentle but rocky acclivity, eight miles from Dublin. We gazed upon the shore, the houses, the rocks, the people—some strolling along the beach, and others in the mud, it being low tide, in quest of something, we could hardly tell what—and thought, And is this the veritable old Ireland, whence drift such shoals of people—good, bad, and indifferent—annually upon the shores of the United States? And all appearances seemed to respond, *Sure indeed*, this is old Ireland. We had intrusted our heavy baggage with a porter, while we carried some small articles in our hands. No sooner had we set foot upon the wharf than we were met by a score of boys, from ten to fifteen years of age, tolerably clad, who touched their caps most gracefully, and begged the privilege of carrying our "luggage." We walked along without seeming to notice them, when they became almost furious—running across our path back and forth, clamoring, "I'll carry it for a penny, sir—I'll carry it for a penny!" When we reached the station-house we were encountered by a coachman, or car-driver, who most earnestly assured us that the cars had been gone half an hour, and offered to take us to Dublin at a low rate. We entered the office, however, and the clerk hastily delivered us our tickets, informing us that the train was then just ready to leave. We barely had time to see our baggage on the car, and to secure our seats, when off went the train with almost the velocity of lightning. In the station-house at Dublin everything was orderly. We saw posted in a prominent place, in large letters: "No porter is permitted to receive any compensation for services rendered to passengers." A porter took our baggage to the door, and began to bawl, "Up! up! up!" A cab was soon before us, and as it was now raining powerfully, we were hastily crammed into the cab, with so much of our "luggage" that we could scarcely stir. The good-humored porter, upon our leaving, with real Irish politeness, touched his hat and said, "Long life to you, gentlemen." After being comfortably quartered in the Imperial Hotel, we sallied out in full force, and, crossing the street, entered a book-store, at the door of which a filthy, ragged woman, with three or four miserable children hanging around her, presented herself. When we were ready to depart, one of our fellow-travelers, who had kindly loaned us a portion of a fine umbrella, in coming from the hotel, for it was still raining, cried out, "Where is my umbrella? I set it down there." "Ah," said the woman at the door, "that man that stood there in the house, he carried it away." And she proceeded with several

strong exclamations, which indicated her deep sense of the villany and wickedness of the act. But the umbrella was gone beyond recovery; and just as we were doubting what to do, in came a fellow with a dozen umbrellas under his arm, wishing to know if the gentleman did not wish to purchase a good umbrella. And thinking it no more than fair that we should in turn run our chance, we made a purchase rather hastily, and afterward found we had given six English shillings for an old frame with an indifferent cover. We had now learned several small lessons which were subsequently of much service to us. What became of the lost umbrella, none of us was able to tell—whether it went to the same dépôt whence came the one we purchased, and whether the beggar at the door had not slipped it into some hand which conveyed it there, or whether some light-fingered villain, who wanted it for his own use, had laid hands upon it, we could not tell. But we learned to keep a good look-out for thieves, and, so far as we know, that was the last speculation this class of sinners made out of our company during all our journeying.

It being Saturday afternoon, we concluded to report ourselves to some one of the Wesleyan ministers. We accordingly repaired to the Abbey-street Chapel, having been informed that the preacher lived "*over* the chapel." We found the parsonage, after a tedious journey up several long flights of stairs, under the roof of the chapel. The rooms were comfortable, but were located rather too near the clouds. We were most cordially received by Mr. Greer, the minister, who informed us he should be glad to have us severally—as there were three preachers in the company—occupy his pulpit on the approaching sabbath: but he did not feel at liberty to monopolize the whole of our services until he had consulted Mr. Masaroon, the senior superintendent, and given him the privilege of coming in for a share. As we were about to retire, Mr. Greer said, "You must stay to tea—for Mrs. G. says it would not comport with Irish hospitality to allow you to leave at this hour without your tea." We complied with the invitation, and a pleasant tea it was. We immediately found ourselves engaged in free and unrestrained conversation, and felt as much at home as if we had met with old acquaintances from our own land. After tea Mr. Greer conducted us to the parsonage of the Centenary Chapel, where we met with a welcome equally cordial from Mr. Masaroon. After completing arrangements for the sabbath, we returned to our quarters, taking in our way an old Romish church, where we saw, by the aid of some dim lights, a few poor, wretched people, scattered around upon the stone pavement upon their knees, performing

their devotions, so far as appearances went, in a most careless manner. At the door and in the vestibule were groups of miserable beggars—some on their feet, some sitting, and others reclining on the cold pavement. The whole scene was altogether a correct and striking emblem of Romanism. Here was darkness, formality, superstition, religious indifference, *clerical splendor*, and *lay beggary*, in one view before our gaze. We looked upon the scene and shivered, and felt a thrill of grief and pity for the poor deluded victims of a ghostly despotism, which seems destined to crush and break the throbbing heart of poor Ireland.

In the morning we repaired to the Centenary Chapel, and heard Mr. Masaroon preach an excellent sermon at seven. At nine, by invitation, we attended "a class breakfast," in the basement of the chapel. This was to us a novel, but a very edifying, occasion. "The class" was composed of "young men." The breakfast consisted in simple bread and butter, with tongue, and dried beef, and tea. The usage is to have these breakfasts periodically—we believe once a month—and to have a passage of Scripture given out on each occasion, as a subject of conversation for the next. The topic of conversation for this occasion had, by some mishap, not been announced. A venerable supernumerary preacher proposed Isaiah xl, 31—"They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength," &c. The remarks made were consequently unpremeditated. Mr. Masaroon commenced, and then each succeeded in rotation. The remarks were sensible, and truly practical and spiritual. Everything was religious. There was no laughter—no gossip; the object was kept steadily in view, which was, to receive and impart spiritual instruction and comfort. Class breakfasts, missionary teas, &c., seem to be reduced to a regular system here. We were shown their boiling and baking apparatus, and their pantry, where there were table sets sufficient for several hundreds. What influence the system exerts upon the funds and the spirituality of the church, we are not prepared to say, nor how long it is likely to continue. At 12 M., the usual time of *morning* service in Ireland, we preached at Centenary Chapel, to a large and respectable audience. When the sermon was concluded, several brethren kindly welcomed us to Ireland, and expressed their high gratification to have heard "the true Wesleyan doctrine by one from the other side of the Atlantic."

At 3 P. M., accompanied by Mr. Masaroon, our company attended St. Patrick's Cathedral. The building has the appearance of great antiquity, and portions of it seem to be going to decay. We thought of Dean Swift and Archbishop Usher, whose voices

had resounded through these sombre Gothic arches, and whose remains are here reposing. But our meditations were interrupted by the pageant, which proceeded. The chants, as a mere musical performance, would doubtless be pronounced fine. But there was so much mummery about it, and especially when we saw the white-robed boys in the choir suffer their mischief so far to exceed due bounds as to punch each other with their elbows, and cast a roguish glance at each other, just as they were in the act of responding—all upon the bended knee, while professedly offering supplications to God—we could scarcely recognize in it the characteristics of a *religious* service. At the proper time, Dr. Hinds took his place in the pulpit, and read an elaborate sermon on baptism, in which he urged that the phrase, being "buried with Christ by baptism," referred to "the ancient method of baptizing by *immersion*." In the first place, we would observe that we could not subscribe to his position, though it was sustained by a formal argument. And, in the next place, we could not but query, if this learned churchman really believes as he preached, why does he not practice exclusive immersion? We cannot allow him the right to depart from the primitive and apostolic pattern, merely because "the church" ordains it. But we must pass. At 7 P. M. we preached in Hendrick-street Chapel—not a large house, but well filled with quiet and willing hearers. We saw many soldiers in the audience, and were told that several of them were members of society and very useful. After preaching, a prayer meeting was commenced, and we were somewhat surprised to observe, that those who prayed *stood upon their feet.* We did not learn that this practice is general—we hope not.

Dublin, the capital of Ireland, among the cities of Great Britain, ranks next to the metropolis in interest, beauty, and architectural magnificence. Its population, amounting to two hundred thousand, is accommodated in about eighteen thousand dwelling-houses, which occupy an area of three miles in length by about two in breadth. The public buildings are remarkable, not only for the classic elegance of their designs, but for their magnitude, convenience, and number; and the principal streets form spacious avenues, inclosed by lofty and well-designed mansions on either side, and are generally inclined to each other at such angles as do not fail to produce the most picturesque effects, and the most agreeable city views. The river Liffey, on whose banks the city stands, is inclosed by walls of squared granite stone, forming two beautiful lines of quays, which extend to a length of nearly three miles. These noble embankments reach from the sea entrance

of the Liffey, at the North Wall and Kingsend in the east, to Barrack Bridge in the west, of the city, and are united by six handsome stone bridges, free to the public, and by one foot-bridge, of cast iron, private property.

That the foundation of the city of Dublin is of a very remote origin is an indisputable fact. In the early ages of Christianity it was known by the name of *Aschled*, and, about the beginning of the second century, it exchanged its infant designation for that of *Auliana*, an epithet commemorative of the death of a native princess of that name, who was accidentally drowned in attempting to cross the river Anna-Liffey: previous to the close of that century, Ptolemy, the geographer, professed that the city named Eihlana (Dublin) was not unknown to him. Eihlana was soon after resigned for the name Dubliana, or Dublin, the obvious and simple composition of which term is "Dubh Llyn," the Black Pool, or Harbor, by which name the city has ever since been known to geographers.

We have the authority of O'Halloran, a respectable historian, for the existence of a city here about A. D. 181; when Eogan, king of Munster, on a royal tour through his dominions, visited the city of Ath-Cliath-Dubhline. The very highest authorities among Irish antiquarians affirm, that about the middle of the fifth century Alpin M'Eochaid, king of Dublin, and all his subjects, were publicly converted to Christianity by St. Patrick.

The Danes commenced a profitable trade with Dublin before the arrival of her patron saint; and, becoming acquainted with her defenseless condition, in 498 entered the Liffey with a fleet of sixty vessels, and, putting the inhabitants to the sword, possessed themselves of the city, and surrounded it with walls. These intruders enjoyed the possession of Dublin for two centuries or more, when they were dispossessed by the Normans. The Danes, however, soon returned and drove out the Normans, and demolished the fabric of their government, which, being vastly more lenient than that of the Danes, was in favor with the native population. A struggle ensued between the Danes and the native chiefs, which continued with various success until the English found their way into Ireland, and Dublin was finally subdued and taken possession of by Henry II. in the twelfth century, when the Irish princes and chieftains were induced to accept the British constitution and laws.

We cannot proceed through the more modern history of Dublin, but must hasten to sketch our rambles through this really splendid city. Our friend, Dr. Emory, had fortunately made the acquaintance of the Messrs. Carson,—father and son. Mr. Carson, the

younger, had most obligingly volunteered his services as a guide to the most interesting objects to be seen in Dublin. On Monday morning early our company, consisting now of Dr. Emory, Prof. Caldwell, Rev. J. B. Merwin, and ourself, repaired to Mr. Carson's, where our young friend took us in charge. He provided two jaunting-cars for the use of the company, and then proceeded to give a general outline of his plan. And first we were asked whether we wished to see Mr. O'Connell. Certainly, was the unanimous response. We wish to see the *lions* of Dublin, and Daniel O'Connell is undoubtedly one of the genus. So off we went to see "the Liberator" first, as he would likely be unoccupied at that early hour. We halted before a plain brick building, one of a row of, perhaps, three stories. After a few moments' absence, the messenger returned and made a communication to our friend, who made him a brief reply, and he left again. We then learned the state of things. Mr. O'Connell wished, before the company should be admitted, to know whether any of them were "slaveholders." Upon being informed that "the gentlemen were not slaveholders, nor friends to the institution of slavery," the servant was ordered to "ask them to come in." We were ushered into the presence of his excellency in his library, clad in his blouse and covered with his green cap. He received us very politely, hoping that we would take no exceptions at his preliminary inquiry as to our holding slaves: for he considered slaveholders as man-stealers, and he could hold no intercourse with man-stealers. This was made an occasion of a few remarks upon the general subject, some of which seemed new and surprising to Mr. O'Connell. For instance, we remarked that a majority of the people of the slaveholding states did not own slaves; and that a large portion of those who did, considered it a matter of kindness to the slaves to hold the legal relation of master to those whom the laws made their slaves, and did not admit of their emancipation. And that many in the southern states were ardently desirous to have slavery wholly abolished, and were seeking in some safe way to accomplish that desirable object. "Do you state this," anxiously asked Mr. O'Connell, "from your own personal knowledge, or is it from reports and rumors." We answered, from our own personal knowledge; for we have for many years been well acquainted with the whole subject, having traveled considerably in the slave states, and having had an intimate acquaintance with many men who reside there, who are slaveholders. Several other topics were introduced and received passing remarks. Among other things, upon hearing that our purpose was to travel *north*, Mr. O'Connell remarked, that to see Ireland we must go

south,—we ought certainly to visit Killarney. On leaving, the old gentleman took us severally cordially by the hand, and expressed himself—with a little blarney of course—as "very proud to be called upon by so many distinguished gentlemen from America." Mention was made of the monthly repeal meeting at "Conciliation Hall," and an intimation given that our company might possibly be present, with which Mr. O'Connell seemed not at all displeased. And before taking our leave of O'Connell, we may as well give this meeting a passing notice. We came around to Conciliation Hall a little too late to hear all the eloquent speeches which were reported. But we were there and saw Mr. O'Connell in his place, heard him read the report of the receipts of "repeal rent" for the month, and saw the whole array of worthies who act under the instructions of "Ireland's paid servant," as he unblushingly styles himself. Young O'Connell made a flaming speech, which was much applauded by the multitude, and highly lauded in the "Freeman's Journal." But he is not equal to his father either in bodily appearance, mental calibre, or powers of eloquence. The notorious *Steele* is the mere wreck of a man. A brawny, bloated face, inflamed eyes, and vulgar look and mien, indicated one nearly gone in a course of intemperance and kindred vices.

The whole farce was calculated to confirm us in an opinion we had long entertained, and one which we heard repeatedly expressed by intelligent persons in Dublin, that the whole repeal movement has two objects in view:—one is the extension of Romanism, and the other the temporal aggrandizement of O'Connell and his family. Look at the thousands sterling which have been swallowed up by this movement, and ask where has it all gone, and what has it done? As to the first question, no one knows: for the Liberator acknowledges no obligations to render an account of his receipts and outlays of the "repeal rents." As to the second inquiry, perhaps, there is a difference of opinion. But all will agree that "the union" is not yet "repealed," nor likely to be. And we perfectly agree with a gentleman in Dublin who said to us, that "O'Connell never expected and never desired the repeal; but had cunningly resorted to it as a convenient nucleus around which Irish prejudice and Romish bigotry could be made to gather and become concentrated." No wonder that the dreadful realities of famine should throw the Liberator into great perplexities and hasten his end. But why did he not proceed to distribute a tithe of the vast funds which "the Irish people" had put into his hands for their liberation from oppression, to those who were starving—literally dying the most awful of deaths—and so save their lives? Why set off

for *Rome* under these circumstances? But the HERO of Irish liberty has fallen! Death overtook him before he had accomplished the cherished object of seeing the holy father, and procuring his blessing. His mortal remains have returned to Ireland "in state," there to rest until the morning of the resurrection. It is now seemly to think and say the very best we can of him, and we are far from being disposed to disturb his ashes. But his measures remain, and are to have an influence for generations to come; and neither decency nor religion requires that the character of his public career should be regarded as above criticism. Daniel O'Connell was by nature a great man, but he was a devoted Romanist. With him "the end might sanctify the means;" he might "deceive heretics," he might be a *Jesuit* in politics, and be the *better Catholic* on that account. His great faults originated from two causes;—his corrupt faith, and his ambition: of both of these sins we should be glad to hope he at last repented, and obtained forgiveness at the hand of God.

From Mr. O'Connell's we went to Archbishop Whately's "palace," but unfortunately "his grace" was not at home. From this point we hastened to "College Green," one of the most splendid spots for rich architectural views, we had like to have said, which any city in Europe presents. The Green is nothing more than a spacious street stretching away in perspective. In the central point is William, prince of Orange, on horseback—an immense bronze figure. The centre of the view is occupied by the eastern portico of the Bank of Ireland, formerly the entrance to the House of Lords, having on its left the ornamented screen connecting this portico with the grand or principal front in College Green. The eastern portico is a very light, chaste, and beautiful colonnade, consisting of six elegant and lofty columns, of the Corinthian order, supporting a plain entablature, and surmounted by a graceful pediment. On the apex of the pediment rests a statue of Fortitude, having Justice on her right hand and Liberty on her left. The ornamental parts of this classic front are of Portland stone; the retired parts, of the durable granite quarried in the vicinity of Dublin. The portico was erected in the year 1785, at an expense of £25,000.

Charlotte Elizabeth, with characteristic life and beauty, says:—"You have seen good prints of this extraordinary building, and have allowed it to be beautiful; but unless you behold the thing itself, contrasted in the lightsomeness of its noble aspect with the unadorned solidity of the grave college; unless you saw with what exquisite gracefulness it sweeps round, transforming that

angular corner of two streets into a gentle curve; unless you could witness the effect of its grove of Ionic and Corinthian columns, clustering over an extent of one hundred and forty seven feet in length, with the elegant cornices, the sculptured friezes, the light balustrade, the majestic porticoes, the combination of all that is rich, grand, and chaste, which entirely covers an acre and a half of ground,*—unless you could really look upon all this, my good friend, I deny your capability of forming any opinion on the subject." —*Letters from Ireland.*

We have "a good print of this extraordinary building" now before us, and we surveyed the thing itself, and strong as is the impression upon our mind, we felt that any description we might give of it would be meagre without a few lines from the fair traveler who has laid the public under such strong obligations for her numerous publications, and is such an enthusiastic admirer of every thing Irish, except Irish *ignorance* and *vice*, and their cause, *Irish Romanism*. In our *notes* upon the wonders of the interior we find entered a splendid tapestry of "the battle of the Boyne," William the Third on horseback, with his sword drawn, a wood-carved model of the building, &c.

To the right of the eastern portico of the Bank is the Royal Irish Institution, instituted in 1813, "for the encouragement and promotion of the fine arts in Ireland." The elevation is unaffected and pleasing; it consists of two stories, a basement, ornamented with rusticated masonry, pierced by two circular-headed windows, and by an entrance-way, and an upper story, decorated by four plain pilasters, supporting a continued entablature: the spaces intermediate between the pilasters are occupied by niches decorated by architraves and dressings. The opposite side of College-street is occupied by the "massive, compact, severe-looking old university, with its advanced ground, a lofty wall of a most frowning aspect, with here and there a tree flinging its patriarchal arms over the rampart."—*Letters from Ireland.*

Our visit to the university, or, as it is now called, Trinity College, was a most interesting one. We were first conducted by our kind friend to the studio of Dr. Blackwood, professor of law in the university; and here met Mr. M'Arthry, a tutor, both of whom we found exceedingly obliging. We wished, if possible, to see the library. This we found it difficult to effect, as the librarian was hid away somewhere, and we perceived much skepticism prevailed with all whether he could be evoked. But our newly-made ac-

* Our minute-book says, "two Irish, near three English, acres."

quaintances, the doctor and the tutor, persevered in their inquiries until the Rev. Dr. ——, one of the professors, consented to give us admission, having, as it appeared, a set of keys of his own. The mere glance at the vast room of two hundred and ninety-eight feet in length, completely filled with volumes and manuscripts, was a rare treat. Among other rarities we saw and handled the MS. from which Stephens inserted in the Greek text the passage in relation to "the three witnesses," which had been examined by Dr. A. Clarke, as he informs us in his notes; a fac-simile of Magna Charta; a MS. of Common Places of Archbishop Usher, in his own handwriting: also sermons and sketches in the handwriting of Dean Swift; and a copy of *Sallust*, inscribed, it is said, by the hand of *Mary, Queen of Scots*—"Ex libris Maria Scotiorum Regina." Many curious MSS. were cursorily examined, and information as to their dates and history received, and then we bid this rare collection of ancient literature a reluctant adieu; grateful, as in duty bound, for the attentions of the learned professor who had so politely waited upon us.

The *Post Office* is a most splendid building beautifully situated. The *Cloth Mart*, Royal Exchange, Law Courts, Dublin Castle, and other remarkable places, were examined. The last mentioned demands a brief description. The ancient castle of Dublin was built by Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1220, and converted into a vice-regal palace by Queen Elizabeth in 1560. The present arrangement consists of two distinct parts—"the lower castle-yard," which contains the old treasury, chapel, ordnance office, &c.; and the upper castle-yard, or great court, in which are the apartments of the lord lieutenant, chief secretary, &c. This latter is a spacious quadrangle, two hundred and eighty feet in length by one hundred and thirty in breadth, surrounded by stately buildings, and ornamented by noble archways for ingress and egress on public occasions. To the right hand, as you enter the court from the lower castle-yard, stand the offices and apartments of the secretary of state, near to which is seen a troop of lancers, preparing to relieve guard, a duty performed daily in this court with much ceremony, and constituting a considerable pageant. Adjacent to this last-mentioned building is the grand entrance from Cork Hill, a spacious archway of rusticated masonry, on the summit of which rests a statue of Justice, of which it was wittily observed by the late Dr. Barrett, the learned head of Carlow College,

"Statue of Justice! mark well her station,
Her face to the castle, her back to the nation."

The centre of the right side is adorned by a graceful building, called the "Bedford Tower." A very beautiful octagonal lantern rises from the roof, pierced by circular-headed windows, ornamented with highly enriched architraves, and adorned with elegant Corinthian pilasters. A dome of easy convergence crowns the lantern, and from its summit the union flag is hoisted on all occasions for public rejoicing: a corresponding gate is erected at the other side of Bedford Tower, having a statue of Fortitude upon its summit, which, as well as the figure of Justice before mentioned, was executed by Van Nost.

The parlor of the lord lieutenant is most gorgeously ornamented. Splendid likenesses of the lord lieutenants hang around. The chairs, cushioned with damask, are arranged about the room, and the *throne*, with the sword of state and a mace on each side, is in one side. The company successively sat down upon the throne, and then rose up again without the least approach to a metamorphosis into lord lieutenants of Ireland. By what we saw this day we might well have supposed ourselves in the capital of one of the richest kingdoms in the world. The great monuments erected to the memory of Lord Nelson, Lord Wellington, and others, cost money enough to educate a multitude of the poor, and to keep thousands from starving through years of famine.

At 4 P. M. we returned to Mr. Carson's, hungry and thoroughly wearied. But to our great comfort we found a splendid dinner in readiness, with several friends whom our generous host had invited to dine with "the Americans." We had a truly social dinner. Conversation went on briskly;—and whether the *Irishmen* or the *Americans* asked and answered the most questions, it might be difficult to determine. It was gratifying to find ourselves in company where *America* was understood, and its claims duly appreciated.

After dinner the cars were ordered out again, and we made a drive to Phœnix Park. These grounds are, perhaps, two miles out of Dublin, and are surpassingly beautiful. There is in a central position an elegant Corinthian pillar thirty feet in height, surmounted by a phœnix, erected by Lord Chesterfield about 1747. The vice-regal lodge, near the pillar, is a spacious building surrounded by the most beautiful shrubbery, gardens, ornamented walks, roads, &c.,—a real elysium. There the viceroy of Ireland spends his summers. The deer and rabbits are playing their antics in these beautiful bowers, better provided for, more happy, and far more free, than multitudes of the Irish people.

The provision made for the religious instruction of the people

of Dublin will be seen in the following statement of the places of religious worship of different kinds, taken from the "Hibernian Gazetteer:"—"There are two cathedrals, namely, St. Patrick's and Christ's Church, and eighteen parish churches, some of which are elegant structures; besides, two chapels of ease, six private chapels, where the service of the established church is regularly attended; besides, three churches for French, and one for Dutch, Protestants, seventeen meeting-houses for Protestant Dissenters, two for Quakers, seven for Methodists, one for Anabaptists, one for Moravians, and sixteen Roman Catholic chapels." The Wesleyan Chapel in Abbey-street, and the Centenary Chapel, situated by Stephen's Green, are beautiful and well-constructed churches; the latter, upon the whole, is the best Wesleyan chapel we saw in Europe.

The great annoyance to strangers, as all travelers agree in saying, is the troops of beggars which everywhere assail you in Dublin, and indeed in every town in Ireland where we came. They are generally females with a group of children around them, either their own, or borrowed for the occasion, all miserably clad and abominably filthy. Though these miserable wretches are numerous and exceedingly importunate, they are easily satisfied. A penny or even a *ha'pence* will bring upon you a perfect shower of blessings. Their gratitude is indicated with a heartiness that always makes the donor wish he had more to give. The recipient courtesies, or bows, gracefully waves the hand, and earnestly ejaculates, "Much happiness to your honor," "May your reverence live a thousand years," "Pace to yer dare hairt," or the like.

We left Dublin loaded with the blessings of our dear friends, who, after favoring us with directions and letters, bade us an affectionate farewell. We arranged to take the cars to Drogheda, twenty-four miles from Dublin, and there to take the mail stage to Belfast. On coming into the country we noticed the fatal potato disease had begun its ravages. The tops were dying, and the poor people were digging the potatoes, then not more than half grown, and beginning to rot. We could not but see that want and even wretchedness were before these poor people, but did not begin to anticipate the extent of the evil which has since followed.

Drogheda is a town of considerable business and great historical interest, situated on the river Boyne, five miles west of the Irish Channel. Its population is said to amount to seventeen thousand three hundred and sixty-five. Some fine ruins of abbeys are to be met with about this town, but we could not take time to visit them. Two miles up the river is an obelisk, erected in memory of the

victory obtained there by King William III. in 1690, of which we had a good view for several miles on the postroad. "At Grange, near Drogheda, is a vaulted cave, in the form of a cross, with a gallery leading to it eighty feet long; and three miles beyond Drogheda are the ruins of the ancient Abbey of Monaster-boici; two chapels, a round tower, and a large stone cross, called St. Boyne's cross, deemed the most ancient religious relic now in Ireland." Drogheda was the scene of one of the most terrible of Cromwell's inflictions upon "God's enemies." The castle refusing to surrender upon any terms, the whole garrison were, by "the judgment of God," put to the sword. There are in this town some fine buildings and several splendid old churches, but a multitude of miserable hovels where the poor linger out a miserable existence. Many men who seemed to have no employment were loitering about the streets, and a host of beggars, ready to fall upon every traveler who visits the place, with a most pitiful story, eloquently told, and the modest demand of "a penny."

On arriving at the dépôt, which is in the suburbs of the town, we took a jaunting-car for the stage house. These queer vehicles, consisting of two short settees flung over two wheels, so that you ride with your side toward the horse and your feet about as low as the axle, are said to be very safe and comfortable. We asked our good friend in Dublin if they did not frequently come in contact, and bruise the feet of the passengers, as they are wholly unprotected. The answer was in the negative. But as we mounted one of these truly Irish vehicles, upon leaving the cars in Drogheda, our apprehensions of danger were realized. Our driver set off without making accurate calculations as to the space which was necessary for his safe egress from a crowd of cars, and our attention being directed to some other object, our feet were caught by the foot-board of a car standing by, and came near being crushed. We, of course, cried out heartily, "Stop, driver;" and fortunately at that moment a contact took place between the vehicles in a way to stop our motion, so that the headlong driver necessarily obeyed our summons just in time to save us from becoming a cripple, but not soon enough to prevent a contact which occasioned us some pain and inconvenience through the day. On reaching the hotel we found we had a little time upon our hands; this we resolved to improve in an effort to find some kind of a map of Ireland. We found our way into a small shop where *old books* were kept on sale. We made several purchases, and, upon our return, found that the stage had gone to the dépôt, and that our traveling companions had been in much distress as to what had become of us. A bene-

volent car-driver most kindly offered to take us to the dépôt "in five minutes," which would be in "gude time." "But," answered we, "does not the stage return to the hotel?" "Och, and your honor, that's not sure;—haste, haste, sir, if you plase," looking anxiously toward the dépôt. We leaped upon the car, and bid him "Drive on." He urged on a most miserably jaded nag, and we reached the stage just in time. After paying our kind car-driver, back we went upon the stage-coach, the same way, to the hotel; where the stage stayed long enough to take in a number of passengers, and to give opportunity for a large number of beggars to surround us on all sides.

The whip was soon cracked, and away we went over the green hills and lovely plains of the Emerald Isle, every moment filled with admiration at the novel scene. "There," said our intelligent driver, "in that valley was fought the battle of the Boyne; there stood James, and yonder, upon the hill, stood William, with their body-guards, when the two armies met." A glorious day, that, for Protestantism, as the Orange men say; but, if Charlotte Elizabeth is right, and we are strongly disposed to think she is, its fruits are in a fair way to be lost through the errors of British legislation.

We passed through a most splendid country. Nature seems to have lavished upon it all her sweets. The gentlemen's seats are most beautiful, generally situated at a distance from the road, surrounded by beautiful groves, ornamented walks, &c., exhibiting a vast concentration of wealth and the accompaniments of luxury and ease. But in contrast with all this you see everywhere scattered along the most miserable huts, indicating, by the most unmistakable signs, abject servitude and squalid poverty. The dwellings of the peasantry are all, or nearly all, miserable habitations. Some of them are made of clay, but most, perhaps, of brick, and all are covered with thatch. Most of these might be comfortable if they had floors, and were kept clean. But the poor people all live *on the bare ground;* and the ground inside usually lies lower than that on the outside, and the door-yard being occupied by the pigs, and its chief ornament being a pile of manure, it is difficult to tell how, in so damp a climate, the people live at all. There was not the slightest difficulty in our seeing the interior of these dwellings, as they were always by the roadside, and the doors wide open. We did not see, what Charlotte Elizabeth declares she did, a woman sitting upon the steps "actually nursing a pig!" But it was always obvious, where there were the means to own any of the grunting tribe, that they were in habits of very close intimacy with the good woman and the children. We passed one estate which constitutes

an exception to the above description. This is the estate of the marquis of Downshire, who has his residence at Hillsborough, sixty-nine miles from Dublin, in view of Lisburn, Belfast, and Carrickfergus Bay; population, about one thousand five hundred. This estate, which extends for several miles along the post-road, each side of the town, is supplied with decent and comfortable farm-houses, and all appearances indicate that the tenantry are well provided for, and enjoy comforts which are not common among the Irish peasantry. The residence of the marquis is in the midst of a most beautiful park of a luxuriant growth, and surrounded by a high stone wall laid in lime.

The curiosities we observed in passing were some ancient ruins —particularly several "round towers," which, as they have been so often described, we may leave with this simple notice. One object, to which our attention was directed, we venture to say, has not its parallel in the world: a square brick tower, perhaps twenty feet high, in an apartment of which, near the top, is said to have been deposited the body of a leaseholder of the lands upon which it stands. The case, as related by the driver, was this. This man held a lease which secured to him the occupancy of the property "while his body was above ground." When he died, his children had his body put into a coffin and inclosed in strong mason work in the top of this tower. The result has been that his descendants have held the occupancy of the lands now for eighty years. All attempts to eject them, as yet, have failed, the body of the original lease holder still being "above ground."

We passed through *Dunleer*, a small town, in which *a fair* was being held. The spectacle was curious enough. The goods, vegetables, live stock, and what not, were disposed around in an open space, mostly upon the ground. Here was a pile of potatoes, and there a woman with a basket of trinkets; in one place some calves tied together, and in another a number of pigs in the same condition. A Paddy, who had bought one of these "nice craturs," was driving him home, having a hay rope tied to his leg, while he walked along as orderly as a trained ox. But the scene cannot be described. Such a medley of matters and things, discordant and in strange juxta-position, we never looked upon before.

We passed several *bogs*, whence the turf or peat is taken which constitutes the fuel of Ireland. These bogs are not on the lowest of the lands, yet are so wet that the excavations which are made fill with water. The peat is cut out in small blocks, something the shape, and about the size, of a brick, and laid out upon the ground to dry. When sufficiently dry, the blocks are laid up in

regular heaps in such a manner as that the air can circulate through the mass. Some of it is taken out of the bed in an almost liquid state. This is, of course, in less regular pieces, and must lie longer upon the ground before it is taken up. Working in these bogs must be a most slavish, uncomfortable, and unhealthy business. We saw none at work, as it was the harvest-season, and probably labor in the field was more productive. Men and women were in considerable numbers seen laboring in the harvest and hay fields. They cut all their grain with sickles. The process appeared to us exceedingly slow and painful. The reaper stoops low and cuts the grain close to the ground. But there was not much life and animation among these poor people. They seemed to take it quite leisurely,—generally resting almost as long after they had deposited a handful upon the ground, as they had occupied in cutting it; and about the middle of the day they were lying about in the shade. Upon seeing, in one instance, almost hands enough in a field to swallow the grain it contained at a meal, we asked an Irishman why they did not cradle their grain,—giving it as our opinion that two Americans would cut down the field in one day, which seemed to be occupying, perhaps, twenty men and women for several. The answer was,—"The people would not submit to it. One farmer of my acquaintance undertook it, and going into his field the morning after he had cradled and stacked up his *corn*, he found it was all burned up." The slowness of the process is necessary to give employment to the multitudes who would otherwise die with hunger.

The process of *gathering* hay seemed to be carried on mostly by females. They used no instruments but such as nature has provided. Certainly hands were made before rakes and pitchforks, and why should they not supersede them? So the matrons and lasses were employed in gathering up the hay from the swath, as left by the mower, into small rolls; and, as would seem, leaving it in that condition to cure.

Upon passing the grounds of a *gentleman*, which were inclosed by a strong wall, we were struck with the following notice upon a board in large letters, just within the gate:—"*Snakes and spring-guns set here.*" What! exclaimed we, *snakes in Ireland?* The driver very kindly explained. The snakes are sharp spikes, so set as to wound the feet of those who walk these grounds without a guide. Poor Ireland! her people are starving for the want of ground to raise potatoes upon, while the best portions of the soil are inclosed within high walls, and guarded by concealed "snakes and spring-guns," to the end that some English lord, who resides in

France or Germany, may cause it to be covered with trees to shade his deer and rabbits, and that he, with his hounds, may have a chase over it once in a year or two!

We passed the Mourn Mountains, celebrated by some travelers for their picturesque scenery. We saw nothing that would at all compare with American scenery for grandeur. The mountain was covered with heather, which, being in blossom, gave it a brownish shade slightly tinged with violet. A strong wall passing over the point of one of the highest elevations, we suppose, marks the line of division between two lordly domains. As we passed the mountain, which we did without making much sensible ascent, we discovered that we were in the neighborhood of the residence of some nobleman. The mountain sides and glens were covered with most beautiful trees and shrubs of every variety, nearly resembling a natural forest. It was strange to us to think that all these trees, which occupied several miles square, we know not how many, were planted by the hands of men! The carriage-ways, walks, and gates, were visible, but the lordly mansion was entirely concealed by the trees from the view of travelers. We recollect to have seen no cottages upon this estate. Perhaps his lordship has his tenantry located upon some other part of his domain.

Our company being, by express arrangement, seated upon the top of the coach, we had a fine opportunity to gaze upon the novel and interesting prospect. The ride was really a charming one. The stages are constructed so as to carry the principal part of their burden upon the top. Here may be seated thirteen passengers besides the driver, and that *indispensable*, the *guard;* and here, also, the "luggage" is stacked up, sometimes to an enormous height. At first an American traveler asks himself, what will become of me when all this mass of things, animate and inanimate, shall be pitched into a gully? But when he comes to see the roads his fears are quieted. The roads are macadamized, and as smooth as a railway. The stage consequently glides along without the smallest jolting. The horses are generally pressed to the top of their speed, and are changed once in from five to eight miles. We reached Belfast at a quarter before seven.

As we came up to the hotel we were besieged by a gang of real, and would-be, "porters." When our trunk was dislodged we thought to have asserted the first claim to it, but in this we were fairly out-generaled. A great bloated ruffian, both dirty and ragged, had the address to take it into custody and carry it into the hall in spite of us, though we put in our claim to it and actually held fast to one of the handles. After it was set down, we took

the liberty to set it out upon the walk, as our plan was to go immediately to the steamboat and take our berths, before we made any effort at surveying the town. The baggage of the company was put in charge of a porter, and placed upon a cart; and, to our great annoyance, our beautiful volunteer servant walked along behind the cart, and though we were detained an hour at the wharf, waiting for the slow process of discharging from the boat the horses, tent, and apparatus of a *circus*, our man Friday kept his post. We repeatedly told him we did not want his services, but, nothing daunted, there he stood until the plank was clear, when he picked up our trunk and carried it into the boat. We submitted to the fellow's impudence rather than to get into a brawl. All over, we handed him an English sixpence, which he took with a sort of spasmodic grasp, at the same time vociferating, "I won't tack it —what! a sexpance? Wud the gentleman turn me off with a sexpance?" We turned our back and fled into the cabin, and thus escaped from our embarrassments. We can say nothing more to give an adequate idea of the vexatious impudence of this class of *public servants* in the great commercial town of *Belfast*, except what will be nothing but fair justice to all concerned; and that is, that they are within a trifle as outrageous and troublesome to travelers, as the same class are in the *city of New-York*. To say they are *quite as bad* as our cab men and hack men, who are accustomed to meet the steamboats on the Hudson and East rivers, would be an injustice which our conscience will not permit us to perpetrate.

In the mean time we must not overlook another matter. When our *driver* and *guard* took leave of us, they presented their demands. The driver came around with his hand stretched out,—"The driver, gentlemen, the driver." "How much?" we asked. "Just what the gentleman pleases," answered he. This done, and along comes the guard,—"The guard, gentlemen, the guard." Question and answer the same. But in both cases anything short of a shilling sterling—about twenty-five cents—would not be well received.

The *guard* is a somewhat important functionary. He guards "the queen's mail," and, of course, is a necessary appendage to a mail-stage. He is usually dressed in a red coat, and, having a tin horn in his hand, takes his position in the rear, where he can overlook mails, passengers, and baggage. The only service we can recollect to have seen him perform, aside from his charge of the mail, was blowing his horn when a cart, or some other obstruction, happened to be in the road. What reason there is why *travelers*

should pay *the queen's mail guard*, we cannot tell; though, perhaps, there is some wise reason above our comprehension. That the presence of this officer makes traveling in Ireland, Scotland, and England, any more *safe* than it would be without him, is perfectly absurd and nonsensical. But travelers must put up with the arrangements of the countries through which they travel. Upon this principle, we readily submitted to all such demands as we knew to be usual, and made ourselves as acceptable to the whole fry of those pensioners, whose business it is to look after the welfare of travelers, as we possibly could. In general, they were very accommodating, and capable of giving much local information, which is of essential service to strangers.

"Belfast is a borough, market, port, and post town, with a good trade, at the mouth of Logan River, on Carrickfergus Bay, in the county of Antrim, province of Ulster; it lies about nine miles southwest of Carrickfergus, and eighty miles from Dublin. It is a place of the greatest trade in the province, and has a barrack for foot. The foundation of it was laid about the year 1682, and was not completely finished till the Revolution. The town is regularly built, and the streets are broad and straight. This town is advancing fast in trade and wealth, having several houses of worship of all classes known in the kingdom; many charitable institutions; a college, and several schools. Belfast, though only half as big as Cork, and only a sixth of Dublin, yet aims at outstripping both in everything. It is one of the most independent towns in Ireland; and, if encouraged, would be an example of industry and enterprise for Ireland. It sends two members to parliament. Each week day is a sort of market here, but Friday is the chief one."—*Hibernian Gazetteer.*

After completing our arrangements at the steamboat, we found our way to a house of entertainment, where we took a passable supper, and then sallied out to take a stroll through some portions of the city. Our time was short, our walk rapid, and our observations consequently quite imperfect. So far as we could judge, there was something like American freshness in the general aspect of Belfast, and a much greater show of business than in Dublin.

Late in the evening we repaired to the steamboat, and bid adieu to Ireland, hoping by sunrise the next morning to be in *Scotland.*

Art. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Methodist Episcopal Pulpit: a Collection of Original Sermons from living Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* Collected and revised by Rev. Davis W. Clark. G. Peck, Editor. 12 mo. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1847.

This volume is in the press, and will soon be published. The plan for collecting these sermons was both devised and executed by our industrious friend, Rev. D. W. Clark; who has also rendered material assistance in passing them through the press. And we think we hazard nothing in saying that those who possess themselves of the book will feel that they are brought under a debt of gratitude to him for his enterprise. The authors of the sermons are so widely scattered in point of location, and so many of them are men whom the church has delighted to honor, that there must be a charm about the book, aside from its intrinsic merits, which will awaken deep interest in the feelings of our people through the length and breadth of the country. But the book will be found to contain a rare body of divinity, and a fund of instruction upon the great doctrines and duties of Christianity rarely to be found within the same compass. But who, it may be asked, reads sermons? We will not answer this question directly, but will just hint in a word who, we think, *ought to read sermons.* Those who are detained at home on the Lord's day, through partial indisposition or other unavoidable causes, ought, on each such sabbath, to read at least *two sermons.* Those who live in sparsely settled regions where they have no sabbath preaching, or, if any, only one sermon on the sabbath,—or, perhaps, only one on every other sabbath,—ought to spend some portion of each Lord's day in *reading sermons.* Finally, those who can find time for much *light reading*, ought to spend a portion of their reading hours in *reading sermons.* This species of reading, under the divine blessing, will both correct their taste and mend their hearts.

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2. *Mental Discipline, with Reference to the Acquisition and Communication of Knowledge, and to Education generally. To which is appended a Topical Course of Theological Study.* By Rev. Davis W. Clark, A. M. 18mo. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1847.

A book precisely of the character of the one at the head of this notice has long been wanted. So many of our young ministers commenced their career without a large store of maxims to guide them in their studies, and in the delivery of their discourses, that a manual which would furnish them with rules and directions, plainly set forth and illustrated by suitable examples, is quite indispensable. Orderly habits

of thought, and a right method of reasoning, are essential elements of a cultivated intellect; and the intellect must be properly cultivated, or educated, before a discourse can be properly prepared, and certainly before it can be delivered in an effective manner. The work before us will be found of essential service to young thinkers and young preachers. The author presents his views in the didactic form, and they are so framed and expressed that they possess the power of aphorisms. The language is simple, the style chaste and perspicuous, and the authorities are taken from the best models. The work exhibits much patient research and a thorough knowledge of the philosophy of the human mind. The great object of the author is to exhibit in a clear light the best method of attaining knowledge and of communicating it to others. This is what a preacher of the gospel must know. And it is what a multitude of others besides preachers ought to know, particularly exhorters, class-leaders, and teachers of youth in our literary institutions, day schools, and sabbath schools. And how much additional power would it give a *parent* to possess this knowledge! The work is, in our judgment, really one of higher importance than any original work which has recently issued from our press; and we hope will be properly appreciated by those who stand in need of such light as it affords. We most cordially thank brother Clark for this excellent book, and sincerely hope he may have the high gratification of knowing that it contributes its fair quota of means to the formation of the character of our rising ministry.

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3. *An Exposition of the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By Rev. S. Comfort, A. M. 12mo., pp. 367. Published for the Author, at the Conference Office, 200 Mulberry-street. 1847.

We have not been able to complete the reading of this work. We have, however, read consecutively until we are satisfied that it is an able exposition of Christian doctrine, and a valuable contribution to our theological literature. The author writes with strength and perspicuity, and adapts his style to the subject of which he treats. The subjects treated are the leading doctrines of Christianity as they are taught in the Bible, and as they stand opposed to the great heresies which have prevailed at different periods,—particularly those propagated by Arians, Socinians, and Romanists. The matter of the book could not be expected to be entirely new, and yet the book itself is by no means a mere compilation. It has a fair claim to originality, both in its plan and execution; though the author uses freely, for illustration and confirmation of his positions and arguments, the language of the great masters of theological learning. Brother Comfort is an independent thinker. He has a mind of his own upon everything. And in

his book he walks boldly up to his responsibilities without the least misgivings. But the reader need not fear that he will meet with any eccentricities or affectation of novel or peculiar views. Our friend is always sober and scrupulously orthodox. Upon the whole, we can say with great confidence that, in the present work, the student in theology will find a timely and safe guide to an understanding of the great doctrines of divine revelation, and the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. It will also be a very profitable book for the use of families and private Christians, and we earnestly hope may be extensively circulated among our preachers and people. For those who have not the means of consulting larger and more elaborate works upon systematic divinity, this "Exposition of the Articles of Religion" will be invaluable.

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4. *Lectures in Divinity.* By the late GEORGE HILL, D. D., Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Edited from his Manuscript, by his Son, the Rev. ALEXANDER HILL, Minister of Dailly. 8vo., pp. 781. New-York: Robert Carter. 1847.

IN this ponderous volume we have a system of divinity thoroughly elaborated. The lectures were originally prepared for the benefit of a divinity class; but were revised, improved, and arranged by the author, with reference to their publication. Dr. Hill was formerly one of the party in the Scotch Kirk called *Moderates*, but gradually came over to the *Evangelicals*. This great work, so far as it is distinctive, is thoroughly *Calvinistic*. The author, however, it must be conceded, conducts the discussion of all questions of difference between *Calvinists* and *Arminians* with great candor and moderation. He acknowledges the arguments in favor of a general atonement to "have considerable weight;" but, not considering them quite conclusive, he attempts to demolish them by fair argumentation. Though in this attempt, according to our notion, he utterly fails, yet he exhibits great strength in the construction and management of his argument. The work, as a whole, is learned, and ranks with the best productions of the great *Scotch* divines. He who wishes a body of divinity prepared by a profoundly learned and eminently candid Calvinistic author, cannot do better than to procure the work now upon our table.

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5. *The Sufferings of Christ, confined to his Human Nature; a Reply to a Book entitled, The Sufferings of Christ, by a Layman.* By BENNET TYLER, D. D., President and Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Institute of Connecticut. Hartford. 1847.

THE book to which this is a reply was reviewed in our pages soon after its publication. Its arguments were shown to be unsound, and

its meretricious style censured. It has since given occasion to sundry criticisms in the periodicals of the day,—some few attempting to sustain, others condemning, the theory of "a Layman." One of our contemporaries, in his first issue, permits a correspondent to abuse, in unmeasured terms, the writer of the article published by us, while, very strangely,—we think prudently,—he makes no attempt to meet his arguments; and, although he praises the "Layman" *ad nausea*, very complacently admits that *he does not himself subscribe to his theory*. A more ludicrous article, intended for a serious review, we have seldom met with.

In the volume before us, Dr. Tyler examines with cool deliberation the "Layman's" theory, points out his erroneous inferences and statements, and conclusively establishes the orthodox doctrine by appeals to Scripture, and by sound argument.

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6. *Incentives to the Cultivation of the Science of Geology; designed for the Use of the Young.* By S. S. Randall, Deputy Superintendent of Common Schools of the State of New-York, Editor of the Common School Journal, &c. 12mo., pp. 189. New-York: Greeley & M'Elrath. 1846.

This book, as the title imports, is designed so to popularize the main facts and doctrines of geology, as to urge on "the young" to a thorough knowledge of this interesting science. The author succeeds entirely in the object proposed. No person, young or old, will read his work without imbibing a taste for the study.

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7. *Selections from the Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: with a concise Life of that Poet, and Remarks illustrative of his Genius.* By Charles D. Deshler. 12mo., pp., 296. New-York and London: Wiley & Putnam. 1847.

The production now upon our table is one of high merit. The author has a thorough knowledge of his subject, and, what is equally necessary to a successful effort, an interest in it which amounts to a passion. Mr. Deshler is not only acquainted with the poets in general, but he has become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the old and excellent masters of verse. He admires Chaucer, we were about to say, extravagantly. Yet we are not prepared to say that his admiration goes beyond the merits of the father of English poetry. Indeed, without all his present enthusiasm, he never could have written the book before us;—and the book can now no more be spared from the English classics, than one of the primary planets can be spared from the solar system. The history of Chaucer is more perfect than any we have met with; the specimens of his poetry are well selected, and the critical

observations and illustrations are both acute and learned. As a literary production, this book is an honor to our country, and a valuable contribution to American literature.

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8. *The Genius of Scotland; or, Sketches of Scottish Scenery, Literature, and Religion.* By Robert Turnbull. Second edition, 12mo., pp. 379. New-York: Robert Carter. 1847.

The author of this work is a native Scotchman, and of course executed his task *con amore.* In his Preface he says:—"The plan of this work is somewhat new, combining in a larger degree, than he has hitherto seen attempted, descriptions of scenery, with literary and biographical sketches, portraitures of character, social and religious, incidents of travel, and reflections on matters of local or general interest. Hence he has omitted many things which a mere tourist would not fail to notice, and supplied their place with sketches of more enduring interest."

The plan of the work is a good one, and is executed with ability and spirit. Due homage is paid to the *Christianity* of Scotland, while its *mere* literature is not neglected. While the author recollects that Scotland has produced a Burns and a Scott, he does not forget that she has also produced a Knox, a Candlish, a Dick, and a Chalmers. The sketches are graphic, true, and instructive. We cordially recommend the work to our readers.

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9. *A History of Rome, from the Earliest Times to the Death of Commodus, A. D.* 192. By Dr. Leonard Schmitz, F. R. S. E., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh. Andover: published by Allen, Morrel, & Wardwell. New-York: Mark Newman & Co. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. Pp. 456. 1847.

The author of this work entered upon his task with the most thorough preparation. He is a native German, and a pupil of the great historian, *Niebuhr*, well known to students of Roman history. He has resided and taught youth in Scotland long enough to become fully aware of the kind of Roman history which was most needed for English readers of the present day. And what may be regarded as a very high recommendation of the work, is, that three publishing houses in the country have announced the publication of the work, and are to compete for the market. Such a scramble for a new work is certainly rather rare, and must be construed into a high eulogy upon the work itself.

The great excellence of this work is, that it details but few facts not well authenticated, and notifies the reader of such as are doubtful. The fabulous portions of Roman history are purged out, and the most important parts are compressed into a small compass. We doubt not but for the use of schools and academies, and readers of limited means and little leisure, the present work has higher claims than any Roman history extant.

10. *Half-hours with the Best Authors. Selected and arranged, with short Biographical and Critical Notices.* By CHARLES KNIGHT. 12mo., pp. 610. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1847.

WHOEVER wishes a book which will introduce him to the best English writers, both ancient and modern, and afford him specimens of their modes of thinking and writing, should procure the volume whose title-page is at the head of this notice. The book contains ninety articles,—all independent and perfect in themselves,—upon as many different topics, written by nearly as many different authors. The individual who will spend a half hour each day in reading these pithy papers from the hands of the great English authors, when he shall have finished the book will have gained much useful instruction, and will have more knowledge of "the best authors" than many, who are reputed scholars, can boast of.

There is a particular aspect in which this work is peculiarly interesting to us. We have here brought together specimens of English literature from every period since the time of the Reformation. We are thus enabled to compare the great authors of all these periods. We have the rough and burning words of *Latimer*, the beautiful eloquence of *Taylor*, the well-turned periods of *Hallam*, and the stately, massive sentences of *Macauley*. Here the English mind appears in all its varieties and in its true greatness. We most cordially thank the editor and publishers for this truly valuable publication.

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11. *Elementary Course of Geometry.* By CHARLES W. HACKLEY, D.D., Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in Columbia College.

A NEW work in any department of mathematics from the pen of Prof. Hackley will be hailed with pleasure by teachers and scholars in all parts of the country. The treatise before us is a handsomely printed volume of two hundred and sixty pages, containing a full exposition of the state of geometrical science down to the latest day. As in his recent valuable work upon algebra, Prof. Hackley has availed himself of the latest improvements by various accomplished French and German mathematicians, and in addition he has given much that is new. The definitions are remarkably clear and distinct, and the demonstrations are in many particulars very much improved. There are also several essential propositions added, which have, hitherto, in other treatises been left out, and several appendices containing much new matter.

As the author justly observes in the preface, it is the most complete system of purely elementary geometry to be found in any single treatise in any language. The price of the work, being only *seventy-five cents*, is decidedly in its favor.

12. *Harpers' New-York Class Book: comprising Outlines of the Geography and History of New-York; Accounts of Public Institutions, &c.* By Wm. Russell. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This book ought certainly to be universally introduced to the youth of the state whose history, biography, geography, scenery, and natural resources, it illustrates. It has long been regretted that the popular reading books were not made to subserve some other purpose than mere instruction in the uses of language: and here we have a large and very carefully prepared volume, which, while it is not deficient in point of style and language, will impress upon the youthful learner's mind that sort of knowledge which is most of all essential, as well as interesting, to the citizens of this great state. The new generation should and will feel grateful to the publishers for its production.

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13. *Louis the XIVth; or, the Court of France in the Seventeenth Century.* By Miss Pardoe. Parts 1 to 6. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

The French from the days of Froissart have excelled all authors in biography. Nothing is more spirited, graphic, and life-like, than the thousand and one memoirs that illustrate the successive ages of French history. But it is uniformly admitted and regretted, that very few of them are suitable for a parent to place in the hands of his children. Miss Pardoe, known as a graceful writer by her "City of the Sultan," &c., has, in the most admirable manner, winnowed the works of this sort relating to the age of Louis le Grand, and given us a book exceedingly instructing as well as entertaining, which the Messrs. Harper have presented to us in fitting typography, and with illustrations that will secure it a place among the gems of the boudoir.

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14. *Life and Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame De la Mothe Guyon; together with some Account of the Personal History and Religious Opinions of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray.* By Thomas C. Upham. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a very remarkable work, and one which demands at our hands a larger degree of attention than we now can devote to it. Madame Guyon, our readers need not to be informed, was one of the most illustrious women of France,—a country pre-eminently distinguished for its celebrated female characters,—and she is not less famous as a *Christian* than as a woman of genius. Her life and writings illustrate the question of Christian perfection; and the able author of the work before us has entered upon the subject with an enthusiasm, fullness of research, and evident candor, which must make his perform-

ance as interesting to the philosophical inquirer, as it certainly will be for its merits, as a piece of biography, to the general reader. After a more thorough examination of this work, we may give our impressions in relation to its character and influence at length.

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15. *The Protector: a Vindication.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D. D. 12mo., pp. 281. New-York: Robert Carter. 1847.

Perhaps no character is at present so much the object of study as Oliver Cromwell. Historians, according to their respective preferences, have made him the best or the worst of men. Macauley and Carlyle have taken a bold and a noble stand against the views which obtained under the reign of the licentious Charles II., and have constituted current opinion since that time. Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, brought together and given to the public by Carlyle, are, to many, conclusive evidence of the integrity and Christianity of the "Lord Protector;"—to others they are enigmas which are yet to be solved, if, indeed, they are capable of solution;—and to others, still, they only furnish the clearer evidence of his base hypocrisy. The discussion will proceed, and truth will finally prevail. We are happy that Merle D'Aubigne has brought his great strength to the task of endeavoring to help this great controversy on to a right conclusion. He has reflected much light upon his subject, and his book will make a strong impression. The author proceeds to review the history and actions of Cromwell, and make his comments. He does not approve everything, but judges of the acts of his subject by the light of the age in which he lived, and the circumstances by which he was surrounded. We have several times, by the help of our correspondents, made some contributions to this interesting discussion, and yet it is quite possible we may resume the subject and try to reflect upon it still further light. In the mean time, we hope none of our readers will fail to procure and read the volume which is the subject of this notice.

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16. *The Coming of the Lord; a Key to the Book of Revelation. With an Appendix.* By James M. Macdonald, Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, L. I. 12mo., pp. 210. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1846.

The author of the work now before us maintains that the book of the Revelation is a proper subject of study, and that it should no more be abandoned, as an inexplicable mystery, than "Malachi or Genesis." He accordingly gives us a consecutive exposition of it. But in relation to "the unfulfilled portions of the book," our author speculates with

great modesty and moderation. He is against the *visible* personal reign of Christ, and the *two resurrections*, as held by Adventists. The book, upon the whole, is one which reflects much light upon the most mysterious portions of Holy Scripture, and will well reward a patient reading.

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17. *The Office and Work of the Holy Spirit.* By JAMES BUCHANAN, D. D., Professor of Divinity, New College, Edinburgh. From the sixth Edinburgh edition, 12mo., pp. 519. New-York: Robert Carter. 1847.

THE present volume is upon a vital subject; and it is truly refreshing to see how nearly orthodox Christians agree upon the theme which is here discussed. The work is divided into three parts. The first treats of "the Spirit's work in the conversion of sinners:" the second treats at length upon "illustrative cases," taken from the New Testament: and the third presents "the Spirit's work in the edification of his people after their conversion." The author handles these several topics with great precision and becoming earnestness. The phraseology is occasionally Calvinistic, and sometimes the thoughts of the author run in that channel. There are, also, proofs and illustrations from "the Confession of Faith," which savor of partialism. But the great mass of the matter is most excellent, and cannot be thoughtfully and prayerfully read without great spiritual profit.

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18. *Solitude Sweetened; or, Miscellaneous Meditations on Various Religious Subjects, written in Distant Parts of the World.* By JAMES MICKLE, late Surgeon at Carmath. 12mo., pp. 286. New-York: Robert Carter. 1847.

THIS is a most excellent book, produced during the last century, and well worthy to have a place among standard English works. The meditations are truly pious and highly intellectual.

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19. *The Riches of Grace: or, the Blessing of Perfect Love, as experienced, enjoyed, and recorded, by Living Witnesses.* Edited by Rev. D. S. KING. 12mo., pp. 456. Boston: George C. Rand & Co., No. 3 Cornhill. 1847.

THIS book contains the personal experience of *sixty-two* individuals, written by themselves. The names of the persons are prudently withheld, but we have been able to identify several of them. This volume is not a record of fancied revelations and fanatical vagaries, but of plain matters of fact, of which the minds of the relaters are cognizant. Their credibility admitted, and we have a flood of evidence upon a most important and glorious theme. We hail this volume with pleasure and

delight; believing, as we do, that it will be the means of guiding many anxious inquirers into the way of holiness. Nothing, aside from the word of God and the direct teachings of the Spirit, is more impressive and influential with those who are earnestly seeking for holiness, than such simple details of personal experience as we have in the book before us. The mind naturally seeks for, and rests upon, *facts*. And especially in such a case—a case in which the pride of philosophy and mere human reason is to be set at naught and trampled under foot—is a clear, intelligible, and credible *experience*, worth more than all the theorizing and speculation in the world. The test of experiment is the very thing demanded: and here we have a book of *experiments* clearly and specifically set forth, with results which are sufficient to satisfy the most skeptical, while they kindle afresh the joy of seraphs. To all earnest seekers of the blessing of a clean heart, we most cordially and unequivocally recommend this volume. May God give it his blessing!

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20. *The Scripture Text Book. Scripture Texts arranged for the Use of Ministers, Sunday-School Teachers, and Families.* Second edition, 12mo., pp. 114. New-York: Lewis Colby & Co. 1846.
The Scripture Treasury; being the Second Part of the Scripture Text Book: arranged for the Use of Ministers, Sunday-School Teachers, Families, &c. 12mo., pp. 150. New-York: Lewis Colby. 1847.

These works were originally "compiled by the Religious Tract and Book Society for Ireland," and are admirably adapted to the purposes for which they are designed. We have here a collection of texts of Scripture in connection with *six hundred and thirty-four topics*, alphabetically arranged. The passages under each topic are generally numerous and varied—sufficiently so to give the entire Biblical view of the subject. The student of the Bible will find much aid from these little works, in collating passages of Scripture, upon almost any given theme. We doubt not, should their use come to be known and fully appreciated, they will be thought, by preachers and Sunday-school teachers, nearly indispensable.

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21. *Classical Series.* Edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zeumpt. *C. Julii Cæsaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico.* 12mo., pp. 231. Phila.: Lea & Blanchard. 1847.

The names of the editors of this "Series" are a sufficient passport to the books it contains. The copy of *Cæsar* before us is a small, cheap volume, well printed, with sufficiently extended foot notes, and a map of *Gaul*.

22. *Exercises in Hebrew Grammar, and Selections from the Greek Scriptures to be translated into Hebrew. With Notes, Hebrew Phrases, and References to approved Works in Greek and Hebrew Philology.* By H. B. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. 12mo., pp. 115. Andover: Allen, Morrell, & Wardell. New-York: Mark Newman & Co. 1847.

This work will be found to afford great aid to students of the Hebrew, who wish to become thoroughly acquainted with that language.

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23. *The Karen Apostle; or, Memoir of Ko Kah-Byu, the first Karen Convert; with an Historical Account of the Nation, its Traditions, Precepts, Rites, &c.* By Rev. Francis Mason, Missionary to the Karens. Revised by H. J. Ripley, Professor in Newton Theological Seminary. Third edition, 18mo., pp., 108. Boston: Gould Kendall, & Lincoln. 1846.

This little work affords most conclusive proof of the power of the gospel to regenerate the most degraded and besotted heathen. Well may the churches take courage in the prosecution of the great missionary work when such are the fruits. Few will commence this book without reading it through, and no real Christian will read it through without gratitude to God that he ever stirred up the spirit of a Judson, a Wade, and a Boardman, and thrust them into the strongholds of heathenism to do battle with the prince of darkness upon his own ground. Get "The Karen Apostle," and read it by all means.

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24. *Dwight's American Magazine, and Family Newspaper: with numerous Illustrative and Ornamental Wood Engravings, for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and Moral and Religious Principles.* Edited by Theodore Dwight. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 832, 752.

These volumes exhibit a rare specimen of plodding industry and good taste. The object of the editor is to furnish *interesting* reading which will not *pervert* the *heart*. And in times like these, when our popular newspapers deal in the worst specimens of fiction, and are directly calculated to pervert the moral sensibilities of the rising generation, it is an encouraging fact that such a work, as the one now upon our table, should meet with encouragement. We wish our friend *Dwight* abundant success in his labors. The work contains many illustrations upon wood, and the articles are short, and, so far as we can judge, generally pithy. The cheapness of this paper—one dollar per year, in advance—cannot fail to secure for it an extensive patronage.

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